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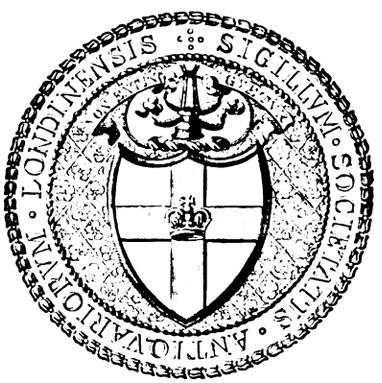
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I.—*Monumental Effigies made by Bristol Craftsmen* (1240-1550).

By ALFRED C. FRYER, *Esq., Ph.D., F.S.A.*

Read 29th November 1923.

MEMORIAL figures to seven Saxon bishops carved in Doulting stone on coffin-lids are in Wells Cathedral.[1] The five earlier of these were sculptured by masons who had been engaged on the newly completed quire built by Bishop Reginald, and the leaf-carving on the canopied niches for the heads and the folds for the draperies in parallel-curved ribs give the date of 1200 for two of these effigies and a few years later for the other three. The latest two bishop-effigies show, however, that these masons or their sons, who were training themselves to become statuaries, were using stiff-leaf foliage on the slab of Bishop Dudoc's effigy, and on both are found the ripple folds of drapery, a well-known characteristic of the statues on Bishop Jocelyn's west front (1220–40), giving us the date of 1230 (pl. 1, fig. 1). We are thus enabled to study at Wells the gradual advance towards statue technique from the beginning of the thirteenth century until the death of Bishop Jocelyn in 1242, marking a stage in a local experiment of English sculpture. These thirteenth-century craftsmen of Wells show wonderful restraint as well as great simplicity, while at the same time in no way indifferent to the charm of light and flowing drapery. Their sculpture may not be as perfect and as classical as the more learned works of the great French schools of the first half of the thirteenth century, yet the work of these West Country craftsmen possesses all the essential characteristics of a fine school of English art, and their sculpture is full of spiritual feeling and marvellous tenderness. Before the time that the last statue was set up on the west front of Wells Cathedral these craftsmen had so far advanced in their art that they had become 'imagers' and were able to execute orders sent to them. For a short period they appear to have continued to work the oolite rock quarried at Doulting, which in some of its finer beds was not unlike the inferior oolite of Dundry Hill, but whether any of their sculpture was lost in the destruction of the large monastic churches in the west of

[1] *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* lxi, ii, 18-30; and *Archaeologia*, lxv, 95–112.

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England is unknown. At any rate, the fine straight-legged effigy to Longespée, the great earl of Salisbury (pl. I, fig. 2), was made by these men about 1240 in their characteristic style of the knights on the Wells west front, and was conveyed from the Doulting quarries along a good hard road over the Downs to the cathedral church of Salisbury. Two other knight-effigies (pl. I, figs. 3, 4, 5) sculptured by these Wells imagers are in Shepton Mallet church. They are sadly mutilated, but as they are cross-legged their motive is that of the Purbeck marble knight; they are a little later than 1240, but they are sculptured from blocks of Doulting oolite and their characteristics in drapery and armour are those of the Wells imagers. These workers in Doulting freestone made another figure[1] which is now preserved in the feretory at Winchester (pl. II, fig. 5) and the thin ripple draperies place it in the same school of English sculpture.

The Wells school of art was a local development and it ends with remarkable suddenness. Who were the heirs of this splendid sculpture and where they migrated to are questions of no small importance, but it seems probable that the Wells sculptors were absorbed into the flourishing workshops of Bristol, an important port not far removed from Wells, and the capital of the West of England. There are still remaining one image and two effigies which these Wells sculptors may have carved after their migration to Bristol. A mutilated statue of the Blessed Virgin holding the Holy Child in her arms may be seen on the thirteenth-century gateway of the hospital of St. Bartholomew. The heads of the two figures are lost, but the thin folds of the draperies indicate that the date was about 1240 and the imager was one who had evidently worked at Wells. An effigy of a civilian (pl. I, fig. 6) of noble family carved about the same date may still be seen in the priory church of St. James, but the figure is too immature to be the work of the same man who made the statue. The effigy resembles in pose and appearance the statues at the north-west angle of the west front at Wells, and the head and drapery is not unlike the Bible reliefs on the cathedral front. The figure is simply a statue laid on its back, and the low rectangular pillow alone gives it the idea of recumbency. An effigy made of Dundry freestone in Bristol is in the church of St. Peter, Carmarthen (pl. II, fig. 1). It is about the same date as the civilian in St. James's priory church, Bristol, similar in costume but of better craftsmanship. In the church of St. Mark, Bristol, may be found a fine figure (1240–50) which well portrays the earlier form of the knight-effigy (pl. II, figs. 2, 3). His surcoat gives us the Wells handling, and the arms of the hauberk are in the characteristic style adopted by

[1] See Prior and Gardner's *Medieval Figure-Sculpture in England*, 317, 318, fig. 355. This figure, which is possibly the representation of the 'Jewish synagogue', is 4 feet high, and was dug up in the Dean's garden.

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the craftsmen working in Doulting freestone who produced the warriors on the west front of Wells. The coif shows the square outline of the steel cap beneath, the right hand is laid on the top of the kite-shaped shield, while the left lies on the breast, so that the hands are crossed, and there seems little doubt that this excellent figure was the work of a Wells recruit.

A cross-legged effigy of a knight with head, neck, ankles, and feet lost, and holding a convex kite-shaped shield extending from shoulder to knee and having the lower point in the mouth of a delicately sculptured dragon or wyvern, may be seen in Margam Abbey, Glamorganshire. The left hand holds the shield and the right is laid at the side like the earlier of the two Tickenham knights, while the arms of the hauberk portray the mail in parallel rows from shoulders to wrists. This effigy was carved in a Bristol workshop between the years 1240 and 1250 from a block of Dundry Hill oolite, and shipped down the Avon and across the Severn Sea to its destination in Margam Abbey.

The effigies of knights in Worcester Cathedral, Iddesleigh (pl. II, fig. 4) in north Devon, and Tickenham (pl. III, figs. 1, 2) in Somerset show accomplished Bristol sculpture of the earlier type of knight; each figure rests on a tapering coffin-lid and may be dated between 1240 and 1250. Their heads are in the flattened form of coif, kite-shaped shields are displayed on the left side, the mail on the arms of the hauberk possesses the up and down parallel lines found on the warrior-statues at Wells, the surcoats are artistically arranged, but the thin rippling folds of drapery are no longer depicted; the figures are graceful in attitude, while the heads are somewhat languid and inclined to the right. These knights have their hands on their breasts, at their sides, or placed on the edges of their shields, and although the knight in Worcester Cathedral has the sword-handling attitude, yet the pose of the fingers merely resting on the hilt seems to indicate that the hands are at rest, and the conception of repose and recumbency is still further justified by the bolster under the head.

The later type of knight is also found in St. Mark's church, Bristol (pl. II, fig. 3), and may be dated 1260. This splendid military effigy shows the Wells handling of the hauberk, but the surcoat is less rippled, the coif is conical, the sword-belt broad, and the accoutrements place his date some twenty years later than the elder knight now resting on the same table-tomb. This sword-handling knight possesses such marvellous vigour that it must receive a high place in the category of thirteenth-century sculpture, and it vividly illustrates the English conception and shows how far it is removed from the continental standard of that date. The sculpture of the golden age of English Gothic saw the statuesque value and the natural character of the living form with the artistic folds of the surcoat, while the yielding nature of the mail lent itself to the cross-legged pose;

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in vain we seek this abroad where effigies are sculptured as dead men, eyes closed, legs straight, surcoat folded in front, and hands crossed on the breast.

The effigist who sculptured this remarkable sword-handling knight in St. Mark's church, Bristol, never again produced in the west of England a figure in quite such a lively attitude, yet the influence of this knight is distinctly traceable in many fine effigies. The knight in St. Mary Redcliffe (pl. III, figs. 3, 4), and the later knight at Tickenham, Somerset (pl. III, fig. 5), are excellent examples of those distributed on the shores of the Severn Sea. The 7 ft. long effigy of the knight in St. Mary Redcliffe (pl. III, figs. 3, 4), which reclines on a massive slab 6 in. in thickness, has the eyes closed, and this is an interesting peculiarity as most English effigies of this period have the eyes open. The Nettlecombe knight (pl. IV, fig. 1) has the Raleigh coat of arms, *gules a bend fusilly argent*, displayed on his shield, and the Tickenham knight (pl. III, fig. 5) is a fine military figure and like the other earlier knights has the Bristol peculiarity on the arms of the hauberk. In all these instances the imagers have endeavoured to portray a more naturalistic appearance, and the head is well raised, emphasizing the idea of recumbency.

As the century advanced the shield becomes smaller and the sword-belt broadly looped below the narrow cingulum. In Pershore Abbey, Worcestershire, a most interesting effigy (pl. IV, fig. 2) may be seen of about the year 1280. The coif of mail is on the head, but a triangular lapel below the chin is turned back, so as to leave the neck and chin uncovered, thus affording an explanation of the manner of fastening the coif, while beneath the sleeveless surcoat is a jacket, doubtless made of leather, and fastened by three straps on the right side. The left hand rests on the pommel of the sword, with the blade exposed $3\frac{1}{2}$ in.; the right, uncovered with the mitten turned back on the wrist, grasps a horn indicating, presumably, that his land was held by cornage tenure, while below the shield is a griffin which may possibly be the crest of the knight. This figure is a particularly fine example of Bristol craftsmanship, and was easily conveyed by water, as Pershore is on the Warwickshire Avon.

The knight at Churchill, Somerset (*c.* 1300), is a fine figure, but sadly mutilated and weatherworn. The mail has all disappeared, and was evidently scraped away at various restorations. In 1882 Mr. Roland W. Paul, F.S.A., was able to see a small fragment of the mail on the under side of the right arm and wrist, also traces of a lion's head on the shield—part of the Churchill arms —*a lion rampant and a bendlet*.[1]

About 1300 or a few years earlier was carved a head which belonged to the effigy of a knight (pl. IV, fig. 3) in St. Philip's church, Bristol. This head

[1] *Incised and Sepulchral Slabs of N.W. Somerset*, 25, pl. XXVI.

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resembles one found in Exeter made from Beer stone (pl. XXIV, fig. 1), which is probably the work of some Bristol imager who had migrated to that city.

In the north quire aisle of Bristol Cathedral is the effigy (*c.* 1320) of a knight having the Berkeley arms emblazoned on his shield (pl. IV, fig. 4). This is a reposeful figure, with legs straight and hands folded in prayer on the breast and therefore unlike the large number of sword-handling effigies such as the figure in St. Mary Redcliffe and many others in the west of England, which are cross-legged with hands grasping the sword-hilt and scabbard. This figure is one of the few straight-legged knightly effigies in England between the Rampton knight of 1240 and the Abergavenny warrior which is dated 1340.[1] It seems probable that this is an instance of a Bristol imager following the French and not the English model in this particular. The attachment for the scabbard to the sword-belt is somewhat fanciful and does not appear to have been adopted elsewhere.

One of the latest of the mail knights made in a Bristol atelier is the one attributed to Sir John de Meriet of Hestercombe, in Combe Flory church, Somerset (pl. IV, fig. 5), who died in 1327. This effigy must now be added to the small group of English stone figures possessing ailettes charged with the knight's cognizance, that is to say, small shields fastened at right angles across the shoulders to lessen the effects of a blow from a battle-axe or sword. These adjuncts to military costume are rarely met with on English stone effigies, and only a few brasses depict them, while French monumental examples are scarce. Ailettes are frequently illustrated in fourteenth-century manuscripts and are also met with on painted glass, on seals, and on ivory carvings.[2] An early notice of ailettes occurs in connexion with the Windsor tournament of 1279.[3] Here they were made of leather covered with cloth, with silk laces to fasten them. Sir Roger de Trumpington was one of the thirty-eight knights who took part in this tournament, and it is interesting to note that the ailettes are figured on his brass at Trumpington church, near Cambridge. The present dimensions of the ailettes on the Combe Flory effigy are 16 in. by 13 in., and they are charged with *six pieces or and sable and a bend ermine for difference.*

[1] There is a wooden straight-legged effigy to Sir Robert du Bois at Fersfield, Norfolk, and Mr. W. M. I'Anson, F.S.A., says there are three such stone effigies in Yorkshire, viz. two Colvill figures at Ingleby Arncliffe (*c.* 1330–5) and the effigy of Sir Hugh FitzHenry (*ob.* 1304), an early member of the Fitz-Hugh family at Romaldkirk. Another straight-legged knight is at Gresford, Denbigh, to Madoc ap Llewelyn ap Griffin, *c.* 1331; see Crossley's *English Church Monuments*, 213. Besides these instances there is the knight in Malvern priory church (1240) and the knight at Paulton, Somerset, but both these may have come under French influence.

[2] *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* lxii, ii, 69–72.

[3] See Roll of Purchases for the Windsor tournament in 1278, where the ailettes are made of leather covered with a kind of cloth called Carda.

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In the latter part of this paper (p. 27) reference is made to two small shields above the shoulders of the effigy attributed to Richard Wellysburne de Montford (pl. XIX, fig. 3) in Hughenden church, Buckinghamshire (*c.* 1270). The knight's coif rests on a triangular block which has a shield on either side of the head. These two small heater-shaped shields may be intended for ailettes, although they are so well raised above the shoulders that the tops are on a level with the eyes of the knight; they may, however, represent a decoration for concealing the unusual support for the head.

Human experience is largely the result of experiment. The French wars of Edward III and Philip of Valois had taught men the weakness of various defences and only those defences that had come through that ordeal were retained; the camail and jupon period therefore has an especial interest for all students of arms and armour. We possess three effigies made in Bristol representing this period, two carved in the round and one incised on a slab, and this latter will be dealt with in a later paragraph. The effigy of Maurice IV (pl. v, fig. 1), ninth Lord Berkeley (*ob.* 1368), rests on a high table-tomb beside the effigy of his mother in a recess between the Elder Lady chapel and the north quire aisle in Bristol Cathedral. This is a most interesting figure and was probably sculptured a few years before the death of Lord Berkeley, who was wounded at the battle of Poitiers and never fully recovered. The figure may be regarded as one of the earliest post-Black Death knightly effigies and can be classed with the one to Sir Humphrey Littlebury at Holbeach, Lincolnshire. The mail defences of this period followed the outline of the limbs and the natural curves of the body, and this development is seen in the effigy of Lord Berkeley. The head is protected by a comparatively low conical-shaped bascinet laced to the camail, and resting on a tilting helm surmounted by a mitre, the crest of the Berkeley family; the hauberk is seen beneath the scalloped hem of the tight-fitting jupon embroidered with the Berkeley coat of arms, while laminated shoulder-pieces, brassarts, vambraces, demi-jambes fastened by straps over the mail stockings, knee and elbow cops all indicate an advance towards the complete suit of plate armour which a few years later usurped the place of mail. The thighs of this early figure of the camail and jupon period appear to be encased in pourpoint with parallel bands of steel arranged in front in vertical lines. The hands are in cuffed gauntlets with gadlings and the magnificent bawdrick with its elaborate workmanship of raised four-leaf flowers rests on the hips.

The camail and jupon knight (*c.* 1400) in Winterbourne church, Gloucestershire (pl. v, fig. 2), is dated some thirty-five years later than the one in Bristol Cathedral and is attributed to Sir Edward de Bradston. He is depicted in a suit of plate armour with pointed bascinet, hands in metacarpal gauntlets,

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bawdrick fastened in front by a metal clasp, and the head resting on a tilting helmet possessing mantling, orle, and crest (mutilated), *a boar's head couped and gorged with a coronet.*

The tabard period of armour (1430–1500) was so named as the tabard was the only important feature which remained unchanged during these seventy years. This was a time of continued war either in England or on the Continent and, consequently, a combat between forgers of weapons of offence and armour of defence continued, as urgent necessity demanded a completeness which was achieved in England in the early years of the reign of Henry VII.

Examples of this period of effigies made by Bristol imagers show the knights in suits of plate armour with breast and back plates and taces which showed a tendency to decrease in number as the period progressed and, consequently, the tuilles, being a protection for the thighs, grew larger and broader. In St. Philip's church, Bristol, is the effigy (1450–60) of a knight (pl. v, fig. 3) with the lower half lost; the head piece has the visor raised and there is a mentonnière; above the laminated shoulder plates are small pauldrons and the breast plate is reinforced with a demi-placcate having an invected edging. The effigy to Sir Walter Rodney (*ob.* 1466) in Backwell church, Somerset (pl. XXIV, fig. 5), has a golden collar composed of roses and suns encircling his neck; the sword-belt, ornamented with roses, is laid diagonally across the taces, leather thongs fasten the palettes to the articulated shoulder plates, and the head rests on a tilting helm with mantling, orle, and crest of a griffin sejant (wings broken). The face is clean shaven, the hair combed back and falling to the ears, while the forehead is wrinkled. The carving of this table-tomb and effigy are boldly executed, but the hands of the angels holding heater-shaped shields emblazoned with armorial bearings have their fingers disproportionately long. The whole is deficient in good craftsmanship and the sculptor did not possess sufficient skill and knowledge of technique to carry out the work satisfactorily.

Although the effigy to Sir Walter Rodney is a comparatively poor production yet it is a far better conception than the fifteenth-century merchant (pl. IX, fig. 2) in St. Mary Redcliffe (1470–80). Both these figures are evidently the work of some prentice hand, or emanated from some small Bristol workshop which did not possess the guiding hand of a highly skilled master-craftsman. At this date, however, we know that other ateliers in Bristol were producing as finely executed work as any in the kingdom, and the effigies to Sir Maurice Berkeley of Uley (*ob.* 1464) in St. Mark's, Bristol (pl. XV, fig. 4), and Sir John Newton (*ob.* 1487) in Yatton church, Somerset (pl. v, fig. 4), figures dating from about 1470, were products of splendid fifteenth-century craftsmanship.

The effigy to Sir Maurice Berkeley of Uley (pl. XV, fig. 4) portrays the knight in a salade with a short tail-piece, visor (raised), mentonnière, and gorget

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of plate. The end of the sword-belt forms a loop after being buckled, and on the right is suspended a short, narrow, subsidiary belt decorated with two roses but with no weapon attached. Such a belt is very unusual, and is unique on West Country effigies. The hands are in metacarpal gauntlets with laminated plates covering the back of the fingers; the knight wears a collar of suns and roses with a plain rectangular locket, and the head rests on a tilting helm with mantling, wreath, and the Berkeley crest of a mitre.

Sir John Newton's effigy (pl. xv, fig. 2) at Yatton is also carried out with all that knowledge of technique and detail which these consummate fifteenth-century craftsmen could bestow on their work. The head, uncovered, with the hair combed back from the forehead and falling at the back of the neck, rests on a tilting helm with mantling and a garb for crest. A dagger possessing straight quillons and ends turned at right angles is suspended from the waist-belt by cords, and on the scabbard is a small sheath ($8\frac{3}{4}$ in.) for the bastardeau.

The only military effigy made in Bristol during the sixteenth century falling into the medieval period is one to Sir Edmund Gorges in Wraxall church, Somerset. Sir Edmund was made a knight of the Order of the Bath at the creation of Arthur, Prince of Wales (1489), and died in 1512. The tomb and effigy were probably made soon after the demise of his first wife, Lady Anne Howard (*ob.* 1500), whose effigy on account of her superior rank is placed on her husband's right-hand side. Sir Edmund's uncovered head, with long hair falling to his shoulders, rests on a tilting helmet, while the feet are placed on a collared greyhound, being the crest of his family. His body is encased in a suit of plate armour; the large fluted tuilles ($13\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 10 in.) are secured by straps, the sword-hilt has slightly drooping quillons, and the dagger belongs to the kidney type. A heavy gold chain of circular links ($1\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter) encircles the neck, while the feet are in broad-toed sabbatons, which came into use before the close of the fifteenth century, an early example of this fashion being that of Piers Gerard, 1495, at Winwick, Lancashire.

The ecclesiastical effigies made in Bristol are ten in number and, with the exception of a thirteenth-century head carved in relief on a small slab above one of the arms of a cross flory in St. Mary Redcliffe, the earliest are two in Wells Cathedral to Bishop Drokensford (pl. v, figs. 5, 6) and Dean Godelee (pl. vi, fig. 1). Bishop Drokensford died in 1329 and Dean Godelee three years later. The effigies were sculptured in Bristol, but the tomb-chests having the ogee heads of the panels throughout from side to side were made of Doulting stone. The effigies show that the broad folds of the chasubles are wide spreading and drop with overlapping edges. The thick cushions for the heads to rest on, the small heads, sharp features, and thin laid vestments are evidences of Bristol craftsmanship at this date. The beautifully carved and

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richly painted canopies rising many feet above the table-tombs have been removed, but that over Bishop Drokensford's effigy was not taken down until 1758. Comparatively few freestone memorials still possess their medieval scheme of colour-decoration. Fortunately Bishop Drokensford's effigy and monument have never been repainted, and although the face, hands, and other portions of the effigy and tomb are damaged, yet sufficient colour remains to allow us to form a clear idea of its original appearance. The medieval colour-design more or less followed the rules of heraldry; thus fillets of gold or white would separate red mouldings from green ones, coloured grounds were powdered over with gold or white devices and conventional foliage, while feathered centres of quatrefoils would be gilded, with backgrounds of blue. The re-facing and scraping away of all colour on so many monuments is a great loss, not only as regards their artistic adornment, but as a means of discovering their history when armorial bearings have been displayed on them. In the case, however, of the tomb-chest we are now considering, the ground on which the heater-shaped shields are displayed is alternately red and green with white sprays of foliage, and the pair of shields, repeated over and over again, are emblazoned: (a) *Quarterly, argent and gules, four swans' necks couped addorsed and counter-coloured* (Drokensford), (b) *Ermine on a chief gules two bucks' heads caboshed or.*

The chapel of St. Sprite was originally erected in 1250 and stood in the churchyard of St. Mary Redcliffe. In 1766 an effigy (1390–1400) on a coffin-lid was discovered under the west window inscribed **Johes Lanyngton**, who was probably the chaplain (pl. VI, fig. 2). The name has been read **Johes Laming-ton**, but Mr. Roland W. Paul, F.S.A., is of opinion that it should be **Johes Lanyngton**, as the third letter shows a tendency for the two strokes to converge towards the bottom, while a piece has been broken away which has destroyed the tail of the **y**. The chaplain is in a long cassock fastened at the neck with three buttons. The tight-fitting sleeves have wrist-bands with five buttons, and the habit is confined with a leather waist-belt with an oval buckle.

At Minehead, Somerset, we find an unknown priest who now rests on a later monument (pl. VI, fig. 3). Both tomb and effigy were made in Bristol and shipped direct to Minehead, but at different dates; the effigy is about 1410 and the splendid fifteenth-century tomb and canopy are half a century later. This tonsured priest is in Mass vestments, and his right hand holds the stem of a chalice while the left is placed under the foot. The cup is lost, the stem is broken above the knop, but the hexagonal mullet-shaped foot possesses a beaded edge.

In the chapel of St. Martin, Wells Cathedral, may be seen the fine monument and effigy to Chancellor William Biconyll, LL.D., canon of Wells, a commissary official of the Court of Canterbury, and, apparently, chancellor of that

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diocese (pl. VI, fig. 4). He is represented in quire habit—cassock, surplice with long sleeves, and the *cappa nigra* or quire cope. The ends of the grey almuce can be seen at the openings of the cope, and the hood hangs over the shoulders. The chancellor died in 1448, and the interesting will of a wealthy fifteenth-century ecclesiastic is still preserved and from it we learn that he requested to be buried in the position the tomb now occupies. There is therefore no reason to doubt that this monument is to Chancellor Biconyll, and the order was given by his executors to a firm of Bristol craftsmen as the work was carried out in Dundry freestone. In the eastern Lady Chapel of St. Augustine's Abbey, now the cathedral church of Bristol, may be seen three abbot-effigies, showing that Bristol imagers were well able to supply West Country churches with impressive ecclesiastical figures as well as with elaborate monuments. By consulting the Chronicle Roll of Abbot Newland, which gives particulars as to the place of burial of the abbots, these three effigies have now been identified and names assigned to them. They are portrayed in Mass vestments—amice, alb, tunicle, dalmatic, chasuble, mitre, and gloves, and the imagers' handling of these effigies is similar, as to the sculptured angels and other details, to that of the Bristol-taught craftsmen who carved Suger's chantry in Wells Cathedral in 1480. Like the work and technique of Suger's chantry, the fifteenth-century abbots of Bristol show a mannerism in the deep outlining of detail which is a trick of the Bristol shop-work. At this date, and in fact many years earlier, the sculptor had lost all expression in his ecclesiastical effigies. He made fine figures after a shop-work production; but they were not the interesting creations of the building-mason's technique of an earlier age. These abbot-effigies are remarkably well executed in the fine-grained oolite of Dundry Hill from which all Bristol effigies were made. The beds of oolite are not thick and consequently the hands and other elevations had to be kept low. The long heads and narrow chins are a marked characteristic of these fifteenth-century ecclesiastical effigies.

Each of these Bristol effigies rests beneath a stellated recess, and the five segments of the arch forming the canopies spring from human heads, bordered by vine, oak leaves, or ball-flower moulding, having finials of varied foliage. The effigy to Abbot Newbury (pl. VII, fig. 2), who ruled St. Augustine's Abbey from 1428 to 1473, with a break of five years (1451–6) owing to internal dissensions in the monastery, is on the north side of the sanctuary beneath a table-tomb decorated in front with seven trefoil-headed niches possessing richly crocketed canopies separated by gabled pinnacles. This effigy has undergone considerable restoration.

William Hunt was abbot from 1473 to 1481 and, as recorded in Newland's Chronicle Roll, 'is buried on the north side of our Lady Chapel, in the nether

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arch of the choir there'. This effigy (pl. VII, fig. 3) is a splendid piece of work. The head is supported by two angels with folded wings, heads thrown back, vested in albs, with one hand laid on the richly jewelled mitre and the other on the cushion. The latest of these Bristol figures (pl. VII, fig, 4) is John Newland (1483–1515), who added much to the domestic buildings of the monastery, compiled the famous *Chronicle Roll of the Berkeley Family*, and whose deeds of charity earned for him the title of 'the good Abbot'. Two seated angels with folded wings support a shield placed at his feet on which the canting arms derived from his name (Nailheart) are sculptured, (*Argent*) *three Passion nails* (*or*) *piercing a human heart* (*proper*) *with the initials I.N. in chief.*

Another splendid figure which well exemplifies the fine work of these Bristol ecclesiastical effigy-makers is in St. Mark's church, Bristol. This effigy (pl. VII, fig. 5) was sculptured at the close of the fifteenth century and is to Bishop Salley, who was abbot of Abingdon, then abbot of Eynsham, near Oxford, and at a later date bishop of Llandaff. He reconstructed the east end of St. Mark's church, erecting his own magnificent tomb and effigy during his lifetime in the founder's position on the north side of the sanctuary.

The effigies of Abbots Hunt and Newland show the hood of the almuce coming from under the apparelled amice, and these are instances where this quire ornament of dignity was worn by elderly men who were entitled to wear it under their Mass vestments. Dr. Cuthbert Atchley informs me that 'the amess (almuce) was not part of the Benedictine habit although the abbot of Westminster used a grey amess (almuce) at Mass.[1] The statutes of Sarum would be no use to explain the habit of the Bristol abbots because that was a secular church, whereas Bristol was an abbey of Victorine canons, and though their Mass-book showed some slight traces of Sarum influence it is unlikely that the rules of an order of canons regular as to habit would be so affected, especially as they were a foreign order;[2] but a black amess (almuce) that could be worn

[1] See paper 'On the Inventory of the Vestry in Westminster Abbey taken in 1388', by J. Wickham Legg, F.S.A. (*Archaeologia*, lii, 214), where we read: 'Fyrst the westerer shall lay lowest the chesebell above that the dalmatyke and the dalmatyk w^{t} y^{e} longest slevys uppermost and the other nethermost then hys stole & hys fanane and hys gyrdyll opon that his albe theropon hys gray Ames above that hys Rochett & uppermost hys kerchur w^{t} a vestry gyrdyll to tukk up his cole.'

[2] *L'histoire des ordres monastiques* (Paris, 1714, t. ii, 155): 'Ces chanoines sont habillés de serge blanche avec un rochet pardessus leur soutane et un manteau noir comme les ecclesiastiques quand ils sortent; au choeur pendant l'esté ils portent un surplis pardessus leur rochet avec une ammuce noire sur les épaules, et l'hyver une grande chappe noire avec un grand camail. Anciennement ils portoient la courone monchale, comme on peut voir dans la figure que nous avons fait graver d'un de ces anciens chanoines qui avoient pour habit ordinaire une aube descendant jusqu'à trois doigts du bord de la robe, et au choeur ils portoient sur la teste une ammuce de drap noir doublé de peaux de mesme couleur.'

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on the head was part of the quire-habit of Victorines,[1] hence it would more easily pass into use at Mass, too.'[2]

We have already referred to the sculptured effigies of two civilians made in Bristol from the inferior oolite of Dundry Hill about 1240. The one in St. James's priory church, Bristol (pl. I, fig. 6), and the other in St. Peter's church, Carmarthen (pl. II, fig. 1), represent members of noble families. Both are in cotes, narrow waist-belts, mantles with circular ornaments on the breast, and the hair is wavy and falling below the ears. Each right hand is laid on the breast and each left hand lies at the side, but the effigy in St. James's priory church, Bristol, holds a fold of the mantle.

We are fortunate in still possessing two weather-worn civilian effigies of thirteenth-century date in Long Ashton church, Somerset. Both effigies are clad in long cotes having folds falling from the neck with loose sleeves to the elbows showing the tight-fitting sleeves of the under tunic. The curling hair is worn long to the neck and the hands are raised in prayer. The one figure may be dated 1280 and the other somewhere about 1290. The earlier effigy has an inscription carved in Lombardic letters on the edge of the bevelled slab, which Mr. Roland W. Paul, F.S.A., reads: (ICI GYT) VILLIAM DE SNOWDONE DEV DEL ALME EYIT MERCY AMEN. Mr. Lewis J. U. Way, F.S.A., informs me that in 1343 John de Snowden or Snowdon lived on a part of the manor of Long Ashton. It is therefore possible that this effigy was to his grandfather.

A good example of a civilian at the end of the first quarter of the fourteenth century (*c.* 1325) is in Yatton church, Somerset (pl. VII, fig. 6). He, too, wears a long cote to his ankles with tight-fitting sleeves and a belt adorned with four-leaf flowers. His head rests on an oblong bolster, his face is long like those sculptured in the Bristol ateliers of this date; he wears his hair in curls to his neck, and he has drooping moustaches and a short beard.

Franklins are well exemplified by the excellent effigy (pl. VIII, fig. 2) at Pucklechurch (*c.* 1360) in a long cote, reaching to the ankles, slit in front, and having a pocket on the right side secured by a strap and an opening on the left through which a cord attached to the girdle of the under tunic holds the circular gypcière with its decorated flap. The hood is worn on the neck and breast, and not drawn over the head. The face is long and most carefully chiselled; the hair is worn to the neck, and there is a short beard.

[1] Dr. Cuthbert Atchley says that 'there is no doubt that the Bristol canons were Victorines like those of Wormesly, Wigmore in Herefordshire, Keynsham, Worspring and Steverdale in Somerset, St. Thomas's, Dublin, and others. Leland says that Wigmore was a great and wealthy abbey of *white* canons (which they were not in the usual sense—Premonstratensians). But Bristol he calls black canons; and yet they were derived from Wigmore.'

[2] The Victorine statutes are printed in Martene, *De ant. eccl. ret.*, Antwerp, 1736, t. iii, 738.

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The fashionable costume of nobles and distinguished men in the third quarter of the fourteenth century may be seen in effigies in St. Mark's (*c.* 1360) and St. Stephen's (*c.* 1375), Bristol. Both figures show the under tunic and the tight-fitting cote-hardie reaching to the middle of the thighs, fastened in front with laces in the one case and with buttons in the other. The effigy representing a young man of noble family in St. Mark's (pl. VIII, fig. 1) possesses a mantle reaching to his feet, fastened by two laces passing through eyelet holes and secured on the left with a knot, a dagger suspended on the right side from a narrow waist-belt, and the feet in pointed boots open in front with tongues of leather and fastened with narrow straps. The figure in St. Stephen's is attributed to Edward Blanket (pl. VIII, fig. 3), a wealthy merchant and member of Parliament for Bristol in 1362. He has a dagger attached to his richly ornamented bawdrick and his pointed shoes possess ankle straps and show the markings for the toes stamped in the leather.

The effigies to two rich Bristol townsmen in the churches of St. Stephen and St. John Baptist are portrayed in long gowns with loose sleeves and wide cuffs, showing the ribbed (knitted ?) sleeves of the under tunic extending to the knuckles and closely buttoned on the underside. A dagger suspended by a strap round the neck falls in the centre of each body below the waist. These two effigies have probably been sculptured by the same imager, and the one (pl. IX, fig. 3) attributed to Walter Tyddestille or Tyddeley (died 1385) in St. Stephen's has the strap round the neck ornamented with bars at intervals of $1\frac{1}{2}$ in.; while the strap for the basilard type of dagger with quillons turned downwards, on the effigy to Walter Frampton (died 1388) in the church of St. John Baptist (pl. VIII, fig. 4), is inscribed with raised letters which are now difficult to read owing to the many coats of paint this effigy and tomb have received. Mr. Roland W. Paul, F.S.A., deciphers the inscription:

. . . God help hys sowle and sabe
whane ffrompton is hy liegd on grabe

Walter Frampton rebuilt the church of St. John Baptist on the ancient crypt. His tomb and effigy now stand, however, on the north side of the chancel; but originally they probably occupied a place in the centre before the high altar.

In the church of St. Mary Redcliffe we find three fifteenth-century effigies to civilians, namely (*a*) William Canynges II (1460), (*b*) Sir Thomas Mede (1475), and (*c*) an unknown merchant (1470-80). William Canynges II (pl. IX, fig. 1) and Sir Thomas Mede (pl. XII, fig. 2) are depicted in long gowns with full sleeves edged with fur, and fur-trimmed mantles open at the sides. William Canynges II has a turban hat on his left shoulder with a liripipe falling to the

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hem of his gown, while Sir Thomas Mede has a broad liripipe or scarf over his left shoulder and a tasselled gypcière suspended from the waist-belt of his under-tunic. The unknown merchant (pl. IX, fig. 2), now placed against the south wall of the south transept, must have been the product of some prentice imager. It is a poor work of art and the angel supporting the right side of the tasselled cushion for the head to rest on has a sprawling and ungainly attitude. The merchant is clad in a long gown, with his gypcière hung from a narrow waist-belt, a sleeveless mantle open at the sides, and a turban hat on the left shoulder with a long liripipe.

The fine effigy to Sir Richard Choke (pl. XII, fig. 1) in his chantry chapel at Long Ashton was made of Dundry freestone about the year 1470. Sir Richard is portrayed in his forensic costume as a judge of the Court of Common Pleas,[1] consisting of a scarlet robe, cloak and cape lined and trimmed with white fur, and a tight-fitting coif of white silk or lawn on his head. From his waist-belt are suspended a short dagger and a rosary consisting of ten beads with a larger one at either end and a tassel at the bottom.

We do not possess any effigy of a lady made from Dundry oolite much earlier than the year 1300, but the ladies sculptured about that date at Tickenham and Churchill, in Somerset, are excellent examples of that period. Both these effigies have been beautiful works of art, and the Tickenham lady (pl. X, fig. 1) especially shows the fine sculpture that could be executed at that period in the Bristol ateliers, while the imager has been most conscientious in carrying out all the details of the costume and coiffure of a great lady. She is portrayed in kirtle and mantle fastened by two cords across the breast and caught up under both arms; her hair is confined by a wimple with a fillet across her forehead, and is gathered up in a net, over which a kerchief falls to her shoulders. The Churchill lady may possibly be a few years earlier, and the angels smoothing her pillow indicate that the Bristol craftsmen were influenced in their technique by the London imagers, who, at this date, were carving similar angels for the effigies they were turning out of their workshops on the banks of the Thames.

The ladies at Combe Flory (*c.* 1327), Somerset (pl. X, fig. 2), and Iron Acton (*c.* 1315) and Pucklechurch (*c.* 1325), Gloucestershire, are in very similar costume. The first-named lady wears her hair in tufts on either side of her face

[1] The tomb and effigy were re-painted in 1872 and the judge's forensic costume does not appear to have been coloured correctly. MS. illustrations of the four courts of Westminster in the time of Henry VI are existing, and the originals are reproduced in colour in *Archaeologia*, xxxix, 357-72. In the picture of the Court of Common Pleas the seven scarlet-robed judges are seated on a bench, while the protonotaries and other officers of the court, vested in parti-coloured robes of blue, green, and yellowish-buff rayed with diagonal stripes of blue, are seated below or stand near the table. The serjeants in their coifs of linen or silk are also vested in parti-coloured gowns consisting of green, green rayed with white and red, blue, and blue rayed with pale green and white.

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between the wimple and the fillet encircling her forehead; the second has her head on a rectangular bolster under an architectural gablet and holds a mutilated object in her hand which was most likely a heart, while the third possesses a sleeveless cote-hardie with an edging of 2 in. which was probably intended for fur.

The effigy to Margaret (pl. v, fig. 1), daughter of Roger Mortimer, earl of March, and first wife of Thomas III, eighth Lord Berkeley, who 'was worshipfully buried', as Newland's *Chronicle Roll* declares, 'under the arch between the elder chapel of our Lady and the north aisle there' in 1337, is one of the most beautiful in the west of England; two angels with folded wings, the tips resting on the bevel of the slab, support the cushion, and the features of the lady, who died at the early age of twenty-nine, are calm and dignified. The costume of the Lady Margaret was not materially different from the effigies of the ladies we have considered; but the pose and graceful arrangement of the drapery caused this figure to become the regular pattern of ladies supplied by the Bristol imagers to West Country churches until the close of the first half of the fourteenth century.

The effigy of a lady (pl. x, fig. 4) at Yatton, Somerset (1330-40), falls into this period, and she has as many as four kerchieves; the inner one fits her head like a cap, having crimpled edges enclosing the forehead and sides of her face, and probably her outer kerchief would be made of cloth. This lady has a barbe, which was a piece of linen pleated in folds worn by widows over or under the chin, according to the rank of the wearer, and falling to the breast.[1]

The lady in St. Stephen's (pl. viii, fig. 3), Bristol (*c.* 1360), is attired simply in a kirtle with slits on each side for pockets, mantle with cordons, hair braided on either side of the face with a wimple enclosing the chin, a kerchief on the head falling to the shoulders, and a rectangular form of the nebulé or goffered head-dress. Some forty years later (*c.* 1400) we find a lady in Winterbourne church (pl. v, fig. 2) wearing the sideless cote-hardie decorated with a band of lozenges down the front, the mantle secured with a chain of long links of gold with fermailes of four-leaf flowers, a necklace of slender gold links with a jewelled pendant, a reticulated head-dress with four pearls at each intersection of the net, a band in front and a veil falling behind to the shoulders. The effigy to Joan (*c.* 1460), wife of William Canynges II, in St. Mary Redcliffe

[1] Mentioned by Margaret, countess of Richmond, mother of Henry VII, in her 'Ordinance for the Reformation of apparell for great estates of women in the tyme of Mourning' (Harleian MS. 6084). 'The Queen, and all ladies down to the degrec of a baroness, are therein licenced to wear the barbe above the chin. Baronesses, lords' daughters, and knights' wives, are ordered to wear the barbe beneath it and all chamberers and other persons, below the throat goyle or gullet, that is, the lowest part of the breast.'—Planché, *Cyclopaedia of Costume*, sub *Barbe*.

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(pl. IX, fig. 4) has a simple kerchief over the head falling in graceful folds to the shoulders.

Most of the Bristol-made effigies of ladies who lived in the latter half of the fifteenth century have tight-fitting bodices open V-shape in front with a border of 1 in. or 2 in. of fur or embroidery showing a chemisette of silk or other material.

Lady Berkeley in St. Mark's church, Bristol, wears a wide collar over her square-cut stomacher, the ends of which are joined below the waist, passing under a broad belt. Three[1] ladies have their hair enclosed in a cap with a veil hanging behind the shoulders, and on either side of the face a vertical caul or horn rises above the head. These horns are set near together at the apex and acutely pointed. Above the forehead is a broad stiff band falling in flowing lappets on either side of the face. Lady Mede's effigy in St. Mary Redcliffe depicts her wearing a head-dress consisting of a veil falling at the back of the head, confined over the forehead by a broad band ending in lappets hiding the ears. This simple and most effective form of head-dress is unique in west of England effigies. Lady Newton, Yatton, Somerset, has a gold necklace (pl. x, fig. 3) 3 in. deep, composed of slender cross-bars of gold, and the fermailes on her mantle are ornaments resembling conventional foliage. Lady Choke, Long Ashton, Somerset, wears a necklace of suns and roses, the badge of the House of York; and Lady Berkeley, St. Mark's church, Bristol, displays a necklace of small open links with a pendent cross.

In Wraxall church, Somerset, we find the effigy of Lady Anne Howard (died *c.* 1500), daughter of John Howard, first duke of Norfolk, slain on Bosworth Field, sister to Thomas Howard, second duke of Norfolk, victor of Flodden Field, and great aunt to Catherine Howard and Anne Boleyn, queens of Henry VIII. The lady (pl. XVII, fig. 1) is portrayed in an ermine-lined red gown cut square at the neck and showing the pleated chemisette, tight-fitting bodice with a band of ermine down the front, sleeves tight-fitting to elbows and then hanging open to the wrists, a golden girdle with cord and tassel fastened with a gold rose, a pedimental head-dress of black silk with veil falling behind and with a frontlet, in a delicate green pattern of lozenges edged with cloth of gold, framing the face and reaching to the shoulders.

Semi-effigial monuments first made their appearance in the thirteenth century, and although they never became generally prevalent yet many examples remain in this and in the fourteenth century. These monuments fall into two classes, namely, those that are in some way associated with a cross and those

[1] Lady Newton, wife of Sir John Newton, Yatton (*c.* 1470); Lady Choke, wife of Sir Richard Choke, Long Ashton, Somerset (*c.* 1470); Lady Berkeley, wife of Sir Thomas Berkeley, of Uley, St. Mark's, Bristol (1465–70).

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appearing with no cross symbol. The only effigy we have to consider in the first category is a worn and mutilated head on a small slab of thirteenth-century workmanship now preserved under the tower of St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol. The head is carved in relief over one of the arms of a cross and the slab is only 2 ft. 9 in. in length; from its diminutive size it was made, probably, for a heart interment.[1]

The dismemberment of the bodies of the saints so that their relics might be distributed over Christendom doubtless suggested the burial of the heart away from the body in the case of those who died far from home, or who had intimate connexions with more than one church. The three diminutive Berkeley effigies probably represent heart interments at Berkeley church, while the bodies would be laid to rest in St. Augustine's Abbey, Bristol. These consist of two ladies (pl. xi, figs. 1, 2) and one civilian (pl. xi, fig. 3). The two ladies were sculptured before the close of the thirteenth century and the civilian in the early years of the fourteenth. Each lady holds a mutilated object in her hand which may have been intended for a heart. They are dressed in kirtles and cote-hardies, their hair falls in ringlets to their shoulders, and one lady has a fillet which is adorned at intervals with a matrix for a jewel, enamel or glass. The civilian is habited in a long cote reaching to his ankles, and he, too, has a fillet encircling his head, while his short curly locks form a fringe beneath it. The Bristol craftsman has given each head a rectangular bolster on which to rest.

The effigy at Bitton, Gloucestershire (pl. xi, fig. 4), is to some ecclesiastical dignitary, possibly a canon or a dean, and is represented in quire habit—cassock (visible at wrists), surplice, quire cope (*cappa nigra*) with hood on the shoulders and pleated round the neck, almuce with long tails in front and hood at the back of the head; the hands are raised in prayer and hold some damaged object which was probably intended for a heart. This interesting figure is much worn and may be dated about 1360.

There appear to be only three incised effigies on slabs of inferior oolite existing, and these are in Iron Acton church, Gloucestershire. They are to Sir Robert Poyntz, sheriff of Gloucestershire (1397), who died in 1420, and his two wives, Anne and Catharine Fitz-Nichols. The incised figure on this latter slab

[1] Heart interments were numerous in England and Wales during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and they were commemorated by life-size as well as diminutive effigies. Hearts are held in the hands of effigies at Ashill, Stogursey, Withycombe, and many other places, and heart-shrines are at Leybourne (Kent), Burford, and in many other churches; a slab in Winchester Cathedral with an effigy to Bishop Ethelmar de Valence (1261) holding a heart is illustrated in Boutell's *Christian Monuments in England and Wales*, 118. Bishop Aquablanca's heart was conveyed to his birthplace in Savoy for interment (1268), Bishop Cantelupe's to Ashridge (1282), Margaret de Clifford's to Aconbury (1260), and that of Lady Clarice de la Warr to Ewyas Harold about 1300. See *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* lxiii, ii, 7, 8; Boutell's *Christian Monuments in England and Wales*, Section ii, 119-56.

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and all the inscription on the verge, except a few letters which enable us to identify it, have been wantonly erased, as it was used two centuries afterwards as a memorial to Elizabeth, wife of another Robert Poyntz, who died in 1631. The inscription on the verge of the slab of this fifteenth-century knight runs: *Here lyeth Robert Poyntz, Lord of Iren Acton and thys stepyl here maked who died the fyftene day of Junne, the year of oure Lord MCCCCXX of whos soule God have mercy, Amen.* It is probable that 'stepyl' does not refer to the tower, but to the beautiful and unique churchyard cross which he built.

Chantry-chapels, with their painted screens of stone, metal, or wood and magnificent canopied tombs, were the glory of the churches of the fifteenth century; but the outstanding architectural features of the monuments of this period were, undoubtedly, the transom and the general method of breaking up the varied design into parallel compartments covered with rich adornment and the whole surmounted by a decorated horizontal cornice or tabernacle work. As the period advanced the tracery-heads became four-centred, and the panel decoration and mouldings retained their excellence both in proportion and detail.

The fine monument in Minehead church (pl. XI, fig. 5) was carved in Bristol and shipped to its destination in Somerset at some date between 1460 and 1465, and it is interesting to note that the long scroll in the rectangular panel below the cornice is similar to one on a tomb of the same date in St. Mary Redcliffe; probably both emanated from the same Bristol workshop.

The overhanging gables of some of the Bristol tombs of this period are of high artistic merit, and the monuments at Long Ashton to Sir Richard and Lady Choke (pl. XII, fig. 1) and in St. Mary Redcliffe to Sir Thomas and Lady Mede (pl. XII, fig. 2) were both made of Dundry freestone. On these two canopies we find a series of demi-angels with upraised wings holding small shields. On the tomb in St. Mary Redcliffe the shields are now plain, but those at Long Ashton possess emblems of the Passion (pl. XII, fig. 1). These angels follow the type so frequently met with in the west of England and are vested in albs, heads encircled with jewelled fillets or wearing a cross, wings raised above the head, each feather distinct from its neighbour with quills and featherings faithfully produced, and the whole work presenting a charming and dainty appearance. The progenitors of these beautiful bird-like angels are two on the monument to William Canynges II and Joan, his wife, in the south transept of St. Mary Redcliffe (1460–5) and a series of six on the splendid monument in Minehead church carved about the same date and probably sculptured in the same Bristol workshop (pl. XI, fig. 5).

Bristol was sufficiently removed from Chellaston and Nottingham to hold an independent position in sculpture, so that her imagers and craftsmen remained

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unaffected by the alabaster men and continued to execute beautiful and original work to the close of the medieval period.

The effigy of Bishop Beckington (pl. XIII, fig. 1) in Wells Cathedral is made of alabaster, but the open table-tomb with its cadaver in the compartment below and the beautiful altar-screen were sculptured in Bristol in 1451. This chantry with its stately monument forms a pathetic story in the life of Bishop Beckington, for he himself consecrated the altar in his own chantry on the 13th of January, 1452, and for thirteen years this *memento mori* was a silent reminder to this great medieval bishop that death comes to all men. The altar-screen is a delicate and beautiful piece of workmanship; the scheme of colour decoration is still fairly fresh and bright and in a wonderful state of preservation. The reredos was made at a date when art was decadent, yet it shows great delicacy of conception in detail. It is, however, over-refined, but originally it must have had all the fascination of a splendid piece of jewellery, where profusion of ornament was more desired than structural grace. The open table-tomb has an arcade with circular pillars possessing bases, capitals, and buttresses. Above each column is a feathered demi-angel holding the capital with both hands, and the delicately carved upright wings spread over a portion of the richly sculptured spandrels of the arches of the arcade while the long primary quills rest on the mouldings of the slab (pl. XIV, fig. 1). An exquisite grate surrounds the tomb, being a glorious triumph of fifteenth-century metal work. The uprights are closely spaced, and each one terminates in florid heads, while the standards are flanked with three buttresses possessing six off-sets and heads ending in a series of mouldings. The cross-bars have embattled edges and are adorned with perforated designs. In spite of all the charm of this sumptuous tomb and reredos it is far removed from the wonderful vigour and truth and the noble simplicity and expressive sculpture of an earlier age, when arts and crafts demonstrated that man was a spiritual being who sought to transform material existence into something spiritual, and although he may not have been cognizant of the full sense of beauty, yet he knew that in his craftsmanship lay the supreme effort of his soul.

The four-centred and flattened arch made use of in the construction of monuments was freely employed in all parts of England and many are found in the south-west of the country, while the ogee form is also occasionally met with. The Exeter workshops turned out many tombs that were over-elaborate with decoration, moulding, and foliage, but the monuments of this period made in Bristol, although they are ornate, are never overcrowded. The fine canopied tombs to Sir Thomas and Lady Berkeley of Uley (pl. XV, fig. 4) and to Bishop Salley (pl. XIV, fig. 2) in the church of St. Mark, Bristol, are splendid and magnificent examples, while in Yatton church, Somerset, the design of the

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tomb to Sir John and Lady Newton (pl. xv, fig. 2) presents the idea that the canopy is based on the front of a niched rood-loft.

The alabaster effigies to Sir John Harington, fourth Baron Harington of Aldingham, county Lancaster, and Elizabeth Courtenay, his wife, were made about 1460, at Chellaston, Derbyshire; but the sumptuous canopy (pl. XIII, fig. 2) carved in Bristol was erected by Cecilia, marchioness of Dorset, after a licence had been granted in 1474 for a chantry in the church of St. Dubricius, Porlock, Somerset. This stately canopy, rising $12\frac{1}{2}$ ft. above the pavement and $9\frac{1}{2}$ ft. above the slab, must have been originally some 14 ft. in height before the cornice and cresting were removed. This richly decorated monument when it was first placed in the centre of the chantry-chapel was surrounded, probably, by a grate like the tombs of Bishop Beckington in Wells Cathedral (pl. XIII, fig. 1) and Sir Thomas Hungerford, Bt., in the chapel of St. Leonard at Farleigh Hungerford. The tomb-chest is adorned with trefoil-headed niches, now tenantless, the moulding of the arch contains fifteenth-century foliage, the spandrels are decorated with conventional foliage and trefoils in circles, while the panelled soffit and other portions of this fine monument still show traces of colour and gilding, enabling us to form some idea of the splendour it presented when it was first erected.

Another monument made by Bristol craftsmen of inferior oolite from Dundry Hill is a tomb-chest in the church of St. Andrew, Chew Magna, Somerset; but the effigies of Sir John St. Loe and his wife, *c.* 1443, were sculptured in Bath freestone (great oolite). This table-tomb once stood in the middle of the chantry-chapel; but is now placed in the north-east corner, so that only the west end and south side are visible. These are decorated with panels containing quatrefoils, having heater-shaped shields emblazoned with the armorial bearings of Sir John St. Loe, *Argent on a bend sable three annulets or*, separated by trefoil-headed niches. Leland, in his *Itinerary* (vii), describes his second visit to Somerset, when he appears to have been the guest of Sir John St. Loe for several days at Sutton Court, and he thus mentions these effigies at Chew Magna: '*Syr John Sainte Lo grand-fader lyyth in a goodly Tombe of Marble on the Northe syde of the Chyrch.*'

These wonderful fifteenth-century monuments have had a vast amount of care and thought bestowed upon their varied designs. Each minute detail has been well considered, while the decoration has been carried out with true ingenuity and wealth of imagination. Mr. F. H. Crossley, F.S.A.,[1] remarks that these tombs are 'the most fascinating studies of a marvellous art, which not only flourished with great vigour, but was truly part of the life and soul of the people

[1] *English Church Monuments*, 79.

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whose inimitable craftsmanship was the great glory of the fifteenth century'. The rich wool-staplers and merchant princes of the west of England freely expended their wealth not only in rebuilding and enlarging their parish churches, but also in their splendid canopied tombs and effigies of themselves and their ladies. The technical designs of many of these monuments are superb, and although the fifteenth-century effigies lack the wonderful grace of the mason-craft of an earlier age, yet many of them are stately memorials of the dead.

Sir Edmund Gorges erected a table-tomb in Wraxall church, Somerset (pl. XVII, fig. 1), to his wife, Lady Anne Howard, who died in *c.* 1500. The sides of the monument are decorated with rectangular panels containing armorial bearings, and kneeling angels hold shields of arms. This is one of those interesting monuments free from foreign influence, yet indicating the near approach of the early Renaissance and the breaking away from the architectural restraint that had marked the long period of Gothic art.

The question of portraiture has been frequently raised, and during medieval times when the workshops were turning out numberless effigies they did not alter their stock patterns materially, yet in certain cases it seems probable that some effort may have been made at portraiture. If it could be claimed that the monumental effigies which give so human an interest to our cathedrals and churches were intended for likenesses, we should indeed possess a national portrait gallery of surpassing interest. But, alas! we know that by far the greater proportion of effigies in stone, wood, and metal were made to order from distant ateliers, and only in a very few cases is it possible to argue that portraiture was arrived at by those who made them. Even the effigies of kings and queens, great statesmen and ecclesiastics, were not in all cases portraits, and all we feel justified in saying is that portraiture was only attempted when circumstances were favourable for its production. If portraiture was made a study in medieval times, then the imagers of Bristol had a better chance of producing likenesses than any other medieval school in the kingdom, and we are better able to study this question in Bristol than possibly in any other city in England. The effigies in Bristol have been well preserved, the men and women were prominent citizens and their faces must have been well known to the craftsmen of their day, and we know that many of their effigies were made actually during their lifetime.

In the church of St. Stephen's, Bristol, are two civilian effigies. One has been attributed to Edward Blanket (pl. XVI, fig. 1), a wealthy woollen merchant and member of Parliament for Bristol in 1362. Being the founder of a chantry in this church, his effigy was probably made in his lifetime and therefore may have been a portrait. The face is clean shaven, a small moustache is worn, the hair is long and parted in the centre, and the features denote a middle-

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aged man. The second civilian effigy (pl. xvi, fig. 2) is probably to Walter Tyddestille or Tyddeley, one of the bailiffs of Bristol in 1377, who died in 1385, leaving certain charities to St. Stephen's, and was buried in this church. The costume corresponds with the date of the death of the merchant. The face is long with a calm placid expression, the hair is luxuriant, and he wears a small moustache and a forked beard after the fashion of his time. This face suggests portraiture.

In the church of St. Mary Redcliffe we possess a fine effigy to William Canynges II (pl. xvi, fig. 3) made at the time of his wife's death and fourteen years before he died. He was a very wealthy merchant, had been four times mayor of Bristol, had given large sums of money towards the rebuilding of St. Mary Redcliffe, and possibly no man in Bristol was better known to the craftsmen of his day. The effigy portrays him with a bald head, short curly hair at the sides, clean shaven, with features well portrayed. The effigy of Joan, wife of William Canynges II, is also in St. Mary Redcliffe (pl. xvi, fig. 4). The features are well delineated and refined, and we feel sure that her sorrowing husband would demand a likeness if it were possible to have one.

More than one hundred years later we find the Bristol craftsmen were still able to produce effigies which appear to be portraits, and we select the head of Sir Richard Choke (pl. xvi, fig. 5) as an instance where it seems to be fairly conclusive that the imager desired to make a likeness. The effigy depicts the learned judge in his forensic robes. Sir Richard Choke was a wealthy landowner in Somerset, was the purchaser of the Ashton Manor and resided at Ashton Court, was a justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and was well known in Bristol. He died in 1483; but his chantry in Long Ashton church, Somerset, was founded some years before, and his effigy and the one to his wife were placed in it during his lifetime. Surely, if portraiture was practised by the effigy-makers in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, then the Bristol imager who sculptured this head intended to delineate the features of Sir Richard Choke.

The position of Bristol on the tidal Avon emptying into the Severn Sea gave an easy transit for the products of her workshops at a time when the inland roads were so execrable that in 1367 the alabaster *tabula* or reredos for the chapel of the canons of Windsor was sent by road in ten carts, each drawn by eight horses under the care of two men to carry it from Nottingham to Windsor. The journey occupied seventeen days, from the 20th of October to the 6th of November, and the cost of the carriage came to the enormous sum for those times of 28*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*[1]

[1] Pipe Roll, 41 Edward III, m. 41.

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Few cities have preserved a larger proportion of their medieval effigies than Bristol, yet the destruction of the exported figures and tombs has indeed been terrible. In the great abbey churches of Somerset not one single effigy remains that was sculptured from the inferior oolite. The proportion of Bristol-made effigies now existing in Wells Cathedral is about one quarter of the whole, and had the great abbey churches of Glastonbury and Bath still possessed their effigies we should have had to record a very large number which were probably treasures of artistic skill extending over more than three centuries. The wanton mutilation of effigies has been serious. The thirteenth-century civilian in St. Peter's church, Carmarthen, has been cut in halves and the lower part lost. A knight of about 1430 at Iron Acton, Gloucestershire, has at some unknown period been sawn through the middle, and the upper half of this once recumbent effigy is placed on a pilaster projecting from the parapet of the tower and now gazes northward like some silent watchman. At Cromhall in the same county a much earlier figure disappeared at a comparatively late date. This cross-legged knight clad in mail is recorded by Bigland, the county historian,[1] in 1779, as being concealed in an 'arcade by the pews which were erected in 1765'; but it has never been re-discovered.

It seems probable that our English effigies in wood are some of the finest existing in Europe, and we are thankful that the ravages of time and the relentless hand of the modern restorer have still left us some treasures which we may consider representative of a great national school of medieval handicraft.

There is no doubt that the larger proportion of wooden effigies emanated from the London workshops, and we find the Westminster type of sculpture as far as Cumberland, east Yorkshire, and the borderland of Wales. Yet there were in medieval times some local ateliers where effigies were carved which appear to be the work of some masons who sculptured figures in oak. Such a workshop, or workshops, seem to have existed in Bristol in the last quarter of the thirteenth and during the fourteenth century. Five effigies made in Bristol still exist—two in Gloucestershire, two in Devon, and one in Somerset.

The effigy attributed to Robert, duke of Normandy, in Gloucester Cathedral (pl. XVII, fig. 2), where he was buried in 1135, was carved about 1280 and is very similar to a stone effigy of Richard, earl of Cornwall, who died in 1272, found at Hayles Abbey. The crown on Duke Robert's effigy, with its fleurs-de-lis and strawberry leaves, is similar to that introduced by Henry IV; it has, however, no arch or crosses paty such as appear in later royal crowns. During the civil war the effigy was broken in pieces and sold to Sir Humphrey Tracey, of Stanway, who kept it until the Restoration, when it was mended and again placed

[1] I, 435.

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in the cathedral. It is difficult to know how much of the present effigy is original and which portions were added at the Restoration to make good any fragments that were missing. If, however, a new crown had been constructed it would have had eight strawberry leaves only. The characteristic parallel lines of the mail on the arms of the hauberk and other details indicate an early origin, and probably this Bristol effigy is one of the oldest existing wooden effigies we now possess; it is possible that this is a memorial of the forlorn captive who is such a pathetic character in the history of England.

The medieval artist selected a piece of oak sufficiently wide for him to carve the figure of a knight in armour, or a lady in kirtle and long mantle lying on a board or bed. The portion of the board with effigy on it, as well as the cushions upon which the head rested and the animal at the feet, were hollowed out and filled with charcoal to absorb moisture. Having carved the figure and fastened with wooden pins such parts as lay beyond the size of his block it was ready for decoration. The effigy would then be sized, and pieces of linen would be glued over the cracks and other inequalities. The decorator would then give the effigy a thin coat of gesso, with a still thicker coating for those portions he desired to decorate in relief, such as the mail or surfaces afterwards to be gilded or silvered. Before the gesso hardened the decorator impressed it with various matrices or stamps of diverse patterns; some being for mail of various sizes and others for decorative purposes. Several processes were in use for gilding those surfaces required to be treated in this manner. To give depth or richness to the gold or silver leaf, they were first treated with bole Armenian applied with white of egg, either left dead or burnished with an agate. All the painting on the effigy was done in distemper (tempera). Finally, the figure was covered with a coat of plain or tinted oleaginous varnish, which was needful, but did not prove to be a sufficient protection. The reason of the failure of the painting on wooden effigies was the constant changes in temperature, causing contraction and expansion of the wood and the consequent fretting of the surface upon which the colour was laid.

There is no doubt that the beautiful wooden effigy to a fourteenth-century lady at Tawstock, Devon (pl. XVII, fig. 3), with a thick rectangular cushion under the head and the mantle brought across the body, a Bristol mannerism, was made in the capital of the West of England and having been shipped to Barnstaple was taken on a barge up the river Taw to its destination.

The wooden effigy to Sir John Stowford, judge of the Court of Common Pleas, at West Down, near Ilfracombe, may be dated 1370. The figure is much worn and mutilated, but the judge who built Barnstaple Bridge is depicted in a cassock-like robe, sleeveless cloak, tippet pleated at the shoulders, hood falling forward on the neck, and a white silk coif on the head.

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The other two wooden effigies are at Old Sodbury in Gloucestershire and Midsomer Norton in Somerset. They represent knights, and were carved before the close of the fourteenth century, but are now in a bad state of decay.

We have seen that Bristol imagers carved effigies in oak at an early date, but whether the alabaster men worked in Bristol ateliers as they are known to have done in London, Chellaston, Nottingham, Burton-on-Trent, York, Norwich, and other possible centres,[1] is a question for consideration. The authors of *Medieval Figure Sculpture in England* have pointed out that a series of martyrdoms on alabaster tables possess a style and character of their own, more especially 'in the angular modelling, the sharp-cut features, and the groovings of the hair in parallel lines'.[2] The same handling is found in the alabaster image of the Holy Trinity (pl. XVIII, fig. 1) in the British Museum,[3] in the Christ in Limbo in the Louvre, and in some heads of St. John Baptist, one at Rouen and a noteworthy example (pl. XVIII, fig. 2) in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. This marked mannerism in alabaster work is also found in the stone heads and torsos of figures from the destroyed reredos in the transept of St. Cuthbert's church, Wells, which were sculptured in Bristol from the inferior oolite of Dundry Hill (pl. XVIII, fig. 3). These West Country imagers show deep underlining of detail in the monuments of the fifteenth-century abbots of Bristol and in Suger's chantry in Wells Cathedral, which was sculptured under Bristol influence, and is also a characteristic of these alabaster martyrdom panels. 'We should like in view of this', Professor Prior and Mr. Arthur Gardner remark, 'to suggest a Bristol or Gloucester source for the Martyrdom tables, but must admit that on our present knowledge this is pure conjecture.'[4] Since this was written in 1912 further progress has been made in establishing Bristol as an alabaster centre.

Dr. Philip Nelson, F.S.A., who, like Professor Prior, has made a considerable study of alabaster work, suggests that possibly the same hand that sculptured the head of St. John Baptist in the Ashmolean Museum also executed an alabaster panel of the Holy Trinity in Wells Cathedral, where the hair of the Almighty (pl. XVIII, fig. 4) is represented in parallel lines curiously curled and rayed.[5] The architectural canopies on the Wells alabaster tomb-chest are so similar to those on an alabaster tomb at Abergavenny, Monmouthshire (pl. XIX, fig. 1), that we feel certain both must have emanated from the same atelier. Mr. Philip B. Chatwin, F.S.A., has also given much consideration to alabaster work, and he reminds me that the alabaster panels on the tomb-chest at Kington, Herefordshire (*c.* 1470), have finials and low-relief carving in the spandrils which

[1] Possibly Bristol, Gloucester, and Shrewsbury.
[2] pp. 497, 499.
[3] Prior and Gardner, *Medieval Figure Sculpture in England*, 506.
[4] *Ibid.*, 499.
[5] *Arch. Jour.* lxxi, 164.

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are so similar to this work on the panels at Wells that we may conjecture they emanated from Bristol. Indeed, a flat-bottomed boat could easily convey them towards Kington, after crossing the Bristol Channel, on the rivers Wye, Lugg, and the lower reaches of the Arrow. The argument, therefore, now stands that the alabaster tables referred to by the authors of *Medieval Figure Sculpture in England* and the panels at Wells and Abergavenny were all sculptured in the same workshop where the stone figures were made for St. Cuthbert's church, Wells, and that workshop we know was Bristol. It would therefore appear that there was a centre of alabaster men established in Bristol where artistic and remarkable work was executed in the middle of the fifteenth century.

Before leaving the subject of alabaster work in the west of England, we must draw attention to a panel of the *Annunciation* at the back of the recess in the sumptuous tomb in Yatton church, built by Sir John Newton, Kt., for himself and his wife. The bas-relief (pl. XIV, fig. 3) was sculptured about 1470 out of a block of Dundry Hill freestone by some highly skilled imager, showing that he was a craftsman who was either well acquainted with the work of the Nottingham alabaster men, or belonged to a Bristol atelier where alabaster panels were sculptured. The carving depicts the Blessed Virgin in kirtle, cotehardie, and mantle, with a gold crown upon her head. She has turned from her prayer-desk—formed cleverly to revolve, and yet to be well balanced by the weight of the book—and kneels before the Archangel Gabriel, who is holding a long scroll which was, probably, inscribed with the angelic salutation. The archangel is vested in alb and a jewelled fillet surmounted by a cross, and his exquisite wings follow the type of the Bristol school of craftsmanship. The Holy Ghost in the form of a Dove is projected from the clouds above on rays of glory, while a one-handled jar holding a tall lily stands in the foreground.

The influence of the craft of Bristol imagers is met with in many directions, and it must be sought not only along the waterways of the Avon and the Severn Sea, on the banks of the Wye and the Usk, but even as far as Buckinghamshire, Dorset, and Ireland. We have ascertained that there are now existing as many as seventy-two effigies actually carved in Bristol workshops and thirty-one that may be considered to have come under Bristol style and influence, although they are sculptured in other material than Dundry freestone. There are certain marked characteristics of the Bristol craft which aid our investigation. We have the ripple drapery, the Bristol method of carving the mail on the hauberk derived from the absorption of the Wells imagers into Bristol workshops about 1240, the dimpled and silky folds of the surcoat of the knight and the mantle of the lady with the head laid frequently on one oblong bolster. Later we find the long lean faces and narrow chins of the ecclesiastics and the deeper outline of drapery.

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The influence of the Bristol peculiarity in carving the mail on the arms of the hauberk in parallel lines from shoulder to wrist is found on twenty effigies sculptured from various rocks other than the inferior oolite of Dundry Hill. Two of the knights are made from Purbeck marble, a freshwater-shell stone found at Corfe in Dorset. The one at Wareham, Dorset, is a fine figure of about 1240, and the other, at Down Ampney, Gloucestershire (pl. XIX, fig. 2), may be dated 1270. It is attributed to Sir Nicholas de Valers, and the effigy was probably placed in the church he had assisted in building before he went on the Last Crusade.

Two interesting military effigies were made, probably in Bath, from the great oolite formation. The one at Old Sodbury, Gloucestershire, is sculptured in high relief (*c.* 1240) with a large heater-shaped shield laid on the breast and the feet resting awkwardly on a piece of thirteenth-century foliage. The other is some thirty years later in date, and is found in Hughenden church, Buckinghamshire (pl. XIX, fig. 3). It has been considered a sixteenth-century forgery, but we agree with the authors of *Medieval Figure Sculpture in England* in assigning it a place in thirteenth-century sculpture. The armorial bearings on the shield of the knight show that it is a memorial to one of the De Montfort family and it is attributed to Richard Willysburne de Montfort, youngest son of Baron Simon de Montfort. The triangular block supporting the head has a small shield of arms on either side which are intended possibly for ailettes, although they are raised somewhat high above the shoulders of the knight for that purpose.

Three interesting knights belonging to this class (*c.* 1240) are at Bitton, Gloucestershire, made of lower lias limestone from a local quarry at Keynsham; at Haseley, Oxfordshire, of the great oolite quarried locally; and in the priory church, Malvern. The Bitton knight (pl. XX, fig. 1), carved on a coffin-lid in low relief, is so similar to the knight at Old Sodbury that probably both were the work of the same imager. Each has a large heater-shaped shield on the breast, while in the case of the Bitton knight the armorial bearings indicate that it was a memorial to Sir Robert de Button. The artist, however, has drawn the figure too large for the slab and has been obliged to encroach upon the bevelled edges. The Haseley knight (pl. XX, fig. 2) is a splendid figure, and the shield occupies the unusual position of being placed beneath the oblong bolster supporting the head. The Malvern knight (pl. XX, fig. 3) holds a *martel-de-fer* or pole-axe in the right hand and a target in the left, while the straight-legged attitude and the long surcoat closed in front seem to indicate French influence, although the technique and handling of the figure are like the Wells and early Bristol knights.

A little later in date (1240–50) we find a knight at Abbey Dore, Hereford-

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shire, sculptured from a block of light-coloured calcareous sandstone, which had been a splendid figure originally, but is now worn and mutilated.

There are three cross-legged knights in Shropshire possessing the Bristol peculiarity of the mail on the arms of the hauberk. Two are sword-handling knights, and the one at High Ercall is specially instructive as the effigy must have been carved at the very beginning of the fourteenth century, and yet the feet are armed with large rowel spurs of a wheel pattern; while the knight in the church of St. Mary the Virgin, Shrewsbury, probably represents Sir Simon de Leybourne, who died between the years 1300 and 1315. The third knight is at Leighton-under-Wrekin (pl. xxi, fig. 1), and his uncovered hands are raised in prayer with the mittens thrown back on the wrists, having parallel lines of mail similar to those represented on the arms of his hauberk. This is a remarkably fine and well-proportioned figure which is probably a memorial to Sir Richard de Leighton, whose coat of arms is emblazoned on his heater-shaped shield: *Quarterly per fesse indented or and gules and a bend sable.* This knight and the knight at High Ercall have each a small purse suspended at the side. Such an adjunct is rarely found on a military figure although a gypcière is occasionally hung from the waist-belt of a fourteenth-century civilian. A somewhat similar purse is found on the wooden effigy of Sir John Weston in Weston-under-Lyzard church in the neighbouring county of Staffordshire. He accompanied the Princess Elizabeth, countess of Holland and Hereford, as her attorney when she went into Flanders with her father, King Edward I. Sir John Weston had charge of the jewels which the princess took with her, and the little purse suspended from the belt may possibly represent his badge of office. It seems unlikely that the purses found on the knights at High Ercall and Leighton-under-Wrekin were indicative of a similar purpose. It is possible, however, that the imager who carved the wooden effigy of Sir John Weston may have copied the stone figure at High Ercall as it was made a few years earlier; but the Leighton knight was sculptured later than the other two effigies.

These three Shropshire knights are all carved from blocks of a very fine-grained sandstone which may be Keuper sandstone, and were all sculptured within a few years of each other. It appears probable, therefore, that the imager who had learnt his craft and art in Bristol during the closing years of the thirteenth century set up his atelier in Shropshire, producing highly artistic work during the first two decades of the fourteenth century, and probably many of his fine effigies are lost through the destruction of the monastic churches of Shropshire.

There are five effigies sculptured from Ham Hill stone, which is a coarse yellow oolite. They are all located in Somerset, and each knight possesses the Bristol peculiarity on the arms of the hauberk. The earliest two may be dated

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1270; the one at Stamford Brett depicts the sword a portion of an inch out of the scabbard, and the figure is worn and weathered; the other is at Brympton d'Evercy (pl. XXI, fig. 2), where we find the knight holding the enarme of his shield with his left hand, while his sword, detached from the scabbard, is placed diagonally on his body. At Kingsdon the knight (1270-80) has a head piece on his coif fastened by a narrow strap under the chin (pl. XXI, fig. 3). The knight in Pendomer church (pl. XXI, fig. 4) is probably the memorial to Sir John Domer or Dummer (1320-5); he has leather gauntlets with oblong plates of steel protecting the back of each hand, knee cops of cuir-bouilli, hands raised in prayer, and surcoat and shield emblazoned with *a crescent between six billets, 3, 2, and 1.* The effigy to Sir Richard Gyvency (pl. XXI, fig. 5) placed in the chantry he built at Limington (1330) is the latest knight showing this Bristol characteristic of armour which had been in use on West Country effigies for one hundred years.

A knight attributed to a Sir Grimbauld Pauncefote, the husband or son (both had the same name) of Dame Sybil Pauncefote, the foundress of Crickhowel church, Brecknockshire, in 1303, rests in a wall-recess in the chancel, and this, too, is a sword-handling knight having the shield on the left arm emblazoned with the arms of the Pauncefote family and the right hand holding the hilt of the sword. This cross-legged knight is in a suit of mail, and the distinguishing characteristic of the up-and-down mail on the arms of the hauberk show that the imager had learnt his art in Bristol, and that he had sculptured this massive figure of over 7 ft. in length and resting on a slab 8 in. thick out of a block of Old Red sandstone about the year 1305.

There was much communication between Bristol and Ireland in early times, and Dundry freestone and Bristol craftsmen were sent from Bristol to assist in building Dublin churches, and it is probable that Irishmen learnt their craft in Bristol workshops and returning to their native land set up as imagers. We do not find, however, any effigies in Ireland made of the Dundry freestone; but we do find five effigies still existing made from Kilkenny marble (palaeozoic rock) and showing evidence of Bristol influence. Three of these military effigies show the characteristic of the Bristol mail on the hauberk. One knight is in Christ Church cathedral, Dublin (pl. XXII, fig. 1). The head, in a flattened coif, rests on an oblong bolster, the hands are raised in prayer, and the kite-shaped shield is charged with *three crosslets fitchy.* Another knight (*c.* 1350) in Christ Church cathedral, Waterford, has the mail reinforced with small shoulder-pieces, elbow and knee cops, the sword laid diagonally on the breast, legs straight, the right hand placed on the thigh and the left on the scabbard. The third is found in Kilfane church, county Kilkenny (pl. XXII, figs. 2, 3), with a flattened coif, surcoat showing the ripple drapery, and a kite-shaped

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shield charged with *four annulets and a quarter ermine* showing that the knight belonged to the Canteville family. The right arm with hand bare, having the mail glove hanging loose at the wrist, is at the side; but the effigy is badly designed, and the artist depicts the knight with narrow shoulders and a flat chest (pl. XXII, fig. 3). It is somewhat difficult to date Irish effigies, and Mr. W. G. Strickland, the honorary secretary to the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, reminds us 'that the type or fashion of armour in Ireland was often much later than in England, that is, after certain things had gone out of fashion in England they persisted for a time in Ireland'.

In the earlier part of this paper we referred to the head of a knight (pl. XXIV, fig. 1) in Exeter (*c.* 1280) made of Beer stone very similar to one in St. Philip's church, Bristol (pl. IV, fig. 3). There are also two other knights in Devon which appear to have been the work of Bristol imagers. The one at Beer Ferrers (pl. XXII, fig. 4) on the river Tavy is a mutilated figure which was evidently carved by a craftsman more familiar with working on the inferior oolite of Dundry Hill than the hard chalky limestone found at Beer in south Devon, so largely used in the workshops of Exeter. This knight, like so many other figures that emanated from the Exeter ateliers at this period, absorbed some of the style of the London school. The knight at Wear Gifford (*c.* 1310) on the river Torridge, north Devon, is another instance of the work of a man who had probably learnt his craft at Bristol and working at Exeter on Beer stone, carved two angels smoothing the cushions similar to those at the head of the straight-legged effigy to a Berkeley (*c.* 1310) in Bristol Cathedral (pl. IV, fig. 4). Both effigies are about the same date.

The later of the two knights (pl. XXIII, fig. 1) at Abbey Dore, Herefordshire (*c.* 1280), is sculptured from a block of Old Red sandstone, and we class it with those that have come under the influence of Bristol art. It must have been a fine figure originally; but now it is sadly mutilated with the head severed from the body.

The knight having a shield charged with the Clifford armorial bearings at Frampton-on-Severn was made at Bath from a block of great oolite (*c.* 1310), yet this well-executed figure shows how strongly the Bath workshops were influenced in their production of sword-handling knights by their Bristol confrères.

The stone-craft of the sword-handling knight which showed so vigorous a conception in attitude and pose in the military effigy in St. Mark's, Bristol, developed itself on its own ground, but we must not suppose for one moment that the motive of the sword-handling attitude was invented in Bristol, as military figures of this type were produced comparatively early in London workshops. The Welshmen who probably learnt their craft as imagers in Bristol

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ateliers set up their own workshops in South Wales, where we find as many as five sword-handling knights still existing in Pembrokeshire which are more or less copies of Bristol models. Four are found at Lawrenny, Nolton, St. David's Cathedral, and in the private chapel of Upton Castle, formerly in Nash church. They are in a damaged and battered condition, yet they are splendid figures even in their decay. The fifth is in Manorbier church (pl. XXIII, fig. 2), representing a member of the De Barri family as their arms are emblazoned on his shield. All these five effigies of sword-handling knights are made from the rocks of South Wales, and the Manorbier knight was sculptured from a block of Coal-measure sandstone.

At Graigue-na-managh Abbey in Ireland there is still existing one effigy of a sword-handling knight (pl. XXIII, fig. 3) in a hauberk with the mail on the arms ringed-round in the usual manner. This figure is carved from a block of palaeozoic rock and must be added to the list of those that come under the widespread influence of the medieval school of Bristol craftsmen.

An effigy in Hereford Cathedral (pl. XXIV, fig. 3) attributed to Chancellor Swinfield (*c.* 1290), showing the silky folds of his quire habit, clearly indicates a Bristol influence although it is sculptured from a greenish-coloured block of Old Red sandstone. The man who sculptured this work had probably been apprenticed to a Bristol imager in his earlier years. The influence of Bristol art is discernible in a very beautiful effigy (pl. XXIV, fig. 2) in the priory church of Abergavenny. The bevelled slab is adorned with roses and thirteenth-century foliage, while the lady's mantle is rendered in smooth dimpled folds, like a military effigy in St. Mary Redcliffe (pl. III, fig. 3). This lady is postured as a knight with a large shield on her breast charged with *three fleurs-de-lis*, the armorial bearings of the Cantilupe family. It is probable that this effigy is to Eva de Cantilupe, baroness of Bergavenny in her own right, who died in 1259.

The geographical position of Worcester Cathedral permits the products of various centres of English art to have a place within its walls, and effigies of Purbeck marble, alabaster, sandstone, and oolite find a home in this cathedral church. A lady (*c.* 1300) underneath Prince Arthur's chantry, made from Bath freestone (great oolite), holding a rosary in her left hand, shows the silky overlappings of her draperies which distinguishes the art and technique of the Bristol imager.

Tendencies to imitate work in well-known centres of effigy-workshops must be recognized, and this is needful to warrant the supposition that certain well-established ateliers in such a city as Bristol, with its wide command of oolites, did create a centre of style and design throughout an extended region, which was largely aided by the easy water-carriage of the Avon flowing into

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the Severn Sea. Such a centre of art possessing excellent building-stone like the Dundry Hill oolite, did set certain models for a wide area until it came into competition with the products of the ateliers of Exeter, Gloucester, and Hereford, where excellent work was also produced in medieval times.

The chapters devoted to West Country art by the authors of *Medieval Figure Sculpture in England* have inspired me to prepare this paper on the work and influence of the medieval imagers of Bristol. The value of the paper, however, is largely dependent on geology as the rocks from which the figures were sculptured indicate the localities where the craftsmen worked up the stone. In this geological work I have had the valuable help of Mr. L. Richardson, F.R.S. (Edin.), F.G.S., whose knowledge of the west of England oolites is both profound and extensive, and in thanking him I must express my gratitude to Dr. A. E. Trueman of the Swansea University College for valuable assistance in the geology of Wales, and also to Professor Sidney H. Reynolds, M.A., of Bristol University, to Professor W. J. Sollas, M.A., of Oxford University, and to Mr. J. A. Howe, F.G.S., Assistant Director of the Geological Survey and Museum, for their help in one or two doubtful examples.

My warm thanks are given to Mr. W. G. Strickland, the honorary secretary of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, to Dr. Macalister of the Royal Irish Academy, and to Mr. John Fleming, the borough surveyor of Waterford, for valuable assistance in connexion with Irish effigies; and to Mr. W. J. Hemp, F.S.A., Inspector of Ancient Monuments for Wales, and Mr. George Eyre Evans for their kind help with those in South Wales.

To the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society my grateful thanks are due for their most courteous permission to make use in this paper of those Bristol effigies located in Somerset which I have already treated in the series of papers I have written for that Society, and for the use of blocks (pls. I, figs. 3, 4, 5; III, figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5; IV, figs. 1, 5; V, figs. 4, 5, 6; VI, figs. 1, 3, 4; VII, figs. 1, 6; IX, fig. 2; X, figs. 1, 2, 3, 4; XI, fig. 5; XII, figs. 1, 2; XIII, figs. 1, 2; XVI, fig. 5; XVII, fig. 1; XVIII, fig. 4; XXI, figs. 2, 3, 4, 5; XXIV, fig. 5) made specially for its *Proceedings*.

To supplement my own photographs Mr. William Moline, of Clifton, has generously lent me his negatives of some Bristol effigies, which have been made into blocks (pls. II, fig. 3; IV, fig. 4; V, figs. 1, 3; VI, fig. 2; VII, fig. 3; VIII, figs. 1, 3, 4; IX, figs. 1, 3, 4; XV, fig. 1) for this paper. I tender my thanks to the deans and chapters of the cathedral churches of Bristol and Wells for leave to photograph their medieval effigies, and for a similar permission from the Lord Mayor and Corporation of Bristol to photograph in St. Mark's church, Bristol. I desire also to express my indebtedness to the Rev. Canon Armour, vicar of Berkeley, in arranging the removal of the four diminutive stone effigies from their exalted

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position on the high window-sills of the nave and placing them erect in the churchyard, so that I might the more easily photograph and study them.

To the following I express my thanks for courteously lending blocks to illustrate this paper: Professor E. S. Prior, M.A., A.R A., F.S.A., and Mr. Arthur Gardner, M.A., F.S.A., for pls. I, fig. 6; II, fig. 5; IV, fig. 2; VII, fig. 2; XVIII, figs. 1, 3; XIX, figs. 1, 3; XXII, fig. 4; XXIII, fig. 1; XXIV, figs. 1, 3 from their valuable volume on *Medieval Figure Sculpture in England*; to the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland for pl. XXII, fig. 2; to the Rector and Churchwardens of the church of St. John Baptist, Bristol, for pl. VIII, fig. 4; and to Mr. Fred. H. Crossley, F.S.A., for pl. XIV, figs. 1, 2, and pl. XV, fig. 2, from his collection of illustrations of medieval tombs and effigies in his work on *English Church Monuments*; also for photographs from which blocks have been made to Mr. W. G. Strickland (pl. XXII, fig. 3, and pl. XXIII, fig. 3), to Mr. Philip B. Chatwin, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A. (pl. XXIV, fig. 4), and to Mr. Arthur Gardner, M.A., F.S.A. (pl. XXI, fig. 1).

TOPOGRAPHICAL INDEX

PART I

Dundry Freestone—Inferior Oolite

CITY AND COUNTY OF BRISTOL

BRISTOL CATHEDRAL

No. 1. PERSON REPRESENTED. A member of the Berkeley family. Possibly Thomas II, sixth Lord Berkeley, son of Maurice II, and great-grandson of Robert Fitzhardinge. Died 1321, aged 76. See Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, i, 154–222.

EFFIGY (6 ft. 7½ in.). In suit of mail (originally stamped in gesso), coif of mail, hauberk slightly slit in front showing 1½ in. of gambeson, hose of mail, flowing surcoat to calves with narrow girdle (⅜ in.) with long pendent strap below buckle (portion lost), sword-belt (1¾ in.) attached by swivels to scabbard of light sword (hilt and lower portion lost) hanging obliquely, spurs (pricks lost) and straps, shield on left arm blazoned *a chevron between ten crosses paty, 4, 2, 1, 2, 1*, Berkeley, hands (bare) raised in prayer, legs straight, head on one large bolster (1 ft. 3 in. by 1 ft. 1 in. by 5 in.) with seated angel (mutilated) on each side with one hand on bolster and one on shoulder of knight. Wife died in 1309 and both the effigies (lady's effigy lost) probably made *c.* 1320. It is possible that these effigies originally rested on tomb between Berkeley chapel and south quire aisle, as a shield of arms, *Six mascles 3, 2, 1*, Quincey, in front of tomb are the armorial bearings for his mother-in-law's family.

Effigy now placed in second wall recess to west in south quire aisle. Slab (6 ft. 9 in. by 2 ft. by 3¼ in.) now laid on moulded and bevelled base (7 ft. 10 in. by 2 ft. 5 in. by 7 in.) adorned with paterae of four-leaf flowers beneath a stellated recess having five segments of the arc of the canopy ornamented on inner side with cusps and spandrels pierced with geometrical tracery. The exterior five bays of the star terminate in finials of foliage bordered with maple leaves and seed pods springing from heads of a bareheaded man and a woman in wimple and short veil (pl. IV, fig. 4).

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REFERENCES. Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments*, i, part 1, pl. XIV; Skelton, *Antiquities of Bristol* (1825), pl. XVIII; *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* xv, i, 94, pl. V; xxvi, 219–21; Barrett, *History of Bristol*, 303; Pryce, *History of Bristol*, 103; King, *Cathedrals of England and Wales*, 160; Leverage and Taylor, *Bristol Cathedral*, 83; Norris, *Bristol Cathedral*, 59; Pryce, *Notes on the Middle Ages in Bristol* (1850), 20, illustrated. Details of sword-belt: (*a*) *Arch. Jour.* xlviii, 334, fig. 44; (*b*) *Proc. Clifton Antiq. Club*, vii, 75, pl. VIII, fig. 4; Evans, *History of Bristol*, 116.

No. 2. PERSON REPRESENTED. Lady Margaret, daughter of Roger Mortimer, earl of March, and first wife of Thomas III, eighth Lord Berkeley. She died 5th May 1337, aged 29, and was buried in St. Augustine's Abbey, Bristol. It is stated on the authority of Abbot Newland (Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, i, 345) that 'she was worshipfully buried in the Church of St. Augustine's Monastery in the great tomb under the arch between the elder chapel of our Lady and the north aisle there'.

EFFIGY (6 ft., on bevelled slab 6 ft. 4 in. by 2 ft. 3 in.). In kirtle with tight-fitting sleeves, sleeveless cote-hardie gathered up under arms, mantle, fastened with cords through eyelet holes on the right side to an ornamented stud on left, falls in graceful folds, wimple with heavy folds of linen round neck, veil falling to shoulders, face beautiful, calm and peaceful and features regular, head rests on two cushions (bottom rectangular, 1 ft. 3 in. by 9 in. by 3 in., top set diagonally, tasselled, 8½ in. by 8½ in. by 2 in.) supported by two angels (heads lost), wings folded, the tips resting on bevel of slab, vested in albs and holding the lady's veil and top of cushion, feet on two small dogs back to back half hidden in drapery. The high table-tomb (8 ft. by 4 ft. 5 in. by 6 ft. 1 in.) is adorned on each side with three panels separated by pinnacles having crocketed gables. Each contains two ogee-headed niches (2 ft. 8 in. by 8½ in.) with finials separated by buttresses with crocketed gables. The west end has two similar panels and chamfered plinth, 8 ft. by 7 ft. 4 in. by 11 in.

The ribs of the vaulting of the recess spring from corbels of human heads and foliage, while the double groined roof is adorned with quatrefoil panels and the dividing ribs possess three beautiful bosses, (*a*) hazel leaves and nuts, (*b*) oak leaves and oak apples, (*c*) vine leaves and grapes (pl. V, fig. 1).

REFERENCES. Barrett, *History of Bristol*, 295; Pryce, *History of Bristol*, 102–6; Britton, *Cathedral Antiquities* (Bristol), 58–60; Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments*, i, part 1, pl. V (high tomb), pl. XIV (effigies); King, *Cathedrals of England and Wales*, 156; Norris, *Early History of Architecture of Bristol Cathedral*, 59; Nicholls and Taylor, *Bristol Past and Present*, i, 106; Pryce, *Notes on the Middle Ages in Bristol* (illustrated); Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, i, 345, 377; *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* xv, 96–8 (male figure, pl. VII); xvi, 115, 116 (female figure, pl. XII); Skelton, *Antiquities of Bristol* (illustrations of tomb and effigies); Evans, *History of Bristol*, 116, 117.

No. 3. PERSON REPRESENTED. Maurice IV, ninth Lord Berkeley, eldest son of Thomas III, eighth Lord Berkeley, by his first wife Margaret, daughter of Roger Mortimer, earl of March, married at eight years old Elizabeth, daughter of Hugh Despenser, wounded at Poitiers and never fully recovered, died 8th June 1368. See Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, ii, 363–80.

EFFIGY (6 ft. 3 in., on bevelled slab 6 ft. 4 in. by 1 ft. 11½ in. by 2 in.). In hauberk (mail carved) rounded at bottom, jupon with scalloped edging at hem embroidered with the Berkeley arms: (*Gu.*) *chevron between ten crosses pattee, 4, 2, 1, 2, 1* (*arg.*), two of the four crosses partly covered by hands and similar coat blazoned on back, partly visible, camail laced to a somewhat low conical-shaped bascinet, laminated shoulder pieces, brassarts and vambraces of plate or cuir-bouilli, elbow and knee cops with small protecting fans and reinforcing plates, thighs encased in pourpoint with parallel bands of steel arranged in vertical lines in front, stockings of mail and demi-jambs of cuir-bouilli fastened by three straps, rowel spurs and straps, hands (in cuffed gauntlets with gadlings) raised in prayer, bawdrick ornamented with raised four-leaf flowers, sword (lost), dagger on right side attached to bawdrick (sheath, 1 ft. 7 in., hilt, 6 in., drooping quillons and circular pommel), head on tilting helm with mantling, coronet, and surmounted by a mitre, crest of the Berkeley family (pl. V, fig. 1).

REFERENCES. See no. 2 effigy.

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No. 4. PERSON REPRESENTED. Walter Newbury, nineteenth abbot of St. Augustine's Abbey, Bristol, or seventeenth according to Newland's *Chronicle Roll*, ruled from 1428 to 1473 with a break of five years (1451–1456 owing to internal dissensions in the monastery). Buried 'in the over-arch of our Lady's Chapel on the north side of the altar' (Newland, *Chronicle Roll*).

EFFIGY (6 ft. 4½ in., on bevelled slab 6 ft. 2½ in. by 1 ft. 11 in. by 3 in.). Vested in apparelled amice (3¾ in.), alb, tunicle (stole and maniple not visible), dalmatic fringed and open at both sides (1 ft. from bottom of alb), mitre—*mitra pretiosa*—richly ornamented and in centre of each horn large conventional flower of twelve petals, hands (in gloves with cuffs and a rose on back of each) raised in prayer, pastoral staff (4 ft. 10 in.) under right arm with crook delicately carved with foliage having septangular knob surmounted with cresting and veil (*vexillum*); head rests on one rectangular pillow (11 in. by 10 in. by 5 in.) supported by two angels vested in albs, heads thrown back and wings folded. Effigy has undergone considerable restorations—face (eyes, nose, and mouth), half right hand of angel, and all the lower portion below dalmatic, including bottom of alb, feet, dog, and lower portion of slab. Effigy rests on high table-tomb (7 ft. 3¾ in. by 4 ft. 1½ in. by 2 ft.) on plinth (9 ft. 2 in. by 5 in.) within a stellated recess in north wall of sanctuary of Lady Chapel. Interior of recess, 7 ft. 5 in. by 4 ft. 9 in. by 1 ft. 8½ in. The five segments of the arch spring from human heads, (*a*) bare-headed man, (*b*) woman in kerchief, bordered with ball-flower moulding and finials of varied foliage. The front is decorated with seven trefoil-headed niches (1 ft. 9 in. by 5½ in.), now empty except one figure (mutilated) with left hand on breast and right holding some object, crocketed canopies, and separated by gabled pinnacles richly crocketed. Below slab is band of fifteenth-century paterae (pl. VII, fig. 2, pl. XV, fig. 1).

REFERENCES. Newland, *Chronicle Roll*; Barrett, *History of Bristol*, 302; Pryce, *History of Bristol*, 102; Britton, *Cathedral Antiquities*, 59, illustrated as frontispiece; Leverage and Taylor, *Bristol Cathedral*, 83; Norris, *Bristol Cathedral*, 57; Skelton, *Antiquities of Bristol* (1825), pl. XVIII; Nicholls and Taylor, *Bristol Past and Present*, ii, 87, illustrated; Pryce, *Middle Ages in Bristol* (1850), 26 (illustrated); *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* ix, 62, 63, illustrated, but wrongly attributed to Abbot Knowle; xv, 70; xxvi, 225–7.

No. 5. PERSON REPRESENTED. William Hunt, twenty-first abbot of St. Augustine's Abbey, Bristol (or nineteenth according to Newland's *Chronicle Roll*), ruled from 1473 to 1481 and 'is buried on the north side of our Lady's Chapel, in the nether arch of the quire there' (Newland, *Chronicle Roll*).

EFFIGY (5 ft. 6 in., on bevelled slab 6 ft. by 1 ft. 8½ in. by 3 in.). Vested in black almuce with hood coming from under the apparelled amice, alb (stole and maniple not visible), fringed tunicle and dalmatic with open sides, chasuble (1 ft. 2 in. above hem of alb), mitre—*mitra pretiosa*—(11 in.) richly ornamented with pearls and jewels and large single rose in centre of each horn, hands (in gloves with pointed cuffs and large roses embroidered on backs) raised in prayer, ring with small stone on first finger of left hand, pastoral staff (4 ft. 6 in.) under right arm, lower part of richly ornamented crook lost, knob (septangular) and veil (*vexillum*), long face somewhat severe, wrinkled forehead and well-made nose, head on two cushions (bottom rectangular and tasselled, 1 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 2 in. by 2½ in., top set diagonally, 10 in. by 10 in. by 2 in.) supported by two angels with folded wings, heads thrown back, vested in albs and hands laid on mitre and cushion, feet on large smooth-skinned and long-eared dog. Four inches broken from pastoral staff and lower part of wing of right angel. Effigy in second stellated recess (7 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 8 in. by 7 ft. 2 in.). The five segments of arch of canopy spring from heads of man and woman and terminate in handsome finials of foliage, bordered with vine leaves and tendrils (pl. VII, fig. 3).

REFERENCES. Newland, *Chronicle Roll*; Skelton, *Antiquities of Bristol*, pl. XVIII; Barrett, *History of Bristol*, 302; Pryce, *History of Bristol*, 102; Leverage and Taylor, *Bristol Cathedral*, 83; Norris, *Bristol Cathedral*, 57; *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* ix, 63 (wrongly attributed to Abbot Newbury); xv, 70; xxvi, 227–9; Cox's *Gloucestershire*, 72.

No. 6. PERSON REPRESENTED. John Newland, twenty-second abbot of St. Augustine's Abbey, Bristol, ruled from 1481–1515. He describes himself as twentieth abbot as he omits Abbots Philip and Joseph from list; built dormitory, refectory, prior's lodging, gate house, almonry, and other offices, and began

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to build a new nave outside the Norman nave, compiled a *Chronicle Roll of the Berkeley Family*, employed by Henry VII in several foreign embassies, and for deeds of charity was known after death as 'The Good Abbot' (pl. VII, fig. 4).

EFFIGY (6 ft. 5½ in., on slab 6 ft. 8½ in. by 1 ft. 8 in. by 2¼ in.). Vested in black almuce with hood coming from under the apparelled amice (2½ in.), alb (no stole visible), fringed tunicle and dalmatic with open sides, maniple with fringed ends, chasuble (1 ft. 9 in. above hem of alb), mitre—*mitra pretiosa*—(11 in.) richly adorned with pearls and jewels and large conventional flower of eight petals on each horn, hands (in gloves with large roses embroidered on backs and rings on first and third fingers of left hand) raised in prayer, pastoral staff under right arm (5 ft. 6 in.) with septangular knob and cresting, veil (*vexillum*) and richly carved crook, long face somewhat hard featured and forehead wrinkled, two seated angels with folded wings support a shield (10 in. by 8 in.) placed at feet on which the abbot's arms canting on his name (Nailheart) are sculptured (*Argent*) *three Passion nails* (*or*) *piercing a human heart* (*proper*), *with the initials I.N. in chief.* Two cushions under the head (bottom rectangular, tasselled, 1 ft. 2½ in. by 1 ft. 2 in. by 2 in., top set diagonally, 10 in. by 10 in. by 1½ in.) supported by two reclining angels with heads thrown back, folded wings, vested in albs, and hands on mitre and top cushion.

Effigy in stellated recess in south wall of Lady Chapel. The five segments of canopy spring from heads of a bearded man and a woman in kerchief, and terminate in finials of vine and oak leaves and fruit, bordered with crockets of leaves.

REFERENCES. Newland, *Chronicle Roll of the Berkeley Family*, continued by unknown monk; Barrett, *History of Bristol*, 302; Pryce, *History of Bristol*, 101, 102; Britton, *Cathedral Antiquities* (Bristol), 61; Leverage and Taylor, *Bristol Cathedral*, 84, illustrated, p. 21; Norris, *Bristol Cathedral*, 57; Skelton, *Antiquities of Bristol*, pl. XVIII; Nicholls and Taylor, *Bristol Past and Present*, ii, 87; Pryce, *Notes on the Middle Ages in Bristol* (1850), 33, arms illustrated; Dingley, *History in Marble*, illustrated (Camden Society), 65; *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* ix, 63, 64, arms illustrated, fig. 5; xv, 74; xxvi, 229–31; Cox, *Gloucestershire*, 72.

ST. JAMES'S PRIORY CHURCH

PERSON REPRESENTED. Unknown civilian.

EFFIGY (5 ft. 10 in., on slab 6 ft. 7 in. by 1 ft. 11 in. by 3 in.). In under-tunic with tight-fitting sleeves to wrists, long cote to ankles with sleeves to elbows, circular ornament on neck (1¾ in. diam.), narrow girdle (1 in.) with pendent strap beyond buckle reaching to 3 in. above hem of cote, long mantle to ankles fastened by cords (¾ in.), right hand on breast, left at side holding fold of mantle, long wavy hair to neck, ripple drapery, pointed shoes, head on one rectangular cushion (11 in. by 12 in. by 2½ in.), feet on two blocks of stone. Date *c.* 1240 (pl. I, fig. 6).

REFERENCES. Barrett, *History of Bristol*, 389; Pryce, *History of Bristol*, 179–80; Nicholls and Taylor, *Bristol Past and Present*, ii, 41, 42; Pryce, *Notes on the Middle Ages in Bristol* (1850), 75 (illustrated); *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* xxvii, 71–4; *Proc. Clifton Antiq. Club*, 87, pl. X; *Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxv, 37, 38; Hollis, *Monumental Effigies* (illustrated); Prior and Gardner, *Medieval Figure Sculpture in England*, 606, fig. 679.

CHURCH OF ST. JOHN BAPTIST

PERSON REPRESENTED. Walter Frampton, a wealthy merchant, mayor of Bristol 1357, 1365, and 1374, member of Parliament for Bristol 1362 and 1379, rebuilder of present church on older crypt, and founder of a chantry. Died 1388.

EFFIGY (6 ft., on slab 7 ft. 2 in. by 1 ft. 7 in. by 2¾ in.). In long gown to feet, fastened with small buttons in front, with sleeves sufficiently short to show the arms of under-tunic knitted in parallel perpendicular lines fastened with small buttons and carried up the hands to knuckles like mittens, cape on shoulders and hood thrown back on neck. Feet in shoes with pointed toes rest on smooth-skinned dog having collar and long tail (1 ft. 3 in.), hands raised in prayer, round neck is a belt (1¼ in.) from the centre of which is suspended a long dagger (sheath, 1 ft. 5¾ in., and hilt, 6½ in.), of basilard type with quillons turned upwards.

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For English inscription on strap see p. 13. Head rests on two tasselled cushions (bottom rectangular, 1 ft. by 1 ft. by 3 in., top set diagonally, 10 in. by 10 in. by 2¼ in.). An angel with beautiful folded wings, sits on each side, vested in alb and cope fastened by morse, having one arm and hand damaged. Face is long, calm, and peaceful, high forehead, small drooping moustache, short forked beard, curly hair parted in front falls to ears.

William of Worcester says that the effigy stood in centre of church in his time (1415–1482?), but it is now placed in a shallow arched recess in north wall of sanctuary. Seven heater-shaped shields in sunk panels adorn the front of table-tomb, charged:

On first, third, fifth, and seventh shield: *Argent a chevron between three lions' gambs erect erased within a bordure engrailed gules*, Frampton.

On second shield: *Gules a chevron between nine crosslets* (or may be foils), *4, 2, 1, 2, or.*

On fourth shield: *Sable, three fusils conjoined in fess or.*

On sixth shield: *Sable, a dolphin hauriant or.*

The last three have not been identified although the charges are easy to read, but the pedigree is not well known.

On edge of slab is: Hic jacet Gualterus Frampton hujus Ecclesiae fundator qui Obiit Año. Dñi. MCCLXXXVIII.

Effigy well preserved, and both tomb and effigy have been painted many times (pl. VIII, fig. 4).

REFERENCES. William of Worcester, 216; Barrett, *History of Bristol*, 488; Pryce, *History of Bristol*, 246; *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* xviii, 259, 260, pl. III; xxvii, 79–81; Pryce, *Notes on the Middle Ages in Bristol*, 93, illustrated; Nicholls and Taylor, *Bristol Past and Present*, 150; Hirst, *History of St. John Baptist, Bristol*, 20, pl. II; Evans, *History of Bristol*, 250.

CHURCH OF ST. MARK (Dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Mark)

No. 1. PERSON REPRESENTED. Tradition attributes this fine effigy to Robert de Gourney, a great-grandson to Robert Fitzhardinge, heir to his uncle Maurice de Gaunt, and a munificent benefactor to the Hospital of St. Mark's, Billeswick, Bristol. He married Hawisia of Longchamp, who bore him one son, Anselme, and she and her husband died in 1269. This effigy, however, was sculptured between 1240 and 1250, and if it were a 'Memorialle' to Robert de Gourney it must have been carved several years before his death.

EFFIGY (6 ft. 3 in.). In suit of mail (links carved), hooded hauberk with hood laced on left side above ears to hauberk, slit up 2½ in. in front, mail in parallel lines up and down from shoulder to wrist, hose of mail, surcoat to calves slit up to waist showing 2 in. of hauberk with girdle (1 in.) having long pendant below buckle, spurs (pricks gone) and straps, sword-belt (1¼ in.), sword (present length of scabbard, 1 ft. 11 in., but originally it must have been 2 ft. 6 in.) and hilt (5½ in.) with straight quillons slightly drooping and round pommel with circular knob, leg crossed above knee, hands (bare) and fingers and nails depicted (right-hand thumb and finger lost), right placed on top of shield and left on breast so that the hands are crossed, kite-shaped shield with straight top (2 ft. 5 in. by 1 ft. 4½ in.) having guige (1¼ in.) over right shoulder with metal end (3½ in.), head on two cushions (bottom rectangular, 13 in. by 13 in. by 2 in., top set diagonally, 1 ft. 3 in. by 1 ft. 3 in. by 1½ in.), feet rest against small statant lion. The moulded and bevelled slab (6 ft. 9½ in. by 2 ft. 1½ in. tapers to 1 ft. 7 in. by 3½ in.) has small hole (2½ in. by 2½ in.) cut through slab near feet. The position and history of effigy same as no. 2. Date 1240–1250 (pl. II, fig. 3).

REFERENCES. Barrett, *History of Bristol*, 349; Skelton, *Antiquities of Bristol*, pl. X; Pryce, *History of Bristol* (1851), 172; Pryce, *Notes on Middle Ages in Bristol* (1850), 66, 67 (illustrated); Nicholls and Taylor, *Bristol Past and Present*, ii, 187, 188 (illustrated); *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* xv, 90; xxvi, 219–21; *Trans. Arch. Inst.* (1851), 172; Barker, *St. Mark's, Bristol*, pl. XVI; *Proc. Clifton Antiq. Club*, i, 42; Pencil sketch by H. S. Wasbrough (City Treasurer's Office, Bristol); Prior and Gardner, *Medieval Figure Sculpture in England*, 610; Dallaway, *Antiquities of Bristol*, 71; Evans, *History of Bristol*, 175.

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No. 2. PERSON REPRESENTED. This effigy is attributed to Maurice de Gaunt (1184?–1230), baron of Leeds, Yorks., grandson of Robert Fitzhardinge and son of Robert de Were and Avicia daughter of Robert de Gaunt. He was founder of the Hospital of St. Mark's, Billeswick, and of the Dominican Priory, Bristol, where he was buried in 1230. On the bevel of the slab is a fifteenth-century inscription, 'Mauritius-de-Gaunt- hujus- loci- fundator- obiit- MCCXXX', and as Maurice de Gaunt was buried in the Dominican Priory in Bristol, this figure can only be a 'memorialle' erected some thirty years after his death.

EFFIGY (6 ft. 8 in.). In suit of mail (links carved), hooded hauberk having mail in parallel lines up and down from shoulder to wrist, and hands in mail mittens, mail hose, legs crossed below knee, spurs (pricks lost) and straps, sleeveless surcoat to calves, open half-way to waist and showing lacings with row of small studs on left shoulder and slit 2 in. in front at neck, girdle (1 in.) bared and buckled with dagger attached (sheath $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. and hilt $4\frac{1}{2}$ in., of slightly curved vertical grooves), sword-belt (3 in.) adorned with raised bands ($\frac{3}{4}$ in.) set 2 in. apart and pendent end falls $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. below buckle, sword (scabbard ornamented with bars, 2 ft. $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. and hilt of $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. with slightly drooping quillons and wheel pommel), left hand holds scabbard and right grasps hilt, head on two cushions (bottom rectangular, 1 ft. $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 1 ft. 2 in. by 4 in., top set diagonally, 1 ft. 1 in. by 1 ft. 1 in. by 2 in.), feet on collared ($\frac{1}{2}$ in.) smooth-skinned dog having long ears and tail, forelegs spread out and crossed and hind legs wide apart. Except features which are worn the effigy well preserved. Date *c.* 1260 (pl. II, figs. 2 and 3).

This effigy and no. 2 now placed on table-tomb in north aisle chapel. Effigy (no. 1) originally stood in north transept and when this was destroyed was removed (1591) to chancel, and at later date again removed to present position.

REFERENCES. Barrett, *History of Bristol*, 349; Skelton, *Antiquities of Bristol*, pl. X; Pryce, *History of Bristol* (1851), 172; Pryce, *Notes on Middle Ages in Bristol* (1850), 66, 67 (illustrated); Nicholls and Taylor, *Bristol Past and Present*, ii, 187, 188 (illustrated); *Trans. Arch. Inst.* (1851), 172; Barker, *St. Mark's, Bristol*, pl. XVI; Two Pencil Drawings by H. S. Wasbrough (City Treasurer's Office, Bristol); *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* XV, 94; XXVI, 215–19; *Proc. Clifton Antiq. Club*, i, 42; Prior and Gardner, *Medieval Figure Sculpture in England*, 609, fig. 682; Evans, *History of Bristol*, 175.

No. 3. PERSON REPRESENTED. Unknown civilian, a young man of noble birth. The inscription cut into the slab at a comparatively recent date makes an error of one hundred years, as it attributes the effigy to Sir Henry de Gaunt who died in 1258, while the date is about 1360.

EFFIGY (5 ft. 8 in.). In under-vest (soft material, silk?) reaching to the thighs with tight-fitting sleeves (this garment can be seen beneath the lacing in front of close-fitting sleeveless cote-hardie), narrow belt (1 in.) with buckle on right side and pendent strap (6 in.) having metal end, mutilated dagger (1 ft. 4 in.?) with straight quillons on left side, long mantle to feet fastened with two laces passing through eyelet holes and secured on left side with knot, tight-fitting hose, hands (restoration) raised in prayer, feet, in pointed boots open in front with tongues of leather and fastened with narrow straps ($\frac{3}{8}$ in.) and buckles, rest on small dog (couchant) having long ears on mound or stool (1 ft. by 8 in. by $5\frac{1}{2}$ in.); face worn, but features and figure appear youthful, hair closely curled round the head which rests on two tasselled cushions (bottom rectangular, 1 ft. by $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 3 in., upper set diagonally, 9 in. by 9 in. by $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.). The high table-tomb upon which effigy now rests in south aisle is much later in date, being late Perpendicular, possessing front of four panels with small heater-shaped shields. The recess has a moulded ogee arch, cusped and surmounted by a finial (pl. VIII, fig. 1).

REFERENCES. Barrett, *History of Bristol*, 349; Pryce, *History of Bristol*, 145; Barker, *St. Mark's, Bristol*, pl. XI; Skelton, *Antiquities of Bristol*, pl. X; Nicholls and Taylor, *Bristol Past and Present*, ii, 187 (illustrated); Pryce, *Notes on the Middle Ages in Bristol*, 52, 53 (illustrated); Pencil Drawing by late H. S. Wasbrough framed in City Treasurer's Office, Bristol; *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* XV, 91, 92, pl. III; XXVI, 255–7; Evans, *History of Bristol*, 175; Prior and Gardner, *Medieval Figure Sculpture in England*, 677, fig. 761.

No. 4. PERSON REPRESENTED. A member of the Berkeley family as the crest on the knight's tilting

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helmet is a mitre. When Bishop Salley built the chancel and placed his own tomb in the position of founder, he added the second tomb probably to complete his design. Two names have been suggested:

(*a*) Barrett in his *History of Bristol* ascribes these effigies to Sir Thomas Berkeley of Uley (died 1361) and Katherine his wife, who was daughter of John, Lord Buttetort (died 1387). The armour, costume, and architecture of the tomb may be dated 1465–1470, and even if no attempt were made to represent armour and costume of a hundred years earlier, yet the Yorkist badge of a collar of suns and roses would not find a place on a knight who lived at so distant a period.

(*b*) It seems more probable that the effigies represent Sir Maurice Berkeley of Uley and his wife. He was a very wealthy and important member of the Berkeley family and the Yorkist badge would be appropriate to his time. He is said by Dallaway to have been the patron of the Gaunt's Hospital by descent from the founders through his grandfather, Sir Thomas Berkeley of Uley. Sir Maurice Berkeley of Uley was born posthumously in 1400 and died in 1464.

EFFIGY (5 ft. 8 in., on slab 6 ft. by 1 ft. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $1\frac{1}{4}$ in.). In suit of plate armour, breast and back plates with demi-placcates, skirt of taces (5 lames) and tuilles ($5\frac{7}{8}$ in. by $4\frac{3}{4}$ in.), salade with short tail-piece, visor (raised), mentonnière, and gorget, pauldrons partly covering laminated shoulder-pieces, brassarts, vambraces, thigh-pieces, and jambs, large knee and elbow cops with rayed points, collar of suns and roses with plain rectangular locket, sword-belt ($1\frac{1}{2}$ in.) diagonally across taces. The end of belt forms a loop after being buckled and on right is suspended a short narrow subsidiary belt decorated with two roses, but no weapon attached, sword (scabbard restored), hilt (damaged), quillons (lost), hands, in metacarpal gauntlets with laminated plates to cover the fingers, raised in prayer, feet, in pointed sollerets with rowel spurs (right lost) and straps, rest on large smooth-skinned dog with long ears (muzzle restored), head on tilting helmet with mantling, wreath and the Berkeley crest of a mitre (pl. XV, figs. 3 and 4).

The front of table-tomb (6 ft. 11 in. by 2 ft. 6 in. by 3 ft. 2 in.) is adorned with band of four-leaf flowers below slab and eight shallow crocketed and cinquefoiled niches with finials separated by gabled pinnacles (crocketed). The soffit of recess (6 ft. 4 in. by 2 ft. 9 in. by 4 ft. 5 in.) is decorated with four panels containing four quatrefoils having feathered centres while back and side are adorned with foliated panels and a bracket to hold a statue under a richly carved canopy is placed in the centre panel. The splendid canopy consists of an ogee crocketed arch, foliated, and carried up so that the finial terminates in the cresting. The spandrels contain sculptured foliage, roses, hazel leaves, nuts, etc., and the cusps end in demi-angels holding plain shields ($4\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $3\frac{1}{4}$ in.). Above the arch are eight shallow niches similar to those on table-tomb. The two centre ones on each side are combined and hold escutcheons. In 1789 Barrett (*History of Bristol*, 350) says that one was charged with the arms of Berkeley of Stoke Gifford, quartered with Buttetort, and the other with Gourney. In 1823 Dallaway remarked that they were blank. They are now painted:

First Escutcheon. Quarterly, 1: *Gules a chevron ermine between ten crosses paty argent, 4, 2, 1, 2, 1,* Berkeley of Stoke Gifford; 2: *Or a saltire engrailed sable,* Buttetort; 3: *Or two lions passant guardant sable,* Somery; 4: *Gules ten bezants, 4, 3, 2, 1, a label of three points argent,* Zouch.

Second Escutcheon. Quarterly, 1: *Gules a chevron ermine between ten crosses paty argent, 4, 2, 1, 2, 1,* Berkeley of Stratton; 2: *Gules a chevron between ten crosses paty, 4, 2, 1, 2, 1, within a bordure argent,* Berkeley of Beverstone; 3: *Paly of six or and azure,* Gourney; 4: *Azure three bars paly or and azure a bend gules* (should be *Barry of six or and azure a bend gules*) Gaunt; impaling *Or a saltire engrailed sable,* Buttetort.

The cornice consists of a rich band of carved vine leaves and grapes and narrow paterae, while above is cresting of open-work leaves and stems with a short gabled pinnacle at each end. The monument is flanked on either side by a cluster of gabled pinnacles richly crocketed and banded in the centre.

REFERENCES. Barrett, *History of Bristol*, 350; Pryce, *History of Bristol*, 146, 147; Barker, *St. Mark's, Bristol*, 165; plates XIII and XV; *Trans. Arch. Inst.* (1851), 172; Skelton, *Antiquities of Bristol*, pl. VII; Pryce, *Notes on the Middle Ages in Bristol*, 59, 60 (illustrated); *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* IX, 61; XV, 98; XVI, 121; XXVI, 257–62, subsidiary waist-belt illustrated; Evans, *History of Bristol* (1816), 178; Crossley, *English Church Monuments*, illustrated, 12, 158.

No. 5. PERSON REPRESENTED. The wife of some member of the Berkeley family, (*a*) Katherine,

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wife of Sir Thomas Berkeley of Uley, died 1387, or (*b*) Ellen, wife of Sir Maurice Berkeley of Uley, died 1475. The weight of evidence suggests that this effigy is to the last-named lady.

EFFIGY (5 ft. 8 in., on slab 6 ft. by 1 ft. 7 in. by 1¼ in.). In long gown with tight-fitting sleeves and bodice cut square and showing chemisette (silk?), wide collar (3¼ to 4 in.) with ends meeting at waist under a broad belt, necklace of small open links and pendent cross, hair enclosed in cap with veil hanging behind, vertical caul or horn rises on either side of face above head, acutely pointed and set near together at apex, and band above forehead (3¼ in.) falling in lappets on either side of the face, hands raised in prayer, feet in pointed shoes rest against a bracket or stool (1 ft. 3 in. by 8 in. by 3 in.) supported by two small dogs, head on rectangular cushion (1 ft. by 10 in. by 4½ in.) supported by two angels vested in albs, wings folded and hands resting on head and neck of lady. Date 1465–1470 (pl. XV, fig. 4).

REFERENCES. See no. 4 effigy.

No. 6. PERSON REPRESENTED. Miles Salley, abbot of Abingdon, abbot of Eynsham, near Oxford, and later consecrated bishop of Llandaff. He reconstructed east end of St. Mark's church, erected his own tomb in founder's position on north side of sanctuary and that of the Berkeleys during his lifetime, died 1516. His heart was buried in chancel of Mathern church, near Chepstow.

EFFIGY (5 ft. 5 in.). Vested in almuce (the hood can be seen falling over the back of the amice), alb, tunicle, dalmatic, chasuble, mitre (*mitra pretiosa*) decorated with jewels and raised ornaments, hands in gloves with backs adorned with four-leaf flowers and ring on second finger of right hand, pastoral staff under left arm having embattled knob and crook richly carved with conventional foliage and veiled with vexillum, feet in shoes (pointed toes) resting on dog on mound or cushion (1 ft. 5 in. by 5 in. by 5 in.), head on two tasselled cushions (bottom rectangular, 1 ft. 4 in. by 5 in. by 5 in., top set diagonally, 10 in. by 10 in. by 3 in.) (pl. VII, fig. 5).

The fine effigy rests upon a table-tomb (5 ft. 7 in. by 1 ft. 11 in. by 3 ft. 6 in.) having front adorned with fifteen narrow cusped panels with band of four-leaf flower patterae above and moulded plinth below. The recess (5 ft. 7 in. by 1 ft. 11 in. by 4 ft. 1 in.) is panelled, possessing narrow matrix which once held a brass plate with name and inscription, and soffit is decorated with large quatrefoils having feathered centres. The arch is foliated and spandrels possess open quatrefoils, while above the frieze of vine leaves and grapes (6 ft. by 3½ in.) is an open arcade surmounted by cresting and eight projecting brackets festooned together and supporting pinnacles with crocketed gables. Length of tomb, 6 ft. 3½ in.; height, 9 ft. 6 in. Tomb erected in the closing years of the fifteenth century (pl. XIV, fig. 2).

REFERENCES. Barrett, *History of Bristol*, 350; Pryce, *History of Bristol*, 147; Barker, *St. Mark's, Bristol*, 165, pl. XIII; Skelton, *Antiquities of Bristol*, pl. VII; Nicholls and Taylor, *Bristol Past and Present*, ii, 188; Pryce, *Notes on the Middle Ages in Bristol* (1850), 61–4 (illustrated); Evans, *History of Bristol*, 178; *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* ix, 61; xxvi, 262–3; Crossley, *English Church Monuments*, illustrated, 95.

CHURCH OF ST. MARY REDCLIFFE

No. 1. PERSON REPRESENTED. Unknown. Britton considers it was possibly the head of an early abbot.

EFFIGY. A much worn head (4 in.) in relief above one arm of a cross flory on a damaged slab with bevelled edges (2 ft. 9 in. by 1 ft. 6 in. tapering to 1 ft. 1½ in. by 5 in.), now preserved under the tower.

REFERENCES. Paul, *Incised and Sepulchral Slabs of N.W. Somerset*, 2, pl. IV, fig. 1; *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* lxv, 32, 33, 46.

No. 2. PERSON REPRESENTED. It is possible that this fine effigy was made about 1260 for the chapel of the Hospital of St. Catherine's, Bedminster, by some member of the Berkeley family in memory of the founder, Robert, second Lord Berkeley, who died in 1220; Robert was buried in St. Augustine's Abbey, Bristol, and this effigy was only a 'memorialle' to him. St. Catherine's hospital was dissolved in 1549 and the effigy was removed to St. Mary Redcliffe for preservation. See Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, i, 82–103.

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EFFIGY (7 ft.). In coif of mail, hauberk slit (2¾ in.) in front having mail in parallel lines up and down from shoulder to wrist, mail hose, sleeveless surcoat to middle of calves, girdled by cingulum (1¼ in.), right leg crossed over left at knee, shield (2 ft. 9 in. by 1 ft.) on left arm, sword (3 ft. 11 in.) with hilt, straight quillons and round pommel, sword-belt (2¾ in. with pendent strap below buckle of 8 in.), spurs (shank, ¾ in.) straps (¾ in.), left arm under shield and hand holding top of scabbard, right hand grasps hilt of sword, head rests on two rectangular cushions (bottom, 1 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 2½ in. by 1½ in., top one set diagonally, 11 in. by 11 in. by 1½ in.), feet on dog holding bottom of scabbard in mouth. Effigy slightly embedded in stone, somewhat statue-like, well executed, having expressive features, drooping moustache, and eyes closed, while coif permits a diameter of 7 in. of face to be exposed. One corner of slab with fraction of cushion has been restored, also legs and bottom of surcoat; hose damaged, elbow of right arm mutilated and top of effigy somewhat worn, otherwise in good condition (pl. III, figs. 3, 4).

REFERENCES. Barrett, *History of Bristol*, 583; *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* xxvii, 51-3; *Proc. Clifton. Antiq. Club*, vii, 71; Paul, *Incised and Sepulchral Slabs of N.W. Somerset*, plates V, VI, p. 3; Prior and Gardner, *Medieval Figure Sculpture in England*, 610, fig. 683; Nicholls and Taylor, *Bristol Past and Present*, ii, 197 (illustrated); Pryce, *Notes on the Middle Ages in Bristol*, 180, 181; *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* lxii, ii, 49, 50, 82, pl. IV, figs. 1 and 2.

No. 3. PERSON REPRESENTED. John Lanyngton or Lamington (priest). This effigy came from the chapel of St. Sprite which stood in the churchyard of St. Mary Redcliffe, and of which John Lanyngton was probably a chaplain. Dingley saw it in the seventeenth century and mentions it in his *History in Marble* (1660–1685), 62. For the reading of his name see p. 9.

EFFIGY (5 ft. 6½ in.). In long cassock fastened at neck with three buttons, the centre one larger than the other two. The tight-fitting sleeves have wrist-bands with five buttons and leather waist-belt with oval buckle. The low shoes have ankle straps. Hands raised in prayer, head and face somewhat round (7½ in. by 6 in.) and hair worn long at sides with tonsure (4½ in. diam.). Head on cushion with tassels (6½ in. by 6½ in. by 2½ in.) set diagonally. Feet rest on stone (1 ft. 10 in. by 4½ in. by 5 in.) with 'Johes : Lanyngton' carved on top. The slab is a coffin-lid (5 ft. 10¼ in. by 2 ft. 2 in. tapering to 1 ft. 10 in. by 4½ to 5½ in.). The effigy is much embedded in the slab and somewhat flat. It was placed in St. Mary Redcliffe in 1776, having been discovered under the west window of St. Sprite's chapel, and rests since 1877 in wall recess in north aisle of nave. When Britton wrote his book on St. Mary Redcliffe the effigy covered a stone coffin standing at west end of south aisle. Date 1390–1400 (pl. VI, fig. 2).

REFERENCES. Britton, *St. Mary Redcliffe*, 28; Barrett, *History of Bristol*, 596; Pryce, *History of Bristol*, 340; Norris, *Guide to St. Mary Redcliffe* (1858), 12 (illustrated); Nicholls and Taylor, *Bristol Past and Present*, ii, 206 (illustrated); *Arch. Jour.* (Bristol vol.), 1851, 167; Paul, *Incised and Sepulchral Slabs of N.W. Somerset*, 35, pl. III; *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* lxvi, ii, 30, 38, 48-9; *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* ix, 70, pl. VII; xxvii, 53-5; Dingley, *Hist. in Marble* (Camden Society), 62; Cox, *Gloucestershire*, 73; Evans, *History of Bristol* (1816), 283.

No. 4. PERSON REPRESENTED. William Canynges II, shipowner and wealthy merchant, five times mayor of Bristol and twice member of Parliament; took considerable share in rebuilding Redcliffe church, endowed two chantries and certain charities, gradually gave up business after death of wife (1460), ordained priest in 1467, appointed Dean of Westbury-on-Trym College, died 1474 and buried alongside his wife under south transept in Redcliffe church.

EFFIGY (6 ft.). Now in wall recess in south aisle of nave. This effigy and the one to wife removed to this position in 1877 from the fifteenth-century monument under central window of south transept. This table-tomb (7 ft. 10 in. by 3 ft. 5 in. by 3 ft. 6½ in.) with deeply moulded base (1 ft.) is adorned in front with three panels each containing a shallow niche with shield of arms in central one, *Arg. three moors heads couped, 2 and 1, sa. wreathed or and az.* Canynges. The canopy rises 5 ft. 3 in. above the table-tomb and the centre of soffit is 4 ft. 6 in. above slab. The front of the arch is adorned with foliated cusps and two demi-angels with wings upraised and vested in albs with crosses (five stones) on fillets encircling foreheads. Each holds a heater-shaped shield (4 in. by 3¾ in.) and on one is Canynges's merchant mark. The cornice

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possesses a plain panel containing scroll inscribed: *Ora pro Aniābus Gulielmi Cannyngae quondam . . . hujus Villae et Johannae Uxoris ejus*, with cresting above. The canopy is flanked by four octagonal pillars having moulded and embattled heads rising several inches above cornice. The effigy is clad in long gown to ankles, high in neck with long full sleeves edged with fur at bottom hem and wrists, fur-trimmed mantle open at sides, falling to feet in graceful folds, turban hat on shoulder with long liripipe falling 2½ in. above bottom hem of gown, under-tunic visible at neck and wrists, clean shaven, features well delineated and face probably a portrait, bald headed with short curly hair at sides, hands raised in prayer. Head rests on two tasselled cushions (lower rectangular, 10 in. by 10 in. by 3½ in., upper set diagonally, 6 in. by 6 in. by 4 in.) smoothed by two small kneeling angels in albs and jewelled fillets on foreheads; feet in half boots cut open in front showing the tongue and buckled across with straps, rest one on small collared dog (head mutilated) and the other on block of stone sculptured with a large conventional leaf. Effigy and slab (6 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 11 in. by 2¼ in.) placed on moulded base (3 in.). Date *c.* 1460 (pl. IX, fig. 1).

REFERENCES. Barrett, *History of Bristol* (1789), 580; Skelton, *Antiquities of Bristol*, pl. VI; Britton, *Redcliffe Church* (1813), 18–21; *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* XXV, 146; XXVII, 55–60; *Archaeological Institute*, Bristol vol. (1851), 167, vol. VIII, 174; Pryce, *History of Bristol*, 346; *Report on Sepulchral Monuments* (Soc. Ant.), 1872, p. 37, no. 453; Prior and Gardner, *Medieval Figure Sculpture in England*, 715, fig. 813; *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* lxviii, 28, 29, 33, 37, 40, 42, 44, 46, 59, 60, pl. XVII, fig. 1 and wife 2; Cox, *Gloucestershire*, 73; Crossley, *English Church Monuments* (illustrated), 200 and wife 198; Norris, *Guide to St. Mary Redcliffe* (1858), 20 (illustrated: on the fifteenth-century tomb); Nicholls and Taylor, *Bristol Past and Present*, 207, 218 (illustrated: on the fifteenth-century tomb); Pryce, *Notes on the Middle Ages in Bristol* (1850), 162–7 (illustrated: on the fifteenth-century tomb); Evans, *History of Bristol*, 285.

No. 5. PERSON REPRESENTED. Joan, wife of William Canynges II, died 1460.

EFFIGY (5 ft. 7 in.). In long gown to feet, bodice cut open V-shaped in front and edged with fur (2¼ in.) showing a chemisette (probably silk) square at neck, laced in front, full sleeves, waist-belt ornamented with roses and pendent strap 8½ in. beyond buckle, hands raised in prayer with rings on second, third, and fourth fingers of each hand above joints, features well delineated and refined, face probably a portrait, veil on head falls to shoulders, feet in pointed shoes rest against two small dogs (head of one lost) with bodies hidden in folds of gown, head on two tasselled cushions (lower rectangular, 1 ft. by 9 in. by 2 in., upper circular, 1 ft. diameter by 3 in.) smoothed by two angels in albs and jewelled fillets on foreheads. Slab (6 ft. 5½ in. by 1 ft. 7 in. by 2¾ in.) rests on moulded plinth (2 in.). Date *c.* 1460 (pl. IX, fig. 4).

REFERENCES. See no. 4 effigy.

No. 6. PERSON REPRESENTED. Sir Thomas Mede, Kt., a wealthy merchant, bailiff of Bristol 1430, sheriff 1453, died 1475.

EFFIGY (6 ft. 6 in.). In long gown with lower hem edged with fur (1 in.) reaching to ankles, high in neck, large full sleeves with fur cuffs, showing tight-fitting sleeves of under-tunic fastened with waist-belt (1¼ in.) from which a long tasselled gypcière (6 in.) is suspended on left side by strap, fur-trimmed (¾ in.) mantle open at sides, long broad liripipe or scarf over left shoulder falling nearly to bottom of gown, head bare, hair closely cropped, features worn, ears large, and face clean shaven, hands raised in prayer, feet in pointed shoes rest on large smooth-skinned dog, head on rectangular cushion (1 ft. 9 in. by 1 ft. 5 in. by 4 in.) smoothed by two angels with extended wings, heads thrown back, vested in albs and jewelled fillets on foreheads.

This splendid monument stands against the north wall of north quire aisle and is 10 ft. 6 in. high, consisting of a table-tomb with front adorned with sixteen trefoil-headed panels. The vaulted recess (6 ft. 6 in. by 3 ft. 6 in. by 3 ft. 6 in.) is slightly arched and decorated in panels (1 ft. 5 in. by 1 ft. 5 in.) containing quatrefoils having feathered cusps of roses, while a small trefoil-headed window is inserted in west side and a shield is carved on north wall emblazoned: (*Gules*) *a chevron* (*ermine*) *between three trefoils slipped* (*argent*), Mede. The front of the horizontal canopy (6 ft. by 3 ft.) over the recess is ornamented with

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panelling and five trefoil-headed arches, foliated and crocketed, possessing finials springing from demi-angels in albs and large jewelled fillets on foreheads, holding shields with folded wings placed against pinnacles (8 ft. by 2½ in. by 2½ in.) having corner buttresses (three stages) with crocketed gables. On margin of front of table-tomb is the inscription on a narrow strip of brass, but only latter portion remains: . . . pdict Thome mede Ac ter maioris isti[9] ville Bristoll q[i] obijt XX die mēs decēbr a° dn̄i m° CCCCLXXV q[r] aīabs ppiciet[r] de[9] amen. The Mede coat of arms is incised at one end. Date *c.* 1475 (pl. XII, fig. 3).

REFERENCES. Barrett, *History of Bristol*, 584, 585; Skelton, *Antiquities of Bristol*, pl. XXXIII; Britton, *Redcliffe Church*, 23; Pryce, *History of Bristol*, 356; *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* xxvii, 64–6; Prior and Gardner, *Medieval Figure Sculpture in England*, 715; Pryce, *Notes on the Middle Ages in Bristol*, 185, 186; Norris, *Guide to St. Mary Redcliffe* (illustrated), 28; Evans, *History of Bristol*, 288.

No. 7. PERSON REPRESENTED. Wife of Sir Thomas Mede, Kt.

EFFIGY (5 ft. 4 in.). On left side of husband, in long gown to feet, tight-fitting bodice cut open V shape at neck and edged with fur (2 in.) showing the chemisette (probably silk) beneath, tight-fitting sleeves with cuffs of fur, mantle falling from shoulders to feet but possessing no cords across breast, head-dress of veil falling at back of head and confined over forehead with a broad band ending in lappets hiding ears, head on square tasselled cushion (10 in. by 10 in. by 2½ in.) smoothed by two angels with outspread wings, heads thrown back and vested in albs and jewelled fillets on foreheads; feet rest on two small dogs lying back to back. Slab, 5 ft. 4 in. by 1 ft. 6 in. by 2½ in. Date *c.* 1475 (pl. XII, fig. 2).

REFERENCES. See no. 6 effigy.

No. 8. PERSON REPRESENTED. A Bristol merchant of the latter half of the fifteenth century.

EFFIGY (4 ft. 10 in.). In gown to ankles with gypcière suspended on left side from a narrow waist-belt, sleeveless mantle open at sides, turban hat on left shoulder with long broad liripipe same length as gown, hands raised in prayer, face clean shaven, hair cut short across forehead and clubbed, feet on large dog holding bone with fore-paws, head on circular tasselled cushion (1 ft. 3 in. diameter by 4 in.) with large, sprawling, coarsely carved angel on right side placing right hand on merchant's shoulder and left on cushion. The effigy and slab (5 ft. 6½ in. by 1 ft. 9 in. by 5 to 6 in.) is a poor work of art, and possibly the product of some prentice hand. Date 1470–1480 (pl. IX, fig. 2).

Barrett states in his *History of Bristol* (1789) that a civilian effigy lay on a plain table-tomb near the middle of the cross aisles. The name and date he gives are more than a hundred years too early for this figure; but Mr. Harold Brakspear, F.S.A., considers it is not unlikely that this effigy, which is now on a plain table-tomb in the south transept, is the one Barrett refers to in his history.

REFERENCES. Britton, *Redcliffe Church*, 18; Tite, *Somerset Prints; Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* xviii, 261; xxvii, 62–4; Barrett, *History of Bristol*, 583; Pryce, *History of Bristol*, 352; Norris, *Guide to St. Mary Redcliffe*, 21 (illustrated); Nicholls and Taylor, *Bristol Past and Present*, ii, 208; Pryce, *Notes on the Middle Ages in Bristol*, 177 (illustrated); Evans, *History of Bristol*, 284; *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* lxviii, 60, pl. XV, fig. 2.

CHURCH OF ST. PHILIP AND ST. JAMES

No. 1. PERSON REPRESENTED. Unknown knight.

EFFIGY. Only head remains (1 ft. 3 in. by 10 in.); the mail hauberk is drawn up beneath the ears and fastened on each side by a cord to the flaps of the coif which covers the head. The small skull cap of iron beneath the coif is shown to be kept in place by a cord laced through the rings over the forehead, and the mail is carved by rings set edgewise. The eyes are open, the nose is chipped, the moustache drooping, the long neck is characteristic both of West-country and London effigies of this period, and the execution of the face is not unlike that of Crouchback in Westminster Abbey (*c.* 1292) and a knight at Beer Ferrers, Devon (*c.* 1300). This fine head is half built into the wall, rests on a stone bracket on the south side of the Kemys Chapel, and is in excellent preservation. Date *c.* 1300 (pl. IV, fig. 3).

REFERENCES. *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* xxvii, 98; xxxi, 282, 283 (illustrated); Prior and Gardner, *Medieval Figure Sculpture in England*, 610.

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No. 2. PERSON REPRESENTED. Unknown knight.

EFFIGY (3 ft. 1 in. present length, lower half of body lost; bevelled slab 4 in. thick is broken and bottom part missing). In suit of plate armour, gorget, breast and back plates reinforced with a demi-placate having invected edging, two taces strapped together at sides and upper portion of tuilles, head-piece with mentonnière, visor raised having ocularium and adorned on each side with a row of ornamental studs, laminated shoulder plates (five visible) under small pauldrons, brassarts, large and heavy elbow cops with projecting plates, vambraces, hands in prayer (fingers lost) in gauntlets with second plates hinged to metacarpal plates, face clean shaven, nose damaged, heavy eyebrows, head on one rectangular tasselled cushion (1 ft. 5 in. by 11 in. by 5 in.). Temporarily on tomb in north chapel belonging to another family. One historian states it was brought from the church within Bristol Castle when demolished. Date 1450–1460 (pl. V, fig. 3).

REFERENCES. Barrett, *History of Bristol*, 208; Pryce, *History of Bristol*, 204; Nicholls and Taylor, *Bristol Past and Present*, ii, 234; *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* xxvii, 99–101.

CHURCH OF ST. STEPHEN

No. 1. PERSON REPRESENTED. Unknown civilian; possibly Edward Blanket, a woollen merchant who founded one of the chantries in this church and was a member of Parliament for Bristol in 1362. See Pryce, *History of Bristol*, 257, 258; Latimer, *Hist. of Soc. of Merch. Vent. of Bristol*, 10.

EFFIGY (5 ft. 10 in., on slab 6 ft. 3 in. by 1 ft. 5 in. by 3 to 4½ in., front cut away). In under-tunic with sleeves fastened by nine small buttons visible beneath the tight-fitting cote-hardie reaching to middle of thighs, fastened in front with twenty-six circular buttons, bawdrick, ornamented with raised four-leaf flowers, pendent 16 in., hood on shoulders, dagger (mutilated) attached to left side of bawdrick, hose (tight-fitting), feet, in pointed shoes with ankle straps and showing the markings of the toes, rest on headless lion (couchant) with tail curled round body, hands (bare) raised in prayer, head uncovered rests on two cushions—bottom rectangular, top set diagonally with corner tassels, face clean shaven except for small moustache representing a middle-aged man, hair worn long and parted in centre. Date *c.* 1375 (pl. VIII, fig. 3, pl. XVI, fig. 1).

Effigies originally in the old church, and on rebuilding (1450–1490) removed into present church. Probably only lady's effigy originally rested in recess on north aisle, and later it was made deeper to hold both effigies. In 1630 the projecting canopy was cut away and recess and contents hidden with wainscoting until restoration in 1844.

The vaulted recess (6 ft. 4 in. by 3 ft. 6½ in. by 3 ft. 1 in.) has two compartments with a single rib and large central boss. The canopy of ogee cusped crocketed arch with finial and flanking pinnacles is restoration of work destroyed in 1630. The front of the tomb is original (6 ft. 4 in. by 3 ft. 6½ in. by 3 ft. 7 in.), and is divided by buttresses into six shallow trefoil-headed niches containing three men and three women 'weepers' (18 in.). The men are in gowns, cloaks, and hoods, and the women in kirtles and kerchiefs falling to shoulders. These 'weepers' have been considerably restored.

REFERENCES. Pryce, *History of Bristol*, 258-9; *Arch. Jour.* iii (illustrated), 81, 82; *Antiquarian and Architectural Year Book* (1844), 114–20; *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* xviii, 257 (male effigy, illustrated); xxvii, 102–5; Nicholls and Taylor, *Bristol Past and Present*, ii, 192; Pryce, *Notes on the Middle Ages in Bristol*, 106–9.

No. 2. PERSON REPRESENTED. Unknown lady; possibly wife of Edward Blanket.

EFFIGY (5 ft. 9 in., on slab 6 ft. 3 in. by 1 ft. 9 in. by 5 in.). In kirtle with tight-fitting sleeves, two long slits at hips for pockets and two buckles in front (belt painted probably), mantle fastened with cords across breast, hands raised in prayer, hair braided on either side of face, wimple encloses chin, head in kerchief falling to shoulders and the square form of the nebule or goffered head-dress, head rests on oblong tasselled cushion (1 ft. 9 in. by 8 in. by 4 in.) broken at top, feet on dog with head only visible from under folds of kirtle. Date *c.* 1375 (pl. VIII, fig. 3).

REFERENCES. See no. 1 effigy.

No. 3. PERSON REPRESENTED. Unknown civilian, possibly Walter Tyddestille or Tyddeley, one of the bailiffs of Bristol in 1377, who by his will desired to be buried in St. Stephen's church, to which he bequeathed charities. Died 1385.

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EFFIGY (6 ft. 1 in., on slab 6 ft. 5 in. by 1 ft. 4½ in. by 2 in.). In long gown pleated at neck with hood on shoulders, loose sleeves and wide cuffs. Beneath are visible the ribbed (knitted?) sleeves of under-tunic extending to knuckles, closely buttoned on underside, hands raised in prayer (jewelled ring on third finger of each hand), dagger (sheath, 1 ft. damaged, hilt, 4 in. broken) suspended by strap (bars at intervals of 1½ in.) round the neck falling in centre of body below waist, curly luxuriant hair, face long with calm and placid expression, small moustache and forked beard (damaged), feet (left broken) on dog (head lost), head (broken at back) on two tasselled cushions (bottom rectangular, 1 ft. 3 in. by 10 in. by 6 in., top set diagonally, 11 in. by 11 in. by 3 in.). Date 1380–1390 (pl. IX, fig. 3).

Effigy discovered in south wall in 1844, now placed in recess in north wall. There is said to be an illegible inscription on edge of slab now facing wall.

REFERENCES. Pryce, *History of Bristol*, 258–9; *Arch. Jour.* iii, 83 (illustrated); *Antiquarian and Architectural Year Book* (1844), 116; Pryce, *Notes on the Middle Ages in Bristol*, 109; *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* xxvii, 105–7.

CARMARTHENSHIRE

CARMARTHEN (ST. PETER)

PERSON REPRESENTED. A civilian; probably a man of noble family.

EFFIGY (present length, 3 ft., all the lower portion lost, on slab, 3 ft. 1 in. by 1 ft. 5 in. by 3 in.). In cote with girdle (1 in.) pendent 8 in. beyond buckle, circular brooch or clasp for the mantle (2½ in. diameter) containing a trefoil in relief, hair wavy and falling below ears, right hand (open) at side and left laid on breast with fingers extended, head on one low rectangular cushion (1 ft. 3 in. by 11½ in. by 1 in.). Date *c.* 1240–1245 (pl. II, fig. 1).

REFERENCES. *Trans. Cambrian Arch. Assoc.* ix, 4 (illustrated).

DEVON

IDDESLEIGH PARISH CHURCH

PERSON REPRESENTED. Unknown knight; possibly an ancestor of Sir John Sulley.

EFFIGY (6 ft. 2 in.). In suit of mail (carved, but now much worn), hooded hauberk having mail in parallel rows up and down from shoulders to wrists, hose of mail with band at each knee, spurs (pricks lost) and straps, sleeveless surcoat to calves with girdle (½ in.), kite-shaped shield (2 ft. 8 in.) with left arm under it and hand grasping scabbard, right hand holds edge of shield, guige (1½ in.), sword on left side with circular pommel and straight quillons, sword-belt (1¾ in.) pendent 13 in. beyond buckle, head on one low rectangular cushion (1 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 1 in. by 2 in.), feet on couchant lion (headless). Bevelled slab (8 ft. 2 in. by 1 ft. 8½ in. by 2 in.) and effigy in wall recess of north chapel. Date *c.* 1250 (pl. II, fig. 4).

REFERENCES. *Note Book of Tristram Risdon* (1608–1628), 262; Westcote, *View of Devonshire* (MDCXXX), 3 *Trans. Exeter Diocesan Architectural Soc.* viii, pl. XIV; *Trans. Devon Assoc.* xxiv, 163–73, pl. II; Rogers, *Ancient Sepulchral Effigies*, 354, pl. II; Baring-Gould, *Devon*, 200; Prior and Gardner, *Medieval Figure Sculpture in England*, 609; Stabb, *Old Devon Churches*, 57–8.

GLAMORGANSHIRE

MARGAM ABBEY

PERSON REPRESENTED. Unknown knight; probably some benefactor to the abbey.

EFFIGY (5 ft. 1 in. present length). Head, neck, ankles, and feet lost, in suit of mail, hauberk with mail in parallel lines from shoulders to wrists, hose of mail, knee cops (leather?), sleeveless surcoat below knees, sword-belt (1½ in.), convex kite-shaped shield (2 ft. 10 in. by 1 ft. 3 in.) extending from shoulder

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to knee held on left arm while a delicately sculptured dragon or wyvern has the lower point in its mouth, below the shield projects the bottom of scabbard, guige (1¾ in.), right hand laid straight at side with fingers spread out. Effigy and slab (4 ft. 11 in. by 1 ft. 2 in. by 3 in. present length) made in Bristol from block of Dundry Hill oolite. Date *c.* 1240–1250.

REFERENCES. Birch, *Margam Abbey*, 120, 121 (illustrated); *Arch. Camb.* (1893), p. 273.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE

BERKELEY (ST. MARY THE VIRGIN)

No. 1. PERSON REPRESENTED. Unknown lady. The effigy is diminutive and the left hand holds a mutilated object which was probably a heart, indicating a heart-interment of some member of the Berkeley family whose body was probably buried in St. Augustine's Abbey, Bristol.

EFFIGY (2 ft. 8 in.). In kirtle with tight-fitting sleeves, cote-hardie low in neck, sleeves to elbow and a row of small pellets or buttons on shoulders with folds falling from neck. Hair in curls worn long to bottom of neck, right hand laid on breast and left hanging down and holding a mutilated object (heart?), feet in pointed shoes rest on two small long-eared dogs (couchant) with heads facing, head on two cushions (bottom rectangular, 1 ft. by 8 in. by 1¾ in., top set diagonally, 7 in. by 7 in. by ¾ in.), slab (3 ft. by 1 ft. 4½ in. tapering to 12¾ in. by 3 in.) with bevelled edges. Date 1280–1290 (pl. XI, fig. 1).

REFERENCES. Bigland, *Gloucestershire* (1791), i, 152 (illustrated); Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain* (illustrated); Fisher, *History of Berkeley Church and Castle*, 17, 18; *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* xv, 95, 96; xxix, 150–2 (illustrated).

No. 2. PERSON REPRESENTED. Unknown lady. The effigy is diminutive and was probably for a heart-interment of some member of the Berkeley family whose body was buried in St. Augustine's Abbey, Bristol.

EFFIGY (3 ft.). In kirtle with tight-fitting sleeves, sleeveless cote-hardie, hair worn in curling locks to shoulders curtained by fillet (¼ in.) with a rectangular matrix at intervals for jewels, enamels or glass (lost), feet in pointed shoes rest on dog (couchant) with long ears, head on one large rectangular pillow (1 ft. by 8 in. by 2½ in.). Effigy well-proportioned, hair carefully sculptured, and folds of drapery graceful. Hands on breast—left holds edge of cote-hardie gathered up under left arm, right holds a mutilated object (heart?). Slab (3 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 4½ in. by 3½ in.) with bevelled edge. Date 1290–1300 (pl. XI, fig. 2).

REFERENCES. See no. 1 effigy.

No. 3. PERSON REPRESENTED. Unknown civilian. A diminutive effigy, probably for a heart-interment of some member of the Berkeley family whose body was buried in St. Augustine's Abbey, Bristol.

EFFIGY (2 ft. 3 in.). In long cote to ankles, cut low in neck, tight-fitting sleeves and folds falling from neck, hair worn short and small curly locks escaping beneath fillet, hands raised in prayer, feet in pointed shoes resting on dog (couchant), head on rectangular pillow (6 in. by 5 in. by 1½ in.), bevelled slab (3 ft. 2 in. by 1 ft. 3 in. by 2½ in.) has right-hand corner broken and the head of the dog is lost. Date *c.* 1310 (pl. XI, fig. 3).

REFERENCES. See no. 1 effigy.

BITTON (ST. MARY THE VIRGIN)

PERSON REPRESENTED. An ecclesiastical dignitary—dean or prebendary.

EFFIGY (2 ft. 9 in.). In quire habit—cassock (visible at wrists), surplice, choral cope, and hood on shoulders pleated round neck—almuce with long tails in front and hood at back of head but not drawn over it, hands raised in prayer holding some object now defaced (heart?), hair worn to ears, feet in shoes on mutilated animal (dog?), head on two pillows (top rectangular, 13 in. by 10 in. by 1½ in., bottom set diagonally,

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9 in. by 9 in. by ¾ in.). Effigy and slab (3 ft. 4 in. by 13½ in. tapering to 11 in. by 2 in.), probably for heart-interment. Hands and face mutilated and figure much worn. Date *c.* 1360 (pl. XI, fig. 4).

REFERENCES. Ellacombe, *History of Bitton*, 33, 34; *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* iii, 33, 34, fig. 5; ix, 69; fig. 6, xxiii, 63; xxv, 178, 179; *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* xxii, i, 68.

CROMHALL (ST. ANDREW)

PERSON REPRESENTED. Unknown knight; possibly some member of the Lygon family.

EFFIGY. This effigy is now lost or destroyed. Rudder saw it in 1779, soon after it had been placed in the south wall. He described it as cross-legged, and we conjecture that the knight was clad in chain-mail. In 1791 Bigland remarks it was then concealed in an 'arcade by the pews which were erected in 1765'. As yet this effigy has not been rediscovered.

REFERENCES. Rudder, *History of Gloucestershire*, 397; Bigland, *Gloucestershire*, i, 435; *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* xxx, 133, 134.

IRON ACTON (ST. JAMES THE LESS)

No. 1. PERSON REPRESENTED. Unknown lady.

EFFIGY (6 ft. 7 in., on slab 7 ft. 1 in. tapering to 1 ft. 5 in. by 2 in.). In kirtle with tight-fitting sleeves, long sleeveless cote-hardie, mantle gathered up under both arms, hands raised in prayer holding mutilated object (heart?), wimple and kerchief falling to shoulders, head on rectangular cushion (1 ft. 4 in. by 1 ft. by 1 in.) under damaged gablet, face worn, feet in pointed shoes rest on dog (couchant). Date *c.* 1315.

REFERENCES. Lyson, *Antiquities of Gloucestershire*, pl. II, fig. 1 (nos. 4 and 5 effigies); *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* iv, 83–4; viii, 39; xxi, 5–6; xxv, 174–7; Atkyns, *Gloucestershire*, 105 (illustration of church shows the knight (no. 6) on north parapet in 1791); Cox, *Gloucestershire*, 140; Bigland, *Gloucestershire*, i, 12, 13.

No. 2. PERSON REPRESENTED. Unknown knight; possibly Sir John Poyntz, son and heir of the first Sir Nicholas Poyntz and Maud, the heiress of the Actons. Died 1376.

EFFIGY (5 ft. 11 in., on slab 6 ft. 1 in. by 1 ft. 11 in. by 2¾ in.). In pointed bascinet, camail, hauberk of mail visible 2 in. below jupon, articulated shoulder-pieces (three lames), brassarts, vambraces (hinged), elbow and knee cops with small protecting fans, thigh-pieces, stockings of mail, bawdrick (2 in.) with bars 2 in. apart, fragment of sword (4½ in.) on left side, dagger suspended in front of bawdrick (hilt remains with diamond-shaped pommel), hands raised in prayer holding damaged object (heart?), gauntlets with small cuffs and gadlings, face worn, head on tilting helmet (damaged), feet on couchant lion (headless), rowel spurs and straps. Date *c.* 1375.

REFERENCES. See no. 1 effigy.

No. 3. PERSON REPRESENTED. Sir Robert Poyntz, sheriff of Gloucestershire, 1397, *ob.* 1420.

EFFIGY (6 ft. 1 in., on slab 6 ft. 2 in. by 1 ft. 6½ in.). Bascinet, camail, breast and back plates, skirt of taces (five lames, 2 to 3 in.), brassarts, vambraces, elbow and knee cops, thigh-pieces, jambs, roundels (4 in. diam.), hands in metacarpal gauntlets raised in prayer, feet in pointed articulated sollerets (six lames) resting on lion, no spurs or straps. The figure is incised on a slab in floor of the Poyntz chapel. For the inscription see p. 18.

REFERENCES. See no. 1 effigy.

No. 4. PERSON REPRESENTED. Anne, first wife of Sir Robert Poyntz, Kt.

EFFIGY (5 ft. 6 in., on slab 6 ft. 7½ in. by 2 ft. 5½ in.). Much worn, in kirtle with tight-fitting sleeves, sideless cote-hardie with band of embroidery (1¼ in.) down bodice, reticulated head-dress, hands raised in prayer. The inscription runs: *Here lyth Anne, the firste wife of Robert Poyntz on whos sowle God have mercy. Amen.* These two incised slabs are illustrated in Lyson, *Antiquities of Gloucestershire*, pl. II, fig. 1.

REFERENCES. See no. 1 effigy.

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No. 5. PERSON REPRESENTED. Catharine Fitz-Nichols, second wife of Sir Robert Poyntz, Kt.

EFFIGY. The incised figure on the slab and all the inscription on the verge except a few letters which enable us to identify it have been wantonly erased, as it was used two centuries afterwards as a memorial to Elizabeth wife of Robert Poyntz who died in 1631.

REFERENCES. See no. 1 effigy.

No. 6. PERSON REPRESENTED. Unknown knight.

EFFIGY (2 ft. 9 in. present length). In bascinet, breast and back plates, gorget, shoulder-pieces (six lames), brassarts, vambraces, hands, in cuffed gauntlets with gadlings, raised in prayer, moustache. Only upper half of a recumbent effigy remains, now placed on pilaster projecting from north parapet of tower. Date *c.* 1430.

REFERENCES. See no. 1 effigy.

PUCKLECHURCH (ST. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY)

No. 1. PERSON REPRESENTED. Unknown franklin.

EFFIGY (6 ft. 2 in., on slab 6 ft. 2 in. by 1 ft. 11 in.). In long cote to feet slit up 23 in. in front with hood worn on neck and breast and not drawn over head and an opening on either side (7 in. by 1 in.), one on right probably a pocket with band across it, the one on left has cord passing through it attached to girdle of under-tunic holding a beautiful gypcière (9 in. by 6 in.) with circular flap (4½ in. diam.) decorated with rays and two cords with tassels from centre. Tight-fitting sleeves fastened by small buttons of under-tunic are seen at wrists, hands raised in prayer, face long, features calm and beautiful, wavy hair falls to neck, short beard and moustaches, feet in shoes (pointed toes) rest on large couchant smooth-skinned dog with collar and bells, head on one rectangular tasselled cushion (13 in. by 13 in. by 3 in.) supported by two angels (mutilated) with folded wings and vested in albs. Date *c.* 1360.

The effigy now placed on the fifteenth-century tomb under the most eastern arcade between north chapel and nave with low ogee cinquefoiled arch decorated with panels of trefoil-headed niches and embattled cornice.

REFERENCES. Rudder, *Gloucestershire*, 611; Lyson, *Gloucestershire Antiquities* (illustrated); *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* xxiii, 69–70 (illustrated); xxv, 170–2; xxix, 45; Cox, *Gloucestershire*, 173; Atkyns, *Gloucestershire*, 320.

No. 2. PERSON REPRESENTED. Unknown lady.

EFFIGY (5 ft. 6 in., on slab 6 ft. 2 in. by 1 ft. 11 in. by 2½ in.). In kirtle with tight-fitting sleeves, sleeveless cote-hardie (arm-holes, 1 ft. 6 in. by 4 in.) with border of 2 in. (fur?), mantle, wimple having thick folds round neck, kerchief on head falling as low as elbows, hands (lost) raised in prayer, head on one large rectangular cushion (1 ft. 5 in. by 11 in. by 6 in.), feet on small smooth-skinned couchant dog with head turned towards lady. Date *c.* 1325.

Effigy now placed on fifteenth-century tomb under north window of north chapel.

REFERENCES. See no. 1 effigy.

WINTERBOURNE (ST. MICHAEL)

No. 1. PERSON REPRESENTED. A knight, possibly Sir Edward de Bradston, Kt., the collateral heir in 1374; lord in 7 Richard II. Date of death unknown.

EFFIGY (6 ft. 7 in., on slab 7 ft. by 2 ft. 4 in. by 2 in.). In pointed bascinet, camail, hauberk showing 1 in. below jupon, brassarts, vambraces, elbow and knee cops with small protecting fans, thigh-pieces, jambs, articulated sollerets (five lames), bawdrick (1¾ in.) with metal clasp in front, spurs (rowels lost) and straps, dagger (mutilated, originally sheath, 1 ft. 1½ in. and hilt, 4 in.), sword (lost), legs straight, head on tilting helmet (9½ in. diam.) with mantling, orle, crest (mutilated) *a boar's head couped and gorged with a coronet*, each ocularium (2 in.) and breathing holes arranged in two circles of six and one in centre, hands, in metacarpal gauntlets (fingers damaged), raised in prayer, lion (couchant) at feet. Date *c.* 1400 (pl. v, fig. 2).

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REFERENCES. *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* xxiv, 6, 7 (illustrated), xxv, 282, 283; Cox, *Gloucestershire*, 220.

No. 2. PERSON REPRESENTED. A lady; possibly wife of Sir Edward de Bradston, Kt.

EFFIGY (5 ft. 10 in., on slab 7 ft. by 1 ft. 11 in. by 2 in.). In kirtle, sideless cote-hardie (3 in. at waist) having band of embroidered lozenges (1 in.) down front, mantle fastened with chain of long links and raised studs of four-leaf flowers, necklace of slender links and jewelled pendant (1¼ in. diam.), hands (broken) raised in prayer, reticulated head-dress with four pearls at each intersection with band (6 in. by 1 in.) in front and veil falling behind to shoulders, head on two cushions (bottom rectangular, 1 ft. 2 in. by 1 ft. 2 in. by 2½ in., top diagonal, 10 in. by 10 in. by 2 in.). Date *c.* 1400 (pl. v, fig. 2).

Both effigies rest on plain table-tomb (7 ft. 1½ in. by 4 ft. by 1 ft. 4 in.) having moulded slab (8 ft. by 4 ft. 2 in.) and base (7 ft. 2 in. by 4 ft. by 5 in.) at entrance to Manor chapel.

REFERENCES. See no. 1 effigy.

SOMERSET

BACKWELL (ST. ANDREW)

PERSON REPRESENTED. Sir Walter Rodney, Kt., married Margaret, daughter of Walter, Lord Hungerford. Died 1466.

EFFIGY (5 ft. 1 in., on slab 5 ft. 10 in. by 1 ft. 9 in. by 3½ in.). In breast and back plates, skirt of taces (six lames), brassarts, vambraces (laminated), elbow cops with large protecting fans (5 in. by 5½ in.), leather thongs fasten the palettes (9 in.) to the articulated shoulder-pieces (three lames), thigh-pieces and jambs, ridged elbow cops with large fans and reinforcing plates, laminated sollerets (toes and upper parts broken), hands bare (fingers lost), raised in prayer, head on tilting helm with mantling, orle, and crest *a griffin sejant* (wings broken), feet on lion (couchant), head lost, face clean shaven, hair combed back falling to ears, forehead wrinkled, sword-belt (1 in.) ornamented with roses at intervals of 1¾ in. diagonally on taces, scabbard, 2 ft. 5 in., hilt with long straight quillons and upper part lost, dagger on left side (4 in. of sheath remains), gold collar of roses and suns.

The effigy rests on table-tomb (5 ft. 3 in. by 1 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 1½ in.) with chamfered plinth (5 ft. 8 in. by 1 ft. 10½ in. by 2½ in.) adorned with five trefoil-headed niches crocketed and separated by gabled pinnacles having bases (2 ft. 1 in.) containing three-quarter angels (11 in.) with outspread wings vested in albs and holding heater-shaped shields. From west to east the shields are emblazoned: 1. (Azure) *a dolphin hauriant and embowed* (or) with a mullet to denote a younger branch of that family which was of Redlynch in Bruton, FitzJames. See *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* xxiv, ii, 33; 2. *Per pale indented* (gu. and vert.), *a chevron* (or) Hungerford of Heytesbury; 3. The central shield, (Or) *three eagles displayed two and one* (gules) Rodney; 4. (Azure) *three garbs 1 and 2 and a chief* (or), Peverell; 5. (Sa.) *two bars* (arg.) *and in chief three plates*. The impaled shield at the west end is not easy to read. Upon its dexter half are three objects bar-ways. They may be a culverin, bars wavy or wings. The coat impaled with them is Wykeham, (argent) *two chevrons* (sable) *between three roses* (gules) *seeded* (or). If the dexter is barry-wavy, then it has been suggested by the late Rev. George S. Martin, that according to Collinson, ii, 312, the shield would be Bayouse impaling Drewe. The Peverell coat of arms is wrongly carved and the garbs which are '1 and 2' ought to be '2 and 1'. The carving is boldly executed, but is somewhat deficient in craftsmanship; the fingers of the angels are disproportionately long, and the sculptor did not possess sufficient skill and knowledge of technique to carry out the work satisfactorily (pl. XXIV, fig. 5).

REFERENCES. Collinson, ii, 307, 308; sketch in Adlam's illustrated Collinson (Soc. Ant.), vi, 307; sketch in Braikenridge's illustrated Collinson (Taunton Castle), vi, 307; Rutter, *Somerset*, 21; *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* xxvii, ii, 18, 23, lxviii, i, 40, 41; Paper on *Backwell* by Rev. George S. Martin, 48, 50 (illustrated) (*Northern Branch Som. Arch. Soc.* 1896); Wade, *Somerset*, 38; *The Architect*, April 1st, 1887, has full-page illustration by Mr. Roland W. Paul, F.S.A.; Robinson, *West Country Churches*, i, 123; *Som. and Dorset Notes and Queries*, v, 1, 2, illustrated as frontispiece, vii, 202; Hutton, *Highways and Byways in Somerset*, 399.

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CHURCHILL (ST. JOHN BAPTIST)

No. 1. PERSON REPRESENTED. The early history of the Churchill Manor is somewhat obscure, and it is therefore difficult to assign a name for this effigy. Mr. R. W. Paul, F.S.A., conjectures it may have been to Roger de Churchill, who lived in the reign of Edward I (*Incised and Sepulchral Slabs of N.W. Somerset*, 25).

EFFIGY (present length, 5 ft. 8 in.). In round-headed coif of mail with head turned towards the right, hauberk, hose of mail, sleeveless surcoat to middle of calves, waist-belt (½ in. and pendent 11 in. beyond buckle), ridged knee cops of cuir-bouilli, left leg crossed over right, hands in mail gloves with divided fingers and raised in prayer, studded sword-belt (2½ in. and pendent 11 in. beyond buckle) with one end attached to scabbard (2 ft. 2 in.) while buckle-end is divided into two thongs laced into top of scabbard, heater-shaped shield (2 ft. 2½ in. by 1 ft. 8 in.) suspended by guige (1½ in. and pendent end 6 in. beyond buckle), head on two large cushions about 3 in. deep, top one rectangular (1 ft. 7 in. wide) and bottom one oval in shape. The effigy and slab (6 ft. 10 in. by 1 ft. 10 in. by 3 in.) are broken off just above the feet; all below is lost. The mail has been scraped off, and only a small fragment on the underside of right arm near wrist remains. Date *c.* 1300. The effigy is now on east side of south porch; Collinson states (1791) that it was at east end of south aisle. Date 1290–1300.

REFERENCES. Collinson, iii, 581; sketch in Adlam's illustrated Collinson (Soc. Ant.), ix, 581; Rutter, *Somerset*, 108; *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* xxxi, i, 27; lxii, ii, 50, 51, 75; Paul, *Incised and Sepulchral Slabs of N.W. Somerset*, 25, pl. XXVI; Braikenridge's illustrated Collinson (Taunton Castle), iii, part 4, 581.

No. 2. PERSON REPRESENTED. Unknown lady. Probably a member of the Fitzpayne family. See *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* xxxi, ii, 56.

EFFIGY (5 ft. 6 in.). In kirtle with tight-fitting sleeves, sleeveless cote-hardie, mantle fastened in front by *fermailes*, wimple, kerchief falling in graceful folds below shoulders, face mutilated, hands (broken) have been raised in prayer, head on two cushions, lower rectangular (2 ft. by 1 ft. 3 in. by 5 in.) and upper one oval (1 ft. 6 in. across and 2 in. deep), two reclining angels on either side of head—the left is destroyed and the right (mutilated) has left hand on cushion and right on effigy, feet rest on dog (mutilated), slab (6 ft. 7 in. by 1 ft. 9 in. by 2 in.). Date *c.* 1300. This effigy is now on east side of south porch; Collinson states (1791) that it was at east end of south aisle.

REFERENCES. Collinson, iii, 581; sketch in Braikenridge's illustrated Collinson (signed W. W. W. 1842), iii, part 4, 581; Rutter, *Somerset*, 108; *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* xxxi, i, 27, ii, 56; lxiv, 29, 30, 37, 39; Paul, *Incised and Sepulchral Slabs of N.W. Somerset*, 25, pl. XXVII; Robinson, *West Country Churches*, ii, 9.

COMBE FLORY (SS. PETER AND PAUL)

No. 1. PERSON REPRESENTED. Probably Sir John de Meriet, Kt., of Hestercombe, called *le neveu* to distinguish him from his cousin Sir John de Meriet, Kt., of Meriet and Castle-Carlton. Died 1327. See *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* xxviii, ii, 179–85.

EFFIGY (6 ft. 5 in.). In coif of mail, hauberk, hose of mail, sleeveless surcoat to calves, reinforcements of plate or cuir-bouilli, greaves, knee cops, hands broken but evidently elevated in prayer, shield (present size, 1 ft. 4 in. by 1 ft. 1 in.) charged *six pieces* (*or and sable*), *a bend* (*ermine*) *for difference*, legs crossed at knee (right over left) on either side of the shoulders are ailettes, the one on the left (7½ in. by 3 in.) is partly hidden by the shield, but the one on the right (8 in. by 7 in.) is charged like the shield, guige (1 in.) waist-belt hidden under folds of surcoat, sword-belt (2½ in. and pendent 6 in. beyond buckle), sword on left side (only 2 ft. 1 in. of scabbard remains), spurs and straps, head on oval cushion (damaged), feet rest on lion (couchant) with tail wrapped round body. Date 1327 (pl. IV, fig. 5).

REFERENCES. Collinson, iii, 248; sketch in Braikenridge's illustrated Collinson (Taunton Castle), iii, part 2, p. 248; Hutton, *Highways and Byways in Somerset*, 340; Wade, *Somerset*, 106; *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* lxii, ii, 51, 65–9, 72, 76, pl. IX, figs. 1 and 2.

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No. 2. PERSON REPRESENTED. An unknown lady, possibly one of the wives of Sir John de Meriet, Kt., of Hestercombe, called *le neveu*. The first was Mary, daughter and co-heir of William de Mohun, *ob. c.* 1300; the second was Elizabeth, widow of Philip Paynel, *ob.* November 16th, 1344.

EFFIGY (6 ft. 7 in.). In kirtle, sleeveless cote-hardie, mantle fastened from shoulders with two cords, hair in tufts on either side of face between wimple and fillet (1½ in.) over forehead, kerchief to shoulders, arms (mutilated) and hands (destroyed) were raised in prayer, head on two cushions (lower rectangular, 1 ft. 3 in. by 1 ft. 1 in. by 3 in. and upper one oval in shape), feet rest on two small dogs. Slab (7 ft. 2 in. by 2 ft. 1 in. by 3½ in.) bevelled at bottom. Date *c.* 1327 (pl. X, fig. 2).

REFERENCES. Collinson, iii, 248; sketch in Braikenridge's illustrated Collinson (Taunton Castle), iii, part 2, 248; sketch in Adlam's illustrated *Collinson* (Soc. Ant.), xi, 248; *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* lxiv, 29, 30, 37, 39, pl. VI, fig. 2; Wade, *Somerset*, 106; Hutton, *Highways and Byways in Somerset*, 340.

LONG ASHTON (ALL SAINTS)

No. 1. PERSON REPRESENTED. William de Snowden or Snowdon.

EFFIGY (5 ft. 9 in.). In cote with loose sleeves falling below elbows (5 in. above wrists) showing tight-fitting sleeves of tunic, hands raised in prayer, head uncovered with curling hair to neck, feet on dog and head on one low rectangular cushion (1 ft. 6 in. by 11 in. by 1 in.). The slab (6 ft. 7 in. by 2 ft. 6 in. tapering to 2 ft. 3 in. by 5 in.) has bevelled edges on which a mutilated Lombardic inscription is carved (see p. 12).

The slab and effigy are not only weather-worn but half the face and part of the top of slab are lost, while the left arm and a further portion of the slab are cracked. The figure is somewhat sunk in the stone and the folds of the cote fall from neck to ankles. Collinson (ii, 303) says that this effigy was to a woman, and in 1791 both effigies were in the churchyard; they are now preserved in the north porch. Date *c.* 1280.

REFERENCES. Collinson, ii, 303; sketch in Braikenridge's illustrated Collinson (Taunton Castle), ii, part 3, 303; sketch in Adlam's illustrated Collinson (Soc. Ant.), vi, 303; Pigott drawing (Taunton Castle); Paul, *Incised and Sepulchral Slabs of N.W. Somerset*, 5, pl. LX; Wade, *Somerset*, 35; *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* xxvii, i, 46; lxiv, 29, 30, 38, 41, 42; Robinson, *West Country Churches*, ii, 211.

No. 2. PERSON REPRESENTED. A civilian, possibly some member of the De Snowden or de Snowdon family, or of the de Lions family.

EFFIGY (5 ft. 10 in.). In cote with loose sleeves falling below elbows (5 in. above wrists) showing tight-fitting sleeves of tunic, while the folds of the cote fall from neck to ankles and is slit up some 2 ft. in front, hands raised in prayer, head uncovered and hair worn long to neck, lion at feet (mutilated), head on two cushions (lower rectangular, 1 ft. 8 in. by 1 ft. 2 in. by 3 in., and upper set diagonally, 1 ft. by 1 ft. by 2½ in.), and slab with bevelled edge and bed (7 ft. 9 in. by 2 ft. 6 in. tapering to 2 ft. 1 in. by 7½ in.), now placed on east side of north porch. Date *c.* 1290.

REFERENCES. See no. 1 effigy.

No. 3. PERSON REPRESENTED. Sir Richard Choke, Kt., first mentioned as advocate 1440, serjeant-at-law 1453, created Justice of Common Pleas 1461, bought manor of Ashton 1454, and also held manors at Stanton Drew and Temple Cloud (Som.) and Randolveston (Dorset). Died 1483. See *Dict. Nat. Biog.* x, 267–8.

EFFIGY (2 ft. 8 in.). In robe to ankles, cape (furred with minever), and cloak fastened on right shoulder. The cassock-like robe would be scarlet-lined and trimmed with budge (lamb's skin) and appears to have been painted green in 1872 erroneously; close-fitting coif of white silk or lawn on head having lappets covering ears and fastened with strings beneath chin, under-tunic seen at wrists, narrow waist-belt adorned with roses having buckle with long pendent strap and metal-end ornamented with a four-leaf flower and two roses, attached to belt on right side is short dagger (8¼ in.) and rosary of ten small beads and a larger one at each end with tassel at bottom, hands (four rings on fingers) raised in prayer, head on two tasselled cushions (lower rectangular, 1 ft. 7 in. by 1 ft. 2 in. by 6 in., upper set diagonally, 10 in. by 10 in. by 3 in.), feet in pointed shoes rest against a lion placed on a mound or stool.

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This splendid monument (8 ft. 6 in. by 8 ft. 4 in. by 2 ft. 8 in.) possesses on each side of the vaulte recess (6 ft. 8 in. by 2 ft. 8 in. by 5 ft.) an ogee-headed opening crocketed and surmounted by a finial. The front and sides of the table-tomb are adorned with panels (1 ft. 9 in. by 1 ft. 9 in.) containing quatrefoils having feathered ends and centres of heater-shaped shields (10½ in. by 8 in.) charged with (1) Choke, *Arg. three cinquefoils per pale az. and gu.*, impaling Pavy, *Erm. on a fesse gu. three martlets or*, (2) Choke impaling Drew, *Arg. five chevrons sa. betw. three roses gu. seeded or* (a Drew in 1420 bore *gu. on a chev. arg. three roses of the field seeded and barbed proper*), (3) Choke impaling Lyons, *Arg. a chev. sa. betw. three lions couchant gu.* In wall of recess above effigies was originally a panel of the Crucifixion. It was defaced, and in its place is now a shield charged with Choke impaling Drew. The two archangels in albs and fillets adorned with crosses on foreheads and golden wings remain. The scrolls above bear the inscription (*a*) *Ihu for the grete pity of our synnes have mercy; and for the love of thi passion bryng ye soules to salvatiō*, (*b*) *Misericors xte fili dei vivi miserere nostri.* On either side is a small heater-shaped shield (10 in. by 7½ in.) charged (dexter), *Or, a saltire gu.*, (sinister) *Or, a cross gu.* Above is a rose. The horizontal canopy consists of five arches crocketed and having finials springing from demi-angels in albs, jewelled fillets on foreheads and wings supporting gabled pinnacles richly crocketed. Each angel holds a heater-shaped shield (6 in. by 3¼ in.) with emblems of the Passion, (*a*) spear and sponge, (*b*) cross and crown of thorns, (*c*) pillar and cord, (*d*) three nails. The cornice is enriched with a border of grapes and vine leaves, and the monument is flanked on both sides with richly carved pinnacles containing niches with tall pedestals and corner buttresses. Date *c.* 1470 (pl. XII, fig. 1).

REFERENCES. Collinson, ii, 300; sketch in Braikenridge's Collinson (Taunton Castle), ii, part 3, 300; sketch in Adlam's illustrated Collinson (Soc. Ant.), vi, 300; *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* xxvii, i, 40; lxviii, ii, 28, 34, 35, 39, 40, 42, 44, 45, 46, 51, 52, pl. XI, figs. 1 and 2; Crossley, *English Church Monuments* (illustrated), 94; Rutter, *North-West Somerset*, 15; Robinson, *West Country Churches*, ii, 211; Wade, *Somerset*, 35.

No. 4. PERSON REPRESENTED. Margaret Morris, married (1) William Gifford, (2) Sir Richard Choke, Kt.

EFFIGY (5 ft. 7 in.). In green kirtle cut low in neck, tight-fitting sleeves with cuffs (probably fur), narrow waist-belt adorned with roses having pendent strap 11 in. beyond buckle, red mantle with richly ornamented gold fermailes, cords, and tassels, the hair is enclosed in cap with veil hanging behind to shoulders. On either side of face is a vertical caul or horn above the head set near together at the apex and acutely pointed. Above the forehead is a broad stiff band falling in flowing lappets on either side of the face, gold necklace (1½ in.) of suns and roses with gold pendant, hands raised in prayer and two rings on left hand, head on one large cushion (1 ft. 3 in. by 1 ft. 1 in. by 6 in.) supported by two angels in albs, heads thrown back, fillets on foreheads, and widespread wings, feet rest on smooth-skinned dog with collar placed on high mound or stool. Date *c.* 1470 (pl. XII, fig. 1).

REFERENCES. See no. 1 effigy.

MINEHEAD (ST. MICHAEL)

PERSON REPRESENTED. An unknown priest.

EFFIGY (5 ft. 8 in., and slab 6 ft. by 4½ in. by 1 ft. 8½ in. by 3 in.). In Eucharistic vestments—amice (5 in.), alb, broad maniple with fringed ends and incised edging (stole not visible), chasuble, hair covering ears—bald on forehead and wrinkled brow, tonsure, features worn, nose lost, hands hold chalice (right grasps stem and left placed under the foot), broken above knop (cup lost), with hexagonal mullet-shaped foot having beaded edge. Head rests on two tasselled cushions in covers laced at sides (lower rectangular, 1 ft. 8 in. by 10 in. by 3 in., upper set diagonally, 8 in. by 9 in. by 1½ in.) smoothed by two reclining angels with folded wings and vested in albs, feet laid upon a sleeping dog with a large bone under forepaws. The effigy was originally in some other place in the church and at later date was laid on this handsome monument which was never made for this particular effigy. Date *c.* 1410. The monument was made in a Bristol atelier (1460–1465) and consists of table-tomb with arched recess and elaborate canopy standing between chantry and sanctuary under most easterly bay of north arcade and was probably used as Easter

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sepulchre. Table-tomb (7 ft. 2 in. by 2 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 2½ in.) possesses front adorned with eight rectangular panels containing trefoil-headed niches with pedestals (statues lost). Panelled soffit is five feet above table-tomb. Horizontal canopy consists of a panelled front with five cusped and crocketed trefoil-headed arches having crocketed gable-pinnacles between. The arches spring from demi-angels bearing shields and their raised wings rest on the mouldings of the arches. The cornice has band of paterae with long scroll (now plain) and surmounted with elaborate band of cresting. This grand monument is flanked by gabled pinnacles supported by stepped buttresses (pl. VI, fig. 3 and pl. XI, fig. 5).

REFERENCES. Sketch in Braikenridge's illustrated Collinson (Taunton Castle), ii, part 1, 32; *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* XXXV, i, 15, lii, i, 23; lxix, 23–4, pl. III, pl. X, fig. 1; Larter, *Minehead and Dunster*, 20; Savage, *Hundred of Carhampton*, 587; Barrett, *Somersetshire*, 339; Wade, *Somerset*, 188; Hutton, *Highways and Byways in Somerset*, 364; Hancock, *Minehead*, 28.

NETTLECOMBE (ST. MARY THE VIRGIN)

PERSON REPRESENTED. Some member of the Raleigh family as the knight's shield is charged with the bend fusilly of the Marshals of Ireland, adopted by the family of Raleigh at a later date. Collinson assigns this effigy to Sir Simon de Raleigh, who died 1288; but this effigy was made about 1260.

EFFIGY (6 ft. 3 in.). In coif of mail, hooded, hauberk with mail in parallel rows up and down from shoulder to wrist, mittens and hose of mail, spurs and straps, sleeveless surcoat to ankles, girdle (1 in.), sword (2 ft. 4 in.) with hilt having straight quillons and round pommel laid diagonally on body, sword-belt (2 in. with 1 ft. 8 in. pendent beyond buckle), triangular shield (2 ft. 8 in. by 1 ft. 7 in.) charged with *a bend fusilly*, broad guige (1⅜ in. with pendent strap of 8 in. beyond buckle), spurs and straps, right leg crossed over left at knee, right hand placed on sword-hilt and left holds scabbard, while blade is ¾ in. out of sheath, head rests on two rectangular cushions (top set diagonally on lower one), feet on lion (couchant) with tail wrapped round body. This finely sculptured figure and bevelled slab (6 ft. 8 in. by 2 ft. 4 in. tapering to 1 ft. 10 in. by 4 in.) is placed in a recessed chamber in south wall of south chapel (pl. IV, fig. 1).

REFERENCES. Collinson, iii, 541; sketch in Braikenridge's illustrated Collinson, iii, part 4, 541; Pigott drawing (Taunton Castle); *Proc. Som Arch. Soc.* lvii, 49, 52, 53, 63, 65–8, 79–80, pl. V, fig. 3; Wade's *Somerset*, 193.

TICKENHAM (SS. QUIRICUS AND JULITTA)

No. 1. PERSON REPRESENTED. Probably some member of the branch of the Berkeley family who took the name of de Tickenham from having their residence on that manor. Mr. R. W. Paul, F.S.A., in his work on *The Incised and Sepulchral Slabs of N.W. Somerset* (p. 16) suggests that it may have been Nicholas de Tickenham, *temp.* Henry III, who, 'for his soul, and the souls of Sybil and Wentlyn, his wives, granted to the hospital of Billeswick, in Bristol, the privilege of digging turf in his moor at Tickenham'.

EFFIGY (6 ft. 5 in.). In flat-topped coif with fillet having small holes probably for metal adornment and head inclined towards right, hauberk with mail in parallel rows up and down from shoulder to wrist, mail hose, spurs and straps, sleeveless surcoat to upper part of calves with folds artistically arranged and falling over bevelled edge of slab (6 ft. 11¾ in. by 2 ft. 1 in., tapering to 1 ft. 10½ in. by 4¾ in.), left arm under triangular shield (2 ft. 10 in. by 1 ft. 7 in.) right laid on body with hand (fingers broken) probably holding edge of surcoat, girdle (1⅛ in.), guige (1½ in.), sword with hilt having straight quillons and metal end to scabbard on left side, head rests on one rectangular cushion (1 ft. 6 in. by 10 in. by 2 in.), feet on lion (couchant), head lost. Effigy now placed on stone ledge against north wall of nave, face mutilated and right leg broken away from calf. Date *c.* 1240–1250 (pl. III, figs. 1 and 2).

REFERENCES. Collinson, iii, 165; sketch in Braikenridge's illustrated Collinson, iii, part 2, 165; Rutter's *Somerset*, 231; Pigott drawing (Taunton Castle); *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* xxvii, i, 36; lxii, ii, 49, 84, 85, pl. III, figs. 1, 2, and 3; Wade, *Somerset*, 244; Paul, *Incised and Sepulchral Slabs of N.W. Somerset*, 15, 16, pl. XVIII; Hutton, *Highways and Byways in Somerset*, 399; Robinson, *West Country Churches*, iv, 54, 55.

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No. 2. PERSON REPRESENTED. Probably some member of the de Berkeley family who took the name of de Tickenham. Mr. R. W. Paul, F.S.A., suggests in his work on *The Incised and Sepulchral Slabs of N. W. Somerset* (p. 16) the name of Ralph de Tickenham who is witness to a charter of Thomas de Berkeley in the time of Henry III.

EFFIGY (6 ft. 2 in.). In round coif of mail with fillet and metal fastener on right side, head slightly inclined towards left, hauberk with mail in parallel rows up and down from shoulders to wrists, hose of mail and straps with buckle below knees, sleeveless surcoat below calves, girdle ($\frac{3}{4}$ in.), sword with hilt having straight quillons and belt (2 in. with pendent strap below buckle of 1 ft. 6 in.), heater-shaped shield (2 ft. 4 in. by 1 ft. 5 in.) and guige (1 in.) over right shoulder, right hand grasps sword-hilt and left holds scabbard, legs crossed at knee, head raised 5 in. on two rectangular cushions, feet on well-proportioned and well-fed lion (statant). Effigy and bevelled slab (8 ft. by 2 ft. $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. tapering to 2 ft. by $3\frac{1}{4}$ in.) now placed on stone ledge against north wall of nave. Face mutilated and right shoulder and arm broken. Date *c.* 1260 (pl. III, fig. 5).

REFERENCES. See no. 1 effigy.

No. 3. PERSON REPRESENTED. A lady, probably a member of the de Berkeley family—possibly the wife of FitzRalph de Tickenham.

EFFIGY (6 ft. 2 in.). In kirtle high in neck with tight-fitting sleeves, mantle fastened by two cords across breast and caught up under both arms, hair on either side of face confined by wimple and fillet ($1\frac{3}{4}$ in.) across forehead is gathered up in a net at top of head over which is kerchief falling to top of shoulders, hands raised in prayer, head on one rectangular cushion (1 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 1 in. by 3 in.) and feet on lion (head mutilated). Effigy rests on stone bench against wall of north aisle of nave and is beautifully executed, and with exception of nose is well preserved. Slab, 7 ft. by 2 ft. 4 in. tapering to 1 ft. 8 in. by 4 in. Date *c.* 1300 (pl. X, fig. 1.)

REFERENCES. Collinson, iii, 165; sketch in Braikenridge's illustrated Collinson (Taunton Castle), iii, part 2, 165; Pigott drawing (Taunton Castle); *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* xxvii, i, 36; lxiv, 29, 30, 37, 44, pl. V, figs. 1 and 2; Paper on *Tickenham* by Rev. J. Byrchmore (*Northern Branch Som. Arch. Soc. 1895*); Wade, *Somerset*, 244; Hutton, *Highways and Byways of Somerset*, 399; Robinson, *West Country Churches*, iv, 54; Paul, *Incised and Sepulchral Slabs of N. W. Somerset*, 15, pl. XVIII.

WELLS CATHEDRAL.

No. 1. PERSON REPRESENTED. Bishop John de Drokensford. Keeper of Wardrobe under Edward I, 1295; employed by him in Scotch wars, and canon of Lichfield, Lincoln, and Wells, with other preferments; consecrated bishop November 9th, 1309; engaged in political affairs in reign of Edward II, joined rebellion under Queen Isabella, and died in his manor at Dogmersfield, Hants, May 9th, 1329. See *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xvi, 19; Jewer, *Wells Cathedral*, 36.

EFFIGY (5 ft. 8 in.). Vested in amice apparelled gold with red fret; apparelled alb (gold with red fret and small white circles at intersections); stole (2 in.) with gold, red, and black fringe; brown dalmatic fringed like stole; red chasuble (lined with green) powdered with small quatrefoils within golden lozenges having foliage sprouting from each point and golden orphreys (1 in.) edged with black; mitre with golden orphreys but no infulae visible; black shoes with golden orphreys and strings, head on one large rectangular red cushion having white and black quatrefoils in golden lozenges adorned with red fret; feet on tawny-coloured lion, hands lost (originally raised in prayer), face and feet damaged. The red slab (6 ft. 5 in.) has green foliage on the bevel. The table-tomb (6 ft. 7 in. by 2 ft. $3\frac{1}{2}$ in.) having base (5 in.) with block of blue lias, stands on plinth (7 ft. 7 in. by 2 ft. 9 in. by 7 in.) which supported stone canopy, carved and painted, but removed in 1758. The tomb chest has a Purbeck marble top (2 in.) cut off 4 in. at bottom; sides and ends adorned with unusual designs; the ogee heads of the panels being through-cut from side to side. These have finials and are flanked by buttresses having spandrels adorned with heater-shaped shields ($3\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $3\frac{1}{4}$ in.) blazoned with two coats of arms repeated alternately and placed on a red ground with white foliage—(*a*) *Quarterly argent and gules, four swans' heads couped addorsed and*

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countercoloured (Drokensford); (*b*) *Ermine on a chief gu. two bucks' heads caboshed or.* Date *c.* 1330 (pl. v, figs. 5 and 6.)

REFERENCES. Leland, *Itinerary* (*Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* xxxiii, ii, 109); Collinson, iii, 400; *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* i, ii, 79, 86; xi, ii, illustrated as frontispiece, lxvi, ii, 28, 29, 39–44, 51, 52, pl. III, figs. 2 and 3; *Report on Sepulchral Monuments*, Soc. Ant., 1872, no. 55, p. 16; engraving by J. le Keux (January 7th, 1823) showing this tomb in 'View of Lady Chapel looking N.E.'; *Som. and Dorset Notes and Queries*, v, 27; vi, 225; Prior and Gardner, *Medieval Figure Sculpture in England*, 622, 641, fig. 694; Dearmer, *Wells Cathedral*, 126; Wade, *Somerset*, 263; Church, *Early History of the Church of Wells*, 312, 316 (illustrated); Jewer, *Wells Cathedral*, 85.

No. 2. PERSON REPRESENTED. John de Godelee, canon of Wells, dean of Wells, 1305, elected bishop of Exeter 1327, but election set aside by Pope in favour of John de Grandison. In his time chapter-house and Lady chapel completed, central tower raised, and quire moved east of tower and furnished with new stalls. Died 1332.

EFFIGY (5 ft. 1 in.). Vested in amice folded back under head, alb, maniple, stole (2½ in.), and chasuble, hands (damaged) raised in prayer, long face (damaged), curly hair worn long, tonsure, head on one bolster and lion couchant at feet (damaged). The broad silk folds of the chasuble are wide-spreading and drop with overlapping edges, and are well sculptured. Tomb stood under canopy (destroyed) having base (7 ft. 7 in. by 2 ft. 11½ in. by 8 in.) with table-tomb (6 ft. 5 in. by 1 ft. 10½ in. by 2½ in.) on base (5 in.) of blue lias stone and Purbeck marble top; sides and ends possess panels with ogee heads through-cut from side to side, flanked with stepped buttresses. Bevelled slab, 6 ft. 5 in. by 1 ft. 10½ in. by 2½ in. Date *c.* 1330 (pl. VI, fig. 1).

REFERENCES. Collinson, iii, 400, but wrongly ascribed to John Forest; *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* i, ii, 79; lxvi, 29, 30, 41, 52, 53, pl. III, fig. 1; Church, *Early History of the Church of Wells*, 316; Dearmer, *Wells Cathedral*, 127, also wrongly ascribed to Dean Forest who died more than two hundred years after Dean Godelee; *Som. and Dorset Notes and Queries*, vi, 225; Jewer, *Wells Cathedral*, 115 (wrongly ascribed to Dean Forest).

No. 3. PERSON REPRESENTED. William Biconyll, LL.D., canon of Wells, Lincoln, and St. Paul's, commissary official of the court of Canterbury, and apparently chancellor of that diocese. In a decree of Archbishop Stafford, 15 April 1448, concerning the augmentation of the vicar's portion at Birling church, near Maidstone, the title '*Cancellarius et Commissarius noster*' is given him (Bicknell's *Excerpta Biconyllea*, 101). The dean of Wells remarks 'that the Archbishop of Canterbury had an official who was sometimes described as his chancellor appears from a letter of Peter de Blois, who is writing to the great papal chancellor of the Archbishop (*modicus domini Cantuariensis Cancellarius*: Ep. 38)'. Died 1448.

EFFIGY (5 ft. 7 in.). In quire habit—cassock, surplice with long sleeves, and quire cope (cappa nigra). The ends of the grey almuce can be seen in the opening of the cope and the hood hangs over the shoulders. Hands raised in prayer, clean shaven, tonsure, head on tasselled cushion (10 in. by 9 in. by 3 in.) placed on rectangular mat (1 ft. 10 in. by 1 ft. 2½ in. by 1 in.) supported by two reclining angels having folded wings and vested in albs, feet in shoes rest on one large tasselled cushion (1 ft. 8 in. by 9 in. by 4 in.) on which are two small smooth-skinned and long-eared dogs. The effigy lies on table-tomb (6 ft. 3 in. by 2 ft. 1 in. by 2 ft.) having front decorated with eleven trefoil-headed crocketed niches and flanked by pinnacles. Soffit and back of recess (6 ft. 4 in. by 2 ft. by 3 ft.) are panelled. Canopy has a rich band of grapes and vine leaves (6 ft. 4 in. by 4 in.) and eleven trefoil-headed crocketed niches with pedestals (statues lost) between crocketed pinnacles, cornice adorned with paterae surmounted with cresting. The monument is flanked by buttressed pinnacles. Date *c.* 1449 (pl. VI, fig. 4).

REFERENCES. Leland, *Itinerary* (*Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* xxxiii, ii, 108); Collinson, iii, 401; *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* xl, 179 (illustrated), lxix, 6, 7, 8, 16–18, 27–8, pl. IX, pl. X, fig. 2; Britton, *Cathedral Antiquities*, 1863 (Wells), 114; Dearmer, *Wells Cathedral*, 98, 99; Jewer, *Wells Cathedral*, 37.

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WRAXALL (ALL SAINTS)

No. 1. PERSON REPRESENTED. Sir Edmund Gorges, Kt. He was in ward as a minor to John, Lord Howard, made Knight of the Bath at the creation of Arthur, Prince of Wales, 1489. Died 1512. Tomb erected after death of first wife, *c.* 1500.

EFFIGY (6 ft. 1 in.). In breast and back plates, three taces, large fluted tuilles (13½ in. by 10 in.) fastened with straps, brassarts, vambraces, elbow cops and knee cops with fleur-de-lis guards, thigh-pieces, jambs, round-toed articulated sabatons but no spurs, hands (bare) raised in prayer with one ring on little finger of right hand, sword-belt (1½ in.) with sword on left side, scabbard (2 ft. 7 in.) and hilt (7 in.) having slightly drooping quillons, kidney type of dagger on right side, sheath (2 ft. 7 in.) and hilt (6 in.), heavy gold chain of circular links (1½ in. diameter), head, bare with long hair to shoulders, rests on tilting helmet with mantling and wreath (crest lost), feet on collared greyhound (sejant guardant) (pl. XVII, fig. 1).

REFERENCES. Collinson, iii, 158, 159; Braikenridge's illustrated Collinson (Taunton Castle), iii, part 2, 158; Pigott drawing (Taunton Castle); Rutter, *Somerset*, 225; *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* xxvii, i, 43; xlv, 47; *Northern Branch of Som. Arch. Soc.* 'Wraxall' by G. S. Martin (1900) 93–5; Ward, *Somerset*, 284; Robinson, *West Country Churches*, iv, 172, 173.

No. 2. PERSON REPRESENTED. Lady Anne Howard, daughter of John Howard (created first duke of Norfolk, K.G., 1483, slain on Bosworth Field 1485), sister to Thomas, second Duke of Norfolk, who gained Flodden Field 1513, and great aunt to Catherine Howard and Anne Boleyn, queens of Henry VIII, and first wife of Sir Edward Gorges, Kt. Died *c.* 1500.

EFFIGY (5 ft. 11 in.). In ermine-lined red gown cut square at neck showing pleated chemisette, tight-fitting bodice with band of ermine (1½ in. wide) down the front, sleeves tight to elbows then hanging open, falling 1 ft. 2½ in. below tops of wrists, golden girdle fastened with large golden rose (2½ in. diameter) and golden cord and tassel, hands (bare) raised in prayer with gold ring on fourth finger of right hand, pedimental head-dress of black silk with veil falling behind 6 in. below shoulders and 'frontlet' framing the face (2⅝ in.) and reaching shoulders in delicate green pattern of lozenges edged with cloth of gold, gold chain of circular links (1 in. diameter) with pendent cross (2¾ in.), feet in black square-toed shoes rest on lion (sejant guardant), head on two cushions, bottom red with scroll-pattern (1 ft. 8 in. by 11½ in. by 2½ in.), top green with gold tassels (1 ft. 8 in. by 10 in. by 3½ in.). The lady is placed on the right side of husband owing to her superior rank.

Effigies rest on slab (7 ft. by 4 ft. by 2¾ in.) placed on table-tomb (7 ft. 11 in. by 3 ft. 4 in. by 3 in.) with slab (8 ft. 7 in. by 4 ft. 6 in. by 3½ in.) and chamfered and moulded plinth (8 ft. 7 in. by 4 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft.). Below the slab is a band of four-leaf flowers. The tomb was moved in 1851 from west end of chancel to a new recess in north wall of sanctuary. The front is divided into three compartments separated with stepped buttresses. The central panel has a heavily mantled achievement surmounted by a knight's helmet with visor nearly closed, and upon a wreath rests the Gorges crest of a greyhound's head (in this case affronté). The rectangular shield of arms (8 in. by 9 in. by 2½ in.) quarterly: (1) *Lozengy, or and azure, a chevron gules*, Gorges; (2) *Argent, on a chief gules three bezants*, Russell of Dyrham; (3) *Gules, a lion rampant ermine*, Oldhall; (4) *Argent, a chevron sable between three dice ermine*, Englowe. The two side heater-shaped shields, (*a*) 8½ in. by 11¼ in. by 2¼ in., (*b*) 9 in. by 12 in. by 1½ in., are held by kneeling angels with wings and vested in albs: eastern, Russell; western, Gorges. Two shields at east end. Southern suspended by a strap from neck of lion sejant, Quarterly: (1) *Argent, three trivets sable*, Trivet. (2) Gorges. (3) *Argent, a chevron engrailed sable, a martlet for difference*, Holbeach. (4) Russell. Northern shield suspended from the neck of an eagle or falcon rising, Quarterly: (1) Gorges; (2) Russell; (3) Oldhall; (4) Englowe. At west end are two shields, southern one supported by two lions sejant guardant, *vairy azure and argent*, Beauchamp of Lillesdon, impaling *argent, two bendlets nebuly sable*, Hankford. Northern shield supported by wildmen or wodehouses: Gorges and Russell, one over the other, impaling, (1) *Gules, a bend argent between six fleurs-de-lis or*, Hampton, (2) *Barry indented of six or and azure*, impaling *or a bend wavy sable* (pl. XVII, fig. 1).

REFERENCES. See no. 1 effigy.

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YATTON (ST. MARY THE VIRGIN)

No. 1. PERSON REPRESENTED. A civilian; possibly some member of the de Wyke family.

EFFIGY (5 ft. 10 in.). In long cote to ankles with tight-fitting sleeves, belt (1½ in.) adorned with four-leaf flowers at intervals of 2 in. hanging 11 in. pendent beyond buckle, hands (lost) raised in prayer, long face with drooping moustaches and short beard, hair worn in curls to neck, head on bolster (1 ft. 2 in. by 8 in. by 2½ in.) and feet on lion. Slab (6 ft. 3 in. by 1 ft. 9 in. by 3 in.) and effigy now placed in recess of north wall of north transept. Date *c.* 1325 (pl. VII, fig. 6).

REFERENCES. Collinson, iii, 619; sketch in Braikenridge's illustrated Collinson (Taunton Castle), iii, part 4, 619; Pigott drawing (Taunton Castle); Rutter, *Somerset*, 70 (illustrated); *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* xxvii, i, 14, and ii, 13; xlv, i, 25; lxiv, 29, 30, 36, 37, 45, pl. IV, fig. 2; Wade, *Somerset*, 287.

No. 2. PERSON REPRESENTED. An unknown lady.

EFFIGY (4 ft. 11 in. present length). In kirtle with tight-fitting sleeves, sleeveless cote-hardie, mantle fastened across shoulders with two cords, barbe, four kerchiefs, the inner one fitting her head like a cap with edges crimped enclosing her forehead and sides of her face (the outer one would be made of cloth probably) and the hands raised in prayer. Effigy (lower portion cut off) and slab (5 ft. 8½ in. by 1 ft. 4 in. by 4 in.) now placed in recess in north wall of transept. Date 1330–1340 (pl. X, fig. 4).

REFERENCES. See no. 1 effigy.

No. 3. PERSON REPRESENTED. Sir John Newton, Kt., son of Sir Richard Newton, Kt., Lord Chief Justice of Court of Common Pleas, married Isabel, daughter and co-heir of Thomas de Cheddre; died 1487.

EFFIGY (6 ft., on slab 6 ft. 8 in. by 1 ft. 10½ in. by 1½ in.). In suit of plate armour, breast and back plates, five taces with rivets and straps and tuilles (10½ in. by 7¾ in.), fluted and each adorned with two rectangular raised ornaments suspended by straps from breast plate, gorget, pauldrons, laminated brassarts, fluted elbow cops, fan-shaped vambraces, thigh pieces, knee cops with reinforcing plates, pointed sollerets (four lames) resting on lion (couchant), no sword, dagger on right fastened to waist-belt (¾ in.) by cords (scabbard, 2 ft. 3¾ in. with small sheath, 8¾ in., attached for a bastardeau,—hilt, 6 in. with straight quillons and ends, 4 in. turned up at right angles), SS collar with pendant (cross botony), head bare and hair combed back from forehead and falling at back to the neck resting on tilting helm with mantling and a garb for crest, hands (bare) raised in prayer.

This splendid monument is on north side of chantry chapel (St. John Baptist) built and endowed during Sir John Newton's lifetime. It is 11 ft. 3 in. high and consists of a vaulted recess for the effigies with horizontal canopy containing ten canopied niches (only a fragment of one figure remains) having decorated brackets. The cornice has a band of four-leaf flowers and cresting (greater portion lost). The open-work arch in front of recess possesses eight foils cusped and foliated and the spandrels have quatrefoils with feathered centres, while the front of table-tomb has a band of four-leaf flowers and similar quatrefoils. The tomb stands on a moulded plinth (13 in.) and is flanked by lofty pinnacles with crocketed gables and finials. On the sides of the pinnacles are two canopied niches (now tenantless) supported by gabled buttresses (three stages) with finials. At the back of the recess (9 ft. 2 in. by 3 ft. 10 in. by 3 ft. 10 in.) is a carving of the Annunciation (2 ft. 6 in. by 3 ft. 4 in.) projecting 3 in. and inserted above a moulding projecting 6 in. The Blessed Virgin (2 ft.) in long gown with waist-belt (6 in. pendent beyond buckle), mantle with circular clasp, long hair and crown on head, has turned from prayer-desk with open book towards the archangel Gabriel (1 ft. 9 in.), vested in alb; fillet and cross on forehead and wings beautifully sculptured. The archangel holds a long scroll (now plain) and from a cloud the Holy Dove is projected on rays of glory towards our Lady. A tall lily in a one-handle jar stands between the Blessed Virgin and archangel. Date *c.* 1470 (pl. V, fig. 4, pl. XIV, fig. 3, and pl. XV, fig. 2).

REFERENCES. Collinson, iii, 620; two sketches in Braikenridge's illustrated Collinson (Taunton Castle), iii, part 4, 620; Pigott drawing (Taunton Castle); *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* xxvii, i, 15, and ii, 13–14; xlv, i, 25; lxviii, 29, 39, 40, 42, 45, 62, 63 (pl. XIV, fig. 11); Rutter, *Somerset*, 70; Wade, *Somerset*, 287; Hutton, *Highways and Byways in Somerset*, 391 (illustrated); Robinson, *West Country Churches*, iv, 182.

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No. 4. PERSON REPRESENTED. Isabel de Cheddre (second daughter of Thomas de Cheddre and Isabel Scobahull), wife of Sir John Newton, Kt.; built south porch of Yatton church (1487); died 1498.

EFFIGY (6 ft. 1 in.). In kirtle cut square at neck, tight-fitting sleeves with cuffs (3 in.) and waist-belt (1 in.), with buckle and pendent strap (1 ft. 4½ in.) possessing metal end (3½ in.), gold necklace (3 in.), long mantle having fermailes adorned with conventional foliage and cordons ending in tassels, hair enclosed in cap with veil hanging behind to shoulders. On either side of face rises a vertical caul or horn above the head set near together at the apex and acutely pointed. Above the forehead is a broad stiff band falling in flowing lappets on either side of the face. Head on two tasselled cushions (lower rectangular, 11 in. by 11 in. by 3 in., upper set diagonally, 11 in. by 11 in. by 3 in.). Effigy and slab (6 ft. 4 in. by 1 ft. 6 in. by 2½ in.) placed on left side of husband's effigy. Date *c.* 1470 (pl. X, fig. 3).

REFERENCES. See no. 3 effigy.

WORCESTERSHIRE

PERSHORE ABBEY (HOLY CROSS)

PERSON REPRESENTED. An unknown knight. The horn in his ungloved hand indicates, possibly, that he held his lands by cornage tenure.

EFFIGY (5 ft. 7 in. present length). In suit of mail composed of rings set edgewise (⅜ in.), hooded hauberk, flattened top with triangular lapel below chin laced and turned back over the hauberk, leaving chin and neck uncovered and offering an explanation of the manner of fastening the mail hood; hose of mail, left leg crossed at knee over right leg, sleeveless surcoat to calves and beneath it a jacket (leather?) seen on right side and fastened with three straps and buckles, kite-shaped shield (2 ft. 5½ in. by 1 ft. 10 in.) with guige (1 in.) over right shoulder, beneath shield is a griffin (possibly the knight's crest), left hand on pommel of sword (present length, 1 ft. 10 in. and blade 3½ in. out of scabbard), sword-belt (1½ in.), right hand uncovered with mitten turned back on the wrist grasps a horn (1 ft. 2 in. with strap). Effigy is a well-proportioned figure and was found as lid of stone coffin in churchyard (*c.* 1843). It has been sadly mutilated and the bottom portion is lost. Date *c.* 1280 (pl. IV, fig. 2).

REFERENCES. *Prattinton Coll.* (Soc. Ant.) and *Lansdowne MSS. N.*, 919, 53; *Habingdon MSS.*, Jesus Coll., Oxford, 18, p. 24; Dingley, *History in Marble*, ii, 246, illustrated, but inaccurately; Dingley says that it is defaced 'which I have toucht off below'; John Noakes, *Notes on Pershore Abbey* (1848), referred to in *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* x, 232; *Arch. Jour.* xx, 158-61; *Arch. Assoc.* ii (illustrated); *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* iv, 235, 236; x, 234, 235, pl. III, figs. 2 and 3; xxvii, 13; Prior and Gardner, *Medieval Figure Sculpture in England*, 610, fig. 685; Nash, *Worcestershire*, ii, 251, where it is stated that in 1782 the feet rested on a hare.

WORCESTER CATHEDRAL

PERSON REPRESENTED. Unknown knight.

EFFIGY (6 ft. 6 in., on slab 6 ft. 8½ in. by 2 ft. 4 in. tapering to 1 ft. 8 in. by 3 in.). In suit of chain mail, hooded hauberk having mail in parallel rows up and down from shoulders to wrists, flattened coif, hose of mail, legs crossed, prick spurs and straps, sleeveless surcoat to calves, sword-belt (1½ in.) wrapped round scabbard, sword (scabbard, 2 ft. 11 in., hilt, 8 in., straight quillons, diamond-shaped pommel, and blade exposed 2¾ in.) resting on bunch of ivy leaves, kite-shaped shield (3 ft. 1 in. by 1 ft. 3 in.) suspended on left side by guige passing over right shoulder, right hand placed on hilt and left holds scabbard, headless lion at feet (couchant), head rests on two low cushions (bottom, 1 ft. 6 in. by 11 in. by 1½ in.; top, 13 in. by 9 in. by 1 in.). Date *c.* 1240–50.

REFERENCES. Britton, *Worcester Cathedral*, pl. XVI, fig. 1.

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Wood (Oak)

DEVON

TAWSTOCK (ST. PETER)

PERSON REPRESENTED. Unknown lady.

EFFIGY (4 ft. 4 in. present length). In kirtle with tight-fitting sleeves, cote-hardie, long mantle caught up over arms in graceful folds and fastened by two cords secured by jewelled studs, wimple, five kerchiefs on head falling to shoulders—the outer one was probably made of cloth and all five have an edging, hands well proportioned and raised in prayer, head on one oblong bolster (1 ft. 4 in. by 10 in. by 5 in.). Figure in good condition except for partial destruction of board and loss of lower portion of body. Effigy in obtuse recess in north wall of transept. Date *c.* 1330–1340 (pl. XVII, fig. 3).

REFERENCES. *Trans. Exeter Diocesan Architectural Soc.* vi, 192, 193 (illustrated on pl. XXII); Worth, *History of Devon*, 126; Rogers, *Ancient Sepulchral Effigies*, 365, pl. III; *Archaeologia*, lxi, 526; Fryer, *Wooden Monumental Effigies in England and Wales*, 40; Stabb, *Old Devon Churches*, 132–3; Prior and Gardner, *Medieval Figure Sculpture in England*, 669.

WEST DOWN (HOLY TRINITY)

No. 1. PERSON REPRESENTED. Sir John Stowford, or Stanford (1290?–1372?), king's serjeant in 1340, Judge of Court of Common Pleas, 1342 until 1372, except for one month when (Nov. 1345) Chief Baron of Exchequer. See Prince, *Worthies of Devon*, 559; Dugdale, *Origines*, 45; *Dic. Nat. Biog.* lv, 8; Foss, *Judges of England*.

EFFIGY (6 ft. 2 in.). In cassock-like robe probably scarlet-lined and trimmed with budge (lamb's skin), cape (furred with minever), and hood falling forward on neck, head mutilated but doubtless in coif of white silk or lawn having lappets covering ears and fastened with strings beneath chin, features quite disfigured, head on one oblong bolster, hands raised in prayer, feet on a mutilated animal. Date *c.* 1370.

REFERENCES. Lysons, *Mag. Brit.* v, cccxxxiii; *Arch. Jour.* xviii, 75; *Note Book of Tristram Risdon*, 98, 168, 190; Prince, *Worthies of Devon* (1701), 559, 560; *Archaeologia*, lxi, 526; Fryer, *Wooden Monumental Effigies in England and Wales*, 40; Rogers, *Ancient Sepulchral Effigies*, 366, 367, pl. VI.

No. 2. PERSON REPRESENTED. Dame Joan, co-heiress of Tracy of Wallacombe Tracy, and wife of Sir John Stowford or Stanford. She and her husband held lands in South Petherton and Drayton, Somerset.

EFFIGY. Destroyed. Prince mentions it in his *Worthies of Devon*.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE

GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL

PERSON REPRESENTED. Attributed to Robert, duke of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror, died in Cardiff Castle at the age of eighty, February 1135 (see *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xlviii, 349). This effigy was made one hundred and fifty years after the death of the Duke, yet tradition has long ascribed it to this unfortunate son of William the Conqueror who was buried in the middle of the presbytery of the abbey church of St. Peter, Gloucester.

EFFIGY (5 ft. 10 in.). In hooded hauberk reaching nearly to knees having mail in parallel rows up and down from shoulders to wrists, coronet ornamented with strawberry leaves and fleurs-de-lis, long surcoat open up to middle, guige, but no trace of shield, right hand grasps hilt of sword (3 ft. 4 in.), partly sheathed, and left holds scabbard, sword-belt ($1\frac{3}{8}$ in.) affixed to scabbard, thighs and knees in padded trews, lower portion of legs in mail hose, spurs (pricks gone but iron substitutes added) and straps. Right leg crossed

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over left, eyes open, and moustache worn. Cushion under head, no support for feet. Effigy on oblong chest of fourteenth or fifteenth century adorned with frieze of narrow-pointed leaves and round flowers and ten painted shields of arms. Date 1280–1290. In Lansdowne M.S. (B.M.), 874, sketch by Lancaster Herald (1610) shows two golden lions on breast of surcoat; and Rev. T. Kerrich's sketch (Kerrich Coll. MS. 6730, p. 21, B.M.) gives surcoat flowered with a four-leaf flower. Effigy broken in Civil War, sold to Sir Humphrey Tracy of Stanway, and mended and replaced at the Restoration. Effigy placed in middle of presbytery before high altar (pl. XVII, fig. 2).

REFERENCES. Leland, *Itinerary*; Atkyns, *Gloucestershire*, 95; Rudder, *Gloucestershire*, 126; Gough, i, xcvii; *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* xiii, 252, 253; xiv, 238; xxvii, 289, 291; *Records of Glouc. Cathedral*, i, 99, 105; Lansdowne MS., 874 (B.M.), illustrated; Fosbrooke, *Gloucestershire* (illustrated); *Gent. Mag.* lix, pt. 4, 264; *Portfolio* (1893), 180 (illustrated); *Kerrich Coll.*, MS., 6730, p. 21 (B.M.); Cox, *Gloucestershire*, 123; Fryer, *Wooden Monumental Effigies in England and Wales*, 8, 9, 47 (illustrated); Bigland, *Gloucestershire* (illustrated, vol. ii); Hollis (illustrated); Stothard (illustrated, i, pls. XXII and XXIII); *Archaeologia*, lxi, 494–5, 533.

OLD SODBURY (ST. JOHN BAPTIST)

PERSON REPRESENTED. Unknown knight. Possibly some member of the Stephens family who were buried in the north aisle.

EFFIGY (5 ft. 6 in.). In suit of mail (carved), coif of mail with skull cap beneath without supporting strap round forehead being shown, mail hauberk reaching to thighs with sleeves covering hands, mail hose, surcoat reaching below knees with girdle, legs crossed at knee, no spurs or straps, sword (scabbard, 2 ft. 6 in., hilt, 7½ in., possessing straight quillons and round pommel), sword-belt (2½ in.) wrapped round scabbard and tag inserted in long loop, heater-shaped shield (2 ft. 2 in. by 1 ft. 1 in.) with guige (1½ in.) over right shoulder, right hand (mutilated) on pommel (?), left hand holds scabbard, head on two cushions (bottom rectangular, 1 ft. 4 in. by 9½ in. by 3 in., top set diagonally, 9 in. by 9 in. by 2 in.), feet on lion (couchant). Figure in poor state of preservation; right hand and arm nearly worn away, features destroyed. Placed in westernmost recess in north wall of north transept. Board (5 ft. 11½ in. by 1 ft. 6 in. by 2 in.). Date *c.* 1270.

REFERENCES. Rudder, *Gloucestershire*, 355; *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* xxx, 136, 137; Fryer, *Wooden Monumental Effigies in England and Wales*, 48; *Archaeologia*, lxi, 534.

SOMERSET

MIDSOMER NORTON (ST. JOHN BAPTIST)

PERSON REPRESENTED. Probably a knight of the Warknell family.

EFFIGY (present length 4 ft. 11 in.). In coif of mail, hauberk, surcoat, girdle (1¼ in.), and shield (1 ft. 11 in. by 1 ft. 2 in.) on left arm. Legs damaged and figure sadly mutilated. Gough (1796) says effigy was in south aisle; but originally rested in raised tomb under singers' gallery. This refers to the old church; new church built 1830. It is recorded that in 1843 the effigy was standing under a tree in rectory garden; at present rests on a wooden table-tomb in belfry.

REFERENCES. Gough, ii, cx; Collinson, ii, 151; sketch in Braikenridge's illustrated Collinson (Taunton Castle), ii, part 1, 151; sketch in Adlam's illustrated Collinson (Soc. Ant.), iv, 151; *Archaeologia*, lxi, 494, 547; Fryer, *Wooden Monumental Effigies in England and Wales*, 8, 60; *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* lxii, 57–9, 79.

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PART II

Effigies made under Bristol influence, but not sculptured in Bristol from Dundry Freestone (Inferior Oolite).

ENGLAND

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

HUGHENDEN

PERSON REPRESENTED. Attributed to Richard Wellysburne de Montfort, youngest son of Simon de Montfort.

EFFIGY (6 ft. 6 in.). In suit of mail, coif, hauberk with parallel lines of mail from shoulders to wrists with gambeson beneath showing 2½ in. gorget of rectangular plates (cuir-bouilli ?), prick spurs and straps, sleeveless surcoat to ankles and kite-shaped shield (2 ft. 11 in. by 1 ft. 9 in.) charged with *crusilly, a lion rampant*, cingulum (1¼ in.), sword-belt (1¼ in.) wrapped round scabbard, sword (scabbard, 3 ft. 8 in. adorned with six small shields, hilt, 9 in., drooping quillons and circular pommel), right hand on hilt of dagger (sheath, 7 in., hilt, 5 in. with octagonal guard and circular fluted pommel), left hand on sword, feet on block adorned with three crescents, head on triangular block with two heater-shaped shields (11 in. by 9 in.) at shoulders, possibly intended for ailettes, one is blazoned *three bendlets*. Date *c.* 1270 (pl. XIX, fig. 3). Effigy made from block of great oolite (Bath Freestone).

REFERENCES. Stothard, *Monumental Effigies*, pl. XXXIX ; Laking, *European Armour and Arms*, i, 112, 113, fig. 137 ; Payne, *Records of Bucks*, vii, 363–412 ; Prior and Gardner, *Medieval Figure Sculpture in England*, 611, fig. 684 ; Ashdown, *Arms and Armour*, 88, fig. 104.

DEVON

BEER FERRERS

No. 1. PERSON REPRESENTED. Unknown knight ; possibly a member of the de Ferreys or Ferrers family.

EFFIGY (5 ft. 3 in. present length). In suit of mail, round-headed coif, hauberk, hose, sleeveless surcoat to calves, cingulum, sword-belt (2 in.), fragment of scabbard fastened by locket to end of belt, shield (fragment), guige (1 in.), cross-legged, right hand on hilt and left on scabbard, head on two cushions (bottom rectangular, 1 ft. 7 in. by 10 in. by 3 in., top tasselled and set diagonally, 9 in. by 9 in. by 1 in.), feet and support lost. Effigy made of Beer stone. Date *c.* 1300 (pl. XXII, fig. 4).

REFERENCES. Rogers, *Sepulchral Effigies of Devon*, 25, pl. II ; Prior and Gardner, *Medieval Figure Sculpture in England*, 623, fig. 695.

No. 2. PERSON REPRESENTED Unknown lady.

EFFIGY (5 ft. 4 in.). In kirtle, mantle, wimple with puffs of hair on either side of forehead, kerchief to shoulders, hands raised in prayer, head on two cushions (bottom, a rectangular oblong bolster, top set diagonally) with mutilated angels on either side placing hand on shoulder of the lady. Effigy made of Beer stone. Date *c.* 1300 (pl. XXII, fig. 4).

REFERENCES. See no. 1 effigy.

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EXETER CATHEDRAL (NEW CLOISTER)

PERSON REPRESENTED. Unknown knight.

EFFIGY. Only head on rectangular bolster, part of right shoulder of mail hauberk showing sleeveless surcoat and narrow guige remains. The somewhat flattened coif of mail is secured on left side by means of a strap and buckle to a triangular flap, so that when unfastened the hood could without difficulty be slipped over the head and kept in place by this arrangement. Immediately behind is a vertical slit terminating above and below in a round hole, probably intended to facilitate hearing. Fragment found under site of Dominican church, Exeter, in 1826. Effigy made of Beer stone. Date *c.* 1280 (pl. XXIV, fig. 1).

REFERENCES. *Trans. Devon Assoc.* xxxiv, 46 (illustrated); Rogers, *Sepulchral Effigies of Devon*, 94, 95; Prior and Gardner, *Medieval Figure Sculpture in England*, 610, fig. 686; Oliver, *Monasticon Exoniensis.*

WEAR GIFFORD

PERSON REPRESENTED. Unknown knight.

EFFIGY (5 ft. 10 in.). In suit of mail which has been impressed in gesso, round-topped coif, hauberk, hose, spurs (lost) and straps, legs crossed, knee cops with small protecting fans, surcoat in graceful folds to calves, cingulum ($\frac{1}{4}$ in.), sword-belt ($1\frac{1}{2}$ in.), sword (scabbard, 1 ft. 11 in., hilt, 8 in., straight quillons and circular pommel), right hand on hilt and left on scabbard, heater-shaped shield (1 ft. 11 in. by 13 in.) on left arm, guige (1 in.), head on rectangular bolster (1 ft. 4 in. by 8 in. by 4 in.) supported by two angels holding bolster and shoulder of knight (one destroyed except hands, the other has lost head), feet on dog (couchant). Well-proportioned figure made from Beer stone. Date *c.* 1310.

REFERENCES. Rogers, *Sepulchral Effigies of Devon*, 366, pl. 1; Prior and Gardner, *Medieval Figure Sculpture in England*, 627.

DORSET

WAREHAM

PERSON REPRESENTED. Unknown knight.

EFFIGY (6 ft. 8 in.). On damaged slab which originally had border of thirteenth-century foliage in suit of mail, flattened coif, hauberk with mail in parallel lines from shoulders to wrists, hose, sleeveless surcoat falls in ripple folds to calves, cingulum (1 in.), kite-shaped shield (2 ft. 11 in. by 13 in.), guige ($1\frac{1}{2}$ in.), legs crossed, right hand (broken) possibly held pommel of sword (lost) and left under shield may have grasped guige or cingulum. Effigy made of Purbeck marble, *c.* 1240.

REFERENCES. Prior and Gardner, *Medieval Figure Sculpture in England*, 592, 595; Hutchin, *Hist. of Dorset*, i, 112 (third edition).

GLOUCESTERSHIRE

BITTON (ST. MARY THE VIRGIN)

PERSON REPRESENTED. Attributed to Sir Robert de Button.

EFFIGY (6 ft. 1 in.). In low relief, suit of mail, flattened coif with lappet overlying upper part of gorget protecting junction, hauberk with mail in parallel lines from shoulders to wrists, hose, mail gloves, short prick spurs and straps, lower surcoat to calves, kite-shaped shield laid on breast charged (*ermine*) *a fess* (*gules*), Button, sword placed on breast diagonally under shield having small quillons and circular pommel, head on two cushions, feet on lion. Imager has drawn figure too large for slab (6 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 3 in. tapering to 1 ft. $2\frac{1}{2}$ in., 5 in. thick) and it encroaches on bevelled edges. Effigy made of lower lias limestone obtained locally. Date *c.* 1240 (pl. XX, fig. 1).

REFERENCES. *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* iii, 30, 32, fig. 2; xxiii, 62; xxv, 180; Ashdown *Arms and Armour*, 87, 88, fig. 103; Ellacombe, *History of Bitton*, 8, 35-6.

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Down Ampney (All Saints)

Person Represented. Probably Sir Nicholas de Valers, who assisted in building Down Ampney church, went on last Crusade, and died *c.* 1300.

Effigy (6 ft. 5 in.). In suit of mail, flattened coif, hauberk with parallel lines of mail from shoulders to wrists, mail gloves, hose, spurs and straps, surcoat to calves, cross-legged, knee cops (cuir-bouilli?), sword-belt (2¾ in.), sword (scabbard, 2 ft. 6 in., hilt, 8 in., straight quillons and pommel lost), kite-shaped shield (2 ft. 3 in. by 1 ft. 6 in.) charged with *on a cross five escallops*, guige (2¼ in.). The right hand on pommel and left on scabbard, lion at feet (couchant) holding end of sword in mouth, head on one oblong pillow (1 ft. 11 in. by 1 ft. 2 in. by 3½ in.). Effigy made of Purbeck marble, *c.* 1270 (pl. XIX, fig. 2).

References. Lysons, *Coll. of Glouc. Antiq.*, pl. VI; *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* xxxi, 56–8 (illustrated); Cox, *Gloucestershire*, 48.

Frampton-on-Severn

Person Represented. Probably some member of the Clifford family.

Effigy (6 ft. 3 in.). In suit of mail originally in gesso, coif of mail on which is head-piece, hauberk (quilted gambeson visible), mail gloves, hose, spurs (lost) and straps, knee cops (cuir-bouilli?), sleeveless surcoat to calves, cingulum (½ in.), shield (1 ft. 10 in. long) built into wall and only portion of Clifford armorial bearings, *chequy (or and azure) a fess (gu.)*, visible, guige (½ in.), sword-belt (1½ in.), sword (scabbard, 2 ft. 4 in., hilt, 5 in., straight quillons, round pommel), right hand on pommel and left on scabbard, feet on dog (couchant), head on pillow (1 ft. 3 in. by 9 in. by 4 in.). Effigy made of great oolite. Date *c.* 1310.

References. *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* xxix, 166–9; Prior and Gardner, *Medieval Figure Sculpture in England*, 627, 628; Bigland, *Gloucestershire*, 595; Rudder, *Gloucestershire*, 453; Atkyns, *Gloucestershire*, 231.

Old Sodbury (St. John Baptist)

Person Represented. Unknown knight.

Effigy (6 ft.). In suit of mail, coif, hauberk with mail in parallel rows from shoulders to wrists, mail gloves, edge of gambeson visible, hose, spurs (lost) and straps, sleeveless surcoat to ankles, heater-shaped shield laid on centre of body (2 ft. 3 in. by 1 ft. 9 in.) showing sword aslant on left side probably held by left hand hidden under shield, fingers of right hand flat on breast, head on low pillow set diagonally, feet turned awkwardly rest on piece of thirteenth-century foliage. Mail re-cut at restoration of church (1860). Effigy carved in high relief from block of great oolite. Date *c.* 1240.

References. Lysons, *Gloucestershire Antiquities*, pl. CVII; *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* xxx, 134–6; Atkyns, *Gloucestershire*, 355; Rudder, *Gloucestershire* (1779), 678.

HEREFORDSHIRE

Abbey Dore

No. 1. Person Represented. Unknown knight; erroneously attributed to Robert, lord of Ewyas, but effigy is a hundred years later.

Effigy (6 ft. 5 in. present length). In suit of mail (½ in.), flat-topped coif, hauberk with mail in parallel rows from shoulders to wrists, mail gloves, hose, sleeveless surcoat to calves, sword-belt (1¾ in.) with 16 in. of strap beyond buckle, sword (scabbard, present length, 2 ft. 3 in., hilt with straight quillons, 7 in.), kite-shaped shield on left arm (2 ft. 10 in. by 1 ft. 4 in.), right hand on hilt of sword and left on scabbard, head on one cushion set diagonally (1 ft. 2 in. by 1 ft. 2 in. by 2¾ in.). Effigy much worn and mutilated, but was originally a fine figure and made from block of light-coloured calcareous sandstone. Date 1240–1250.

References. *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* xxvii, 34, 122; Prior and Gardner, *Medieval Figure Sculpture in England*, 610, fig. 687 (later knight, no. 2).

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No. 2. PERSON REPRESENTED. Unknown knight; attributed to Roger de Clifford.

EFFIGY (6 ft. 2 in. present length). In suit of mail ($\frac{5}{8}$ in.), round-topped coif with fillet, hauberk with lace at wrists and mail gloves, having divided fingers, hose, sleeveless surcoat to calves, cingulum ($\frac{1}{2}$ in.) hanging 9 in. beyond buckle, sword-belt (2 in.) loose and wrapped round scabbard with 11 in. beyond buckle, sword (1 ft. of scabbard remains, hilt, 9 in., circular pommel and quillons lost), kite-shaped shield (2 ft. 4 in. present length by 2 ft.), guige ($2\frac{1}{4}$ in.), right hand on hilt of sword and left under shield on breast. A fine figure, sadly mutilated, head severed from body, made from block of old red sandstone. Date *c.* 1280 (pl. XXIII, fig. 1).

REFERENCES. See no. 1 effigy.

HEREFORD CATHEDRAL (LADY CHAPEL)

PERSON REPRESENTED. An ecclesiastic in quire habit; attributed to Chancellor Swinfield.

EFFIGY (5 ft. 10 in.). In cassock (arms visible at wrists), surplice, quire cope with hood laid flat under head, circular cap ($2\frac{1}{2}$ in. high), beard and curly hair, feet on large boar lying on its side, head on flat rectangular cushion (1 ft. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 13 in. by $2\frac{1}{4}$ in.). Effigy made from block of old red sandstone (greenish coloured). Date *c.* 1290 (pl. XXIV, fig. 3).

REFERENCES. Prior and Gardner, *Medieval Figure Sculpture in England*, 617, fig. 690.

MONMOUTHSHIRE

ABERGAVENNY (PRIORY CHURCH)

PERSON REPRESENTED. Probably Eva de Cantelupe, baroness of Bergavenny in her own right, died 1259.

EFFIGY (4 ft. 4 in.). In kirtle, mantle, wimple with puffs of hair on either side of forehead, kerchief to shoulders, hands raised in prayer holding a heart, feet in pointed shoes rest against large couchant dog with long ears, head on rectangular bolster (1 ft. 3 in. by 8 in. by 2 in.). Shield (1 ft. 11 in. by 1 ft. 5 in.) charged with (*gules*) *three fleurs-de-lis* (*or*) *two and one*, Cantelupe, on breast. South side of bevelled slab is adorned with roses, thirteenth-century foliage, etc. Effigy made from block of calcareous grit. Date *c.* 1260 (pl. XXIV, fig. 2).

REFERENCES. Prior and Gardner, *Medieval Figure Sculpture in England*, 612, fig. 688; Morgan, *Ancient Monuments* (priory church, Abergavenny), 72–4, illustrated, no. x.

OXFORDSHIRE

GREAT HASELEY

PERSON REPRESENTED. Unknown knight. This effigy has been attributed to William de Mandeville, earl of Albemarle; but it was made nearly a quarter of a century after his death.

EFFIGY. In suit of mail, hooded hauberk with ornament resembling small balls or knobs attached to strap round coif and mail on arms in parallel lines from shoulders to wrists, hose, spurs (pricks lost) and straps, gambeson showing below hauberk, surcoat to calves, cingulum ($1\frac{1}{4}$ in.), right hand grasps hilt of mutilated dagger (blade, 10 in., hilt, 6 in.), legs crossed, head on oblong bolster (2 ft. 1 in. by 10 in. by 4 in.) placed on large shield with thirteenth-century foliage on left side, feet on lion (couchant) with one paw resting on knight's right foot and end of scabbard in lion's mouth. Effigy and slab made of a block of great oolite from local quarry. Date 1240–1250 (pl. XX, fig. 2).

REFERENCES. Skelton, *Antiquities of Oxfordshire* (Ewelme Hundred, p. 9); Weare, *Church of Haseley*, illustrated, p. 13; *Proc. Bath Nat. Hist. and Antiq. Field Club*, ix, 224.

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SHROPSHIRE

HIGH ERCALL

PERSON REPRESENTED. Unknown knight.

EFFIGY (5 ft. 9 in.) In suit of mail, coif (face much worn), 3 in. of gambeson visible, hauberk with mail in parallel lines on arms from shoulders to wrists, legs crossed at knee, right foot lost, knee cops, hose of mail, rowel spurs in the form of large wheels, sleeveless surcoat to calves, sword-belt (2½ in.), sword having hilt with straight quillons, scabbard (fragment, 1 ft. 7 in.), shield (fragment, 1 ft. 9 in. by 1 ft. 3 in.) on left arm, right hand holds hilt of sword and left placed on scabbard, purse or small bag suspended at side, head on two cushions (bottom rectangular, 1 ft. 9 in. by 13 in. by 4 in., top set diagonally, 11 in. by 11 in. by 3½ in.), large lion couchant at feet. Effigy made from block of very fine-grained sandstone. Date *c.* 1300.

REFERENCES. Cranage, *Shropshire Churches*, 581, 582, 1069; Auden, *Shropshire* (*Little Guides*), 123; Eyton, *Shropshire*.

LEIGHTON-UNDER-WREKIN

PERSON REPRESENTED. Probably some member of the Leighton family, and the Rev. Dr. Cranage and other writers conjecture that it represents Sir Richard de Leighton. Tradition asserts that their burial place was in Buildwas Abbey and that this effigy was brought from Buildwas at the Dissolution.

EFFIGY (6 ft. 6 in.). In suit of mail, coif having face coloured, hauberk with mail in parallel lines from shoulders to wrists, knee cops, hose of mail, spurs (fragments) and straps, cross-legged, sleeveless surcoat to calves, cingulum (¾ in.) with purse suspended by cord on right side, sword-belt (2¾ in.), sword (hilt lost) with straight quillons, scabbard (2 ft. 3 in.), heater-shaped shield (1 ft. 9 in. by 1 ft. 3 in.) emblazoned in colour with arms borne by Sir Richard de Leighton in 1315: *Quarterly per fesse indented or and gules, and a bend sa.*, guige (1¾ in.), hands (uncovered) raised in prayer with mittens thrown back on wrists having parallel lines of mail similar to arms of hauberk, head on two tasselled cushions (bottom rectangular, 1 ft. 4 in. by 1 ft. by 5 in. with tassels of 4 in., top set diagonally, 10 in. by 10 in. by 3 in. with tassels of 4 in.), feet on lion sprawling on side with a fore-paw laid on knight's right leg. Effigy, well proportioned with considerable traces of colour, is made of very fine-grained sandstone. Date *c.* 1315 (pl. XXI, fig. 1).

REFERENCES. Cranage, *Churches of Shropshire*, 596, 597; Auden, *Shropshire*, 143; Eyton, *Shropshire*.

SHREWSBURY (ST. MARY THE VIRGIN)

PERSON REPRESENTED. Probably one of the Leybourne family of the manor of Berwick. Owen and Blakeway conjecture it represents Simon de Leybourne, who died between 1300 and 1315.

EFFIGY (5 ft. 9 in.). In suit of mail, coif with steel head-piece, hauberk with mail in parallel rows from shoulders to wrists, hose of mail, sleeveless surcoat to knees, legs crossed below knees, sword-belt (2 in.), sword with straight quillons (hilt, 7 in.), scabbard (fragment, 1 ft. 2 in.), shield (2 ft. 5 in. by 1 ft. 9 in.) on left arm, right hand holds pommel and left on scabbard, spurs (fragments) and straps, knee cops, head on two cushions (bottom rectangular, 1 ft. 10 in. by 1 ft. 5 in. by 3 to 5 in., top set diagonally, 12½ in. by 4 in.), feet on couchant lion having small head. Elbow and part of bevelled slab restored. Effigy made from block of a very fine-grained sandstone rests on table-tomb adorned with cinquefoiled niches now placed in the Trinity chapel. Date *c.* 1310.

REFERENCES. Cranage, *Churches of Shropshire*, 943, 944, 960; Owen and Blakeway, *Shrewsbury*, i, 196; ii, 396 (illustrated); Auden, *Shropshire*, 198; Auden, *Shrewsbury*, 57; Eyton, *Shropshire*.

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SOMERSET

BRYMPTON D'EVERCY

PERSON REPRESENTED. Unknown knight; possibly belonging to the Evercy family.

EFFIGY (6 ft.). In suit of mail (face and coif restored), hauberk in mail of parallel lines from shoulders to wrists, hose, sleeveless surcoat to calves, shield (2 ft. 7 in. by 1 ft. 7 in.) held on left hand by enarmes (2½ in.), guige (2½ in.), right hand holds sword-hilt, sword (3 ft. 4 in.) has straight quillons and placed diagonally on body detached from sword-belt (2¼ in.), spurs (prick) and straps (1¼ in.), cross-legged, head on two cushions (bottom, 1 ft. 5½ in. by 9 in. by 1¼ in., top set diagonally, 9 in. by 9 in. by 3 in.), animal at feet (dog?). Effigy made of Ham Hill stone, but has undergone considerable restoration. Date *c.* 1270 (pl. XXI, fig. 2).

REFERENCES. Collinson, iii, 216; sketch in Braikenridge's illustrated Collinson (Taunton Castle), iii, part 2, p. 216; *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* lvi, i, 70; lxii, 70, pl. VI, figs. 2 and 3; Prior and Gardner, *Medieval Figure Sculpture in England*, 608.

KINGSDON

PERSON REPRESENTED. An unknown knight which tradition attributes to Sir Guy Bryan.

EFFIGY (6 ft. 3 in.). In suit of mail, coif on which is head-piece fastened by narrow strap under chin, hauberk with mail in parallel lines from shoulders to wrists, leather gauntlets with deep cuffs, hose, spurs and straps, sleeveless surcoat to calves, cingulum (1½ in.), heater-shaped shield (2 ft. 1 in. by 1 ft. 1 in.) on left side, guige, sword-belt, right hand grasps sword-hilt and left placed on scabbard, cross-legged, head on two rectangular cushions (bottom oblong, upper set diagonally). Effigy has been a fine figure made of Ham Hill stone. Date *c.* 1270–1280 (pl. XXI, fig. 3).

REFERENCES. Collinson, iii, 195; sketch in Braikenridge's illustrated Collinson (Taunton Castle), iii, part 2, 195; sketch in Adlam's illustrated Collinson (Soc. Ant.), ix, 195.

LIMINGTON

PERSON REPRESENTED. Attributed to Sir Richard Gyvency, Kt.

EFFIGY (6 ft. 8 in.). In suit of mail, coif with head-piece strapped under chin, hauberk with mail in parallel lines from shoulders to wrists, leather gauntlets with deep cuffs (4 in.), hose, spurs and straps, cross-legged, sleeveless surcoat to calves, sword-belt (2 in.) wrapped twice round scabbard, sword and hilt with straight quillons, heater-shaped shield (2 ft. 4 in. by 11 in.) charged with *a bend between six scallops*, guige (1½ in.), right hand grasps sword-hilt and left holds the enarmes, mail reinforced by demi-brassarts, elbow cops, demi-vambraces, knee cops, demi-jambarts and plates over each foot, head on heaume with movable visor on hinge and ocularium of three slits on each side. Effigy lies on right side and is made of Ham Hill stone. Date *c.* 1330 (pl. XXI, fig. 5).

REFERENCES. Leland, *Itinerary*, ii, 91; Collinson, iii, 219; sketch in Braikenridge's illustrated Collinson (Taunton Castle), iii, part 2, 219; *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* vii, ii, 5 (illustrated); xxxii, i, 74; xxxiii, ii, 137–45; lxii, ii, 72–3, 78–9; sketch in Adlam's illustrated Collinson (Soc. Ant.), ix, 219.

PENDOMER

PERSON REPRESENTED. Probably Sir John de Domer or Dummer, living in 1321.

EFFIGY (5 ft. 9 in.). In suit of mail, coif showing lacing and tie on left side, hauberk having mail in parallel lines from shoulders to wrists, leather gauntlets with backs protected with oblong plates of steel, hose, knee cops of cuir-bouilli, sleeveless surcoat (5 in. below knees), cingulum (1⅞ in.), sword-belt (1¾ in.), sword (present length, 1 ft. 11 in.) with hilt having straight quillons and round pommel, shield (1 ft. 8½ in. by 1 ft. 3 in.) on left side (showing enarmes) charged with *a crescent between six billets 3, 2, and 1* (same

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arms emblazoned on surcoat), cross-legged, hands raised in prayer, head on heaume with two vertical slits for ocularium and ten breathing holes in form of crosses, feet on lion. Effigy made of Ham Hill stone. Date 1320–1325 (pl. XXI, fig. 4).

REFERENCES. Collinson, ii, 349; sketch in Adlam's illustrated Collinson (Soc. Ant.), vi, 349; *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* xvii, 91–4 (illustrated); lxii, ii, 53–4, 80–1.

STAMFORD BRETT

PERSON REPRESENTED. A knight; presumably a member of the family of Brett.

EFFIGY (6 ft. 3 in.). In suit of mail, round coif with narrow fillet, hauberk with mail in parallel lines from shoulders to wrists and quilted gambeson showing beneath, hose, gloves of mail, spurs and straps, sleeveless surcoat to ankles, cingulum (1 in.), kite-shaped shield (2 ft. 8 in. by 1 ft. 3 in.), guige (1½ in.), sword-belt (1½ in.), sword with straight quillons and round pommel placed diagonally on body, legs crossed, right hand grasps sword-hilt and left holds scabbard, the blade being drawn the fraction of an inch, head on two cushions (lower rectangular, top set diagonally), feet on dog (couchant). Effigy made of Ham Hill stone, much worn and weathered. Date *c.* 1270.

REFERENCES. Collinson, iii, 545; sketch in Braikenridge's illustrated Collinson (Taunton Castle), iii, part 4, p. 545; Wade, *Somerset*, 218.

WORCESTERSHIRE

WORCESTER CATHEDRAL

PERSON REPRESENTED. A lady.

EFFIGY (5 ft. 11 in.). In kirtle, mantle with lozenge-shaped clasp, kerchief falling to shoulders, right hand (damaged) holds rosary, left hand (lost) at side, head on two cushions (bottom rectangular, 1 ft. 4 in. by 11 in. by 4 in., top set diagonally, 11 in. by 11 in. by 3 in.), feet in pointed shoes rest on long-eared dog. Effigy made from block of great oolite. Date *c.* 1300.

REFERENCES. Prior and Gardner, *Medieval Figure Sculpture in England*, 627; Hollis, *Collection* (figured).

MALVERN PRIORY CHURCH

PERSON REPRESENTED. A knight.

EFFIGY (7 ft. 11 in.). In suit of mail (¾ in.), flat-topped coif, hauberk with mail in parallel rows from shoulders to wrists, mail gloves, spurs and straps (restoration), sleeveless surcoat to calves not opened out in front, sword (scabbard, 2 ft. 5 in.), guige, right hand holds a 'martel de fer' or pole-axe (haft, 2 ft. 3 in., head (damaged), 8 in.), left hand holds circular shield (1 ft. 5 in. diameter), straight-legged. Portions of slab with the feet and animal on which they rest are restorations. Date *c.* 1240 (pl. XX, fig. 3).

REFERENCES. Stothard (figured i, pl. XIX); Prior and Gardner, *Medieval Figure Sculpture in England*, 607.

WALES

BRECKNOCKSHIRE

CRICKHOWEL (ST. EDMUND)

PERSON REPRESENTED. Attributed to a Sir Grimbald Pauncefote, either husband or son (both were Sir Grimbald) of Dame Sybil Pauncefote, foundress of the church at Crickhowel whose deed of foundation in 1303 is printed in *Arch. Camb.* (1893, vol. x, 220).

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EFFIGY (over 7 ft., cross-legged). In mail, coif with fillet, hauberk with mail in parallel lines from shoulders to wrists, quilted trews, knee cops (leather?), stockings of mail, and feet on lion (couchant), shield on left arm charged with Pauncefote coat of arms, sleeveless surcoat falling below knees, cingulum (1¼ in.), sword-belt (2½ in.), sword (fragment), hilt with straight quillons and scabbard (1 ft. 9 in. by 3 in.), guige (1¾ in.), right hand on hilt, head on two cushions (bottom rectangular, 1 ft. 8 in. by 1 ft. 2 in. by 4 in., top set diagonally, 1 ft. by 1 ft. by 3 in.). Effigy, in wall recess on south side of chancel, and slab (8 ft. by 2 ft. 5 in. tapering to 2 ft. 1 in. by 8 in.), having fragment of inscription on bevelled edge, are made from block of old red sandstone. Date *c.* 1305.

REFERENCES. Theophilus Jones, *Hist. of Brecknock* (1809), 428, pl. X, fig. 2; Poole, *Hist. of Brecknock*, 220, 221; *Arch. Camb.* (1886), 278; (1904), 49; Dawson, *Churches of Brecknockshire*, 57; Wade, *South Wales*, 124.

PEMBROKESHIRE

LAWRENNY

PERSON REPRESENTED. Unknown knight; attributed to some member of the family of the Percivals of Coedcarnlas.

EFFIGY (4 ft., lower part below knees lost). In suit of mail, hauberk, mail gloves, hose, sleeveless surcoat, cingulum, kite-shaped shield (2 ft. 4 in.), guige, right hand on edge of shield and left appearing from under shield holds sheath of dagger (1 ft. 2 in.) suspended from sword-belt, head on two cushions (lower rectangular and upper set diagonally). Effigy battered and weather-worn. Date *c.* 1270.

REFERENCES. *Arch. Camb.* 5th ser. v, 137, x, 248; 6th ser. viii, 383–5 (illustrated); Wade, *South Wales*, 149.

MANORBIER

PERSON REPRESENTED. Probably some member of the De Barri family and possibly John de Barri who died 1324.

EFFIGY (6 ft.). In suit of mail, coif, hauberk, mail gloves, hose, reinforced (cuir-bouilli?) with jambs, knee and elbow cops, sleeveless surcoat to below knees, cingulum (1½ in.), sword-belt (2 in.) barred, spurs and straps, legs crossed, heater-shaped shield (2 ft. 3 in.) charged with *two bars gemel* (the De Barri arms were, however, *argent three bars gules*), right hand grasps hilt of sword (scabbard, present length, 1 ft. 7 in., hilt with round pommel, quillons lost, 8 in.) and left appearing from under shield holds guige (1½ in.), head on two cushions (lower a flat bolster with pointed ends, upper a tasselled pillow) while flat cushion supports shoulders, feet on lion (couchant). Effigy well preserved and carved from block of Coal-measure sandstone. Date *c.* 1325 (pl. XXIII, fig. 2).

REFERENCES. Fenton, *Pembrokeshire*, 436; *Arch. Camb.* 1880, p. 286, 1891, p. 192, 1893, p. 248, 1911, pp. 204–11, illustrated on p. 205; Owen, *Old Pembroke Families*, 4.

NOLTON (now preserved in church porch)

PERSON REPRESENTED. Unknown knight; possibly Thomas de la Roche who died *c.* 1274.

EFFIGY. In suit of mail, globular coif, hauberk, sleeveless surcoat, shield (2 ft. long), guige, head on two cushions (lower broad and oblong and upper set diagonally). This fragment is cut off a little below the shield and the figure indicates that he was a sword-handling knight. Effigy carved from block of sandstone; now much worn and almost smooth. Date *c.* 1275.

REFERENCES. *Arch. Camb.* 5th ser. x, 249; 6th ser. viii, 386.

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St. Davids (Cathedral)

Person Represented. Unknown knight; attributed to some member of the Wogan family.

Effigy (6 ft.). In suit of mail, flat-topped coif, hauberk, mail gloves, hose, prick spurs and straps, cross-legged, sleeveless surcoat to middle of calves, cingulum, broad sword-belt, sword (2 ft. 9 in. from pommel to bottom of scabbard) and hilt with straight quillons, right hand grasps hilt of sword and left appears beneath shield holding scabbard, mutilated shield (2 ft. 5 in. long), guige, head on two cushions (bottom oblong and top set diagonally), feet on lion lying on side. Effigy much worn and in sadly mutilated condition. Date *c.* 1270.

References. *Arch. Camb.* 4th ser. v, 292; 5th ser. xv, 225; 6th ser. viii, 380–3 (illustrated, p. 381); *Survey of St. David's*, 18; Jones and Freeman, *History of St. David's*, 120; Owen, *Old Pembroke Families*, 41; Fenton, *Pembrokeshire*, 88.

Upton Castle (Private Chapel), originally in Nash Church.

Person Represented. Unknown knight.

Effigy (6 ft. present length, feet and ankles are lost). In suit of mail, round-topped coif with fillet, hauberk, mail gloves, hose, sleeveless surcoat to ankles, cingulum, cross-legged, scabbard fastened to sword-belt with arrangement of knotted thongs, possesses straight quillons and slightly curving hilt, mutilated shield 2 ft. 4 in. long, guige, head on two cushions (lower rectangular, upper set diagonally), right hand grasps sword-hilt and left holds scabbard. Date *c.* 1270.

References. *Arch. Camb.* 4th ser. xii, 245; 5th ser. x, 243, 249; 6th ser. viii, 377–80 (illustrated, p. 378); Fenton, *Pembrokeshire*, 428; Owen, *Old Pembroke Families*, 46; Wade, *South Wales*, 284.

IRELAND

(Christchurch Cathedral)

Person Represented. Unknown knight. The effigy has been erroneously ascribed to Richard de Clare (Strongbow), earl of Pembroke, but it is of later date and the armorial bearings on the shield indicate that the knight belonged to another family.

Effigy (6 ft. 9 in.). In suit of mail, flattened coif, hauberk with mail in parallel rows from shoulders to wrists, mail gloves, hose, spurs (restored) and straps, flowing sleeveless surcoat, kite-shaped shield on left side charged with *three crosslets fitchy*, hands raised in prayer, head on one rectangular bolster (11 in. long). Effigy made from block of Kilkenny marble (palaeozoic) (pl. XXII, fig. 1).

COUNTY OF KILKENNY

Kilfane

Person Represented. A member of the de Canteville family.

Effigy. In suit of mail, somewhat flattened coif, hauberk with parallel rows of mail from shoulders to wrists, hose, rowel spurs and straps, sleeveless surcoat to knees with ripple drapery, cingulum, kite-shaped shield on left arm charged with *four annulets, a canton ermine*, Canteville, sword lies under body and scabbard visible between legs, sword-belt, guige, cross-legged, right arm at side and hand bare with the mail glove hanging by the wrist, head on one large rectangular pillow, feet rest on well carved cluster of oak leaves and acorns. The shoulders are somewhat narrow, chest flat, and right arm badly designed. Effigy carved out of Kilkenny marble (palaeozoic rock) (pl. XXII, figs. 2 and 3).

References. *Trans. Kilkenny Arch. Soc.* ii (1852), 67–9 (illustrated).

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GRAIGUE-NA-MANAGH ABBEY

PERSON REPRESENTED. Unknown knight.

EFFIGY. In suit of mail, globular coif, hauberk, hose, mail gloves, sleeveless surcoat below knees, cingulum, legs crossed, broad sword-belt with sword (scabbard with metal end, hilt with drooping quillons and circular pommel) fastened by laces, feet lost, right hand on hilt of sword and left holds scabbard, head on two cushions (bottom rectangular and top set diagonally). Effigy carved in high relief from block of Kilkenny marble (palaeozoic rock) (pl. XXIII, fig. 3).

REFERENCES. *Trans. Kilkenny Arch. Soc.* ii (1852), 64, 67, details of sword fastening illustrated on p. 64.

COUNTY OF WATERFORD

WATERFORD (CHRISTCHURCH CATHEDRAL)

PERSON REPRESENTED. Unknown knight.

EFFIGY. In suit of mail, having mail on arms of hauberk in parallel lines from shoulders to wrists, round-headed coif, shoulder-pieces, elbow and knee cops, sword-belt, sword in scabbard with straight quillons and circular pommel laid diagonally on breast, right hand on thigh and left on scabbard, legs straight, head on rectangular oblong bolster and feet on lion (couchant). Effigy made of Kilkenny marble (palaeozoic rock). Date *c.* 1350.

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Discussion.

Mr. Arthur Gardner thought Dr. Fryer's claims for Bristol were on the whole justified, and the geological evidence he had obtained would lead to good results. After all that had been done by Professor Lethaby, Dr. Philip Nelson, and Sir William Hope, little was still known about the men who carved the effigies, or the conditions under which they worked. It was uncertain whether the guilds or other organizations were attached to particular kings, bishops, cities, or quarries. The Purbeck marblers were referred to as working in association, but it was difficult to connect them with any particular locality, as the quarries were never thickly populated, and Corfe might have been their headquarters. Dr. Fryer had proved a distinct West Country school, and had on stylistic grounds attributed several monuments to Bristol, but were style and material alone sufficient to establish a centre there? Wells and Gloucester craftsmen might have been allied to Bristol and produced similar work. The Pershore knight belonged to a widespread type, but the Bristol knights seemed to be in a quieter style: the active figures of the Lord Mayor's Chapel were, however, different and might have been due to London influence.

Mr. I'Anson remarked that Dr. Fryer had increased the number of observed effigies depicting the ailette from three to four. He was able to add four to that number by the inclusion of the two Colvill effigies of *c.* 1330–5 at Ingleby Arncliffe, Yorks.; the effigy of Sir John de Bulmer IV (*ob.* 1299), formerly in the Augustinian priory of Guisborough, now in the church of Wilton-in-Cleveland, Yorks., and the effigy in the cathedral church of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. He agreed with Dr. Fryer that the Bristol straight-legged effigy was one of the series of these knights so represented. There were certainly more straight-legged effigies of knights than was popularly supposed. Four of the period were in Yorkshire, viz. the two above-mentioned Colvill effigies, the Stapleton effigy, *c.* 1332, at Melsonby, and that of Sir Hugh Fitz-Henry (*ob.* 1304) at Romaldkirk, the latter a work of the Durham school of craftsmen. At Guisborough Priory, N.R.—found at the Normanby brickworks—were the legs of a straight-legged effigy of *c.* 1335 still retaining their rowel spurs. In county Durham were two heaumed straight-legged effigies of the second decade of the fourteenth century, originally in the churchyard of Durham Abbey, but now at Chester-le-Street, the history of both being well authenticated. It might rather surprise some people to find heaumed effigies at such a late date, but the Durham school, apparently founded *c.* 1270 by a Purbeck marbler, was extraordinarily conservative. At Houghton-le-Spring, for instance, was an effigy of *c.* 1310 which was virtually a copy of the type of figure being turned out *c.* 1270 by the Purbeck marblers. He had listened with great interest to Dr. Fryer's remarks on the work of the Bristol school. At York, between about 1317 and 1330, there was a very highly skilled school of craftsmen who turned out some remarkably fine effigies. The knights were usually depicted bare-headed; the shield carried high up the arm, and voluminous sleeved surcoats were worn. In the Temple Church, London, was the fine effigy of William, second Lord Roos of Helmsley (*ob.* 1317), formerly in the Augustinian priory of Guisborough; at Bedale was the effigy of Brian, Lord Fitz-Alan, executed *c.* 1318; at Norton (county Durham) was an unidentified effigy of *c.* 1320, evidently commemorating Sir Richard de Parco; at Howden, Goldsborough, Harlsey, and Escrick were other examples. Coeval with this school was another highly skilled York school which turned out some beautiful figures, among them the Stillingfleet, Ilkley, and Felixkirk effigies. So far as Yorkshire was concerned the period 1315–45 was the golden age in the era of monumental sculpture. It was interesting to notice how the type of stone dealt with influenced the work of the different schools. The Durham craftsmen who, in early times, employed the hard Frosterly marble, depicted the mail by means of incised lines and freely used the sword-handling attitude, which was never adopted by any of the York schools.

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Mr. HEMP asked if there was any evidence as to travelling schools of workmen. There was an effigy at Grosmont, near Bristol, of early thirteenth-century date in an unfinished condition, which must have been executed on the spot. Dr. Fryer had shown some diffidence about portraiture, but most would agree that the majority of effigies were portraits. There was one under a canopy at Cheriton, Pembrokeshire, which seemed to reflect the Bristol style; and those at Crickhowel and Margam were well within the Bristol sphere of influence.

Dr. FRYER in reply referred to an effigy at Haseley, Oxfordshire, which had been difficult to classify, but was later proved by Professor Sollas to be not Bath oolite but from a local quarry. It was beautifully carved and dated about 1240–50; as it resembled Bristol work it was probably carved by a craftsman from that centre. It was news to him that there were several straight-legged effigies within the limits mentioned in the paper. Examination of fragments by Mr. Richardson had shown that of the six effigies at Winterbourne, two were made at Bath and four at Bristol.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. GIUSEPPI) thought that Dr. Fryer had made out a good case for Bristol, but he would like to know if there was any documentary evidence for a school of sculpture there, or for the alleged migration from Wells to Bristol. The thanks of the Society were due to the author for his paper, which had been lavishly illustrated on the screen.

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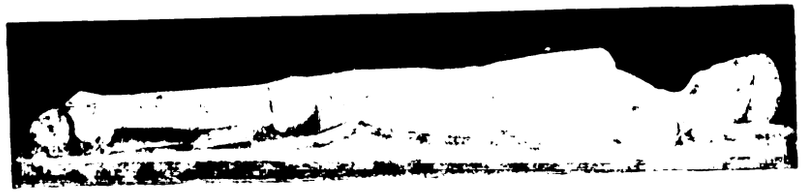
1. Wells Cathedral: west front. 1230-1240



2. William Longespée, Salisbury Cathedral. *c.* 1240



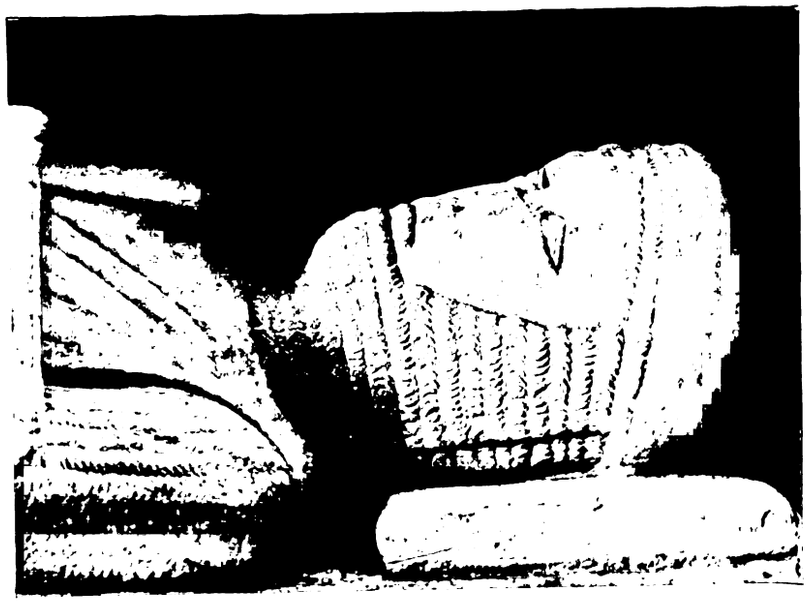
6. Civilian, St. James, Bristol. *c.* 1240



3. Knight, Shepton Mallet, Somerset. 1240-1245



4. Knight, Shepton Mallet, Somerset. 1240–1245



5. Knight, Shepton Mallet, Somerset. 1240–1245

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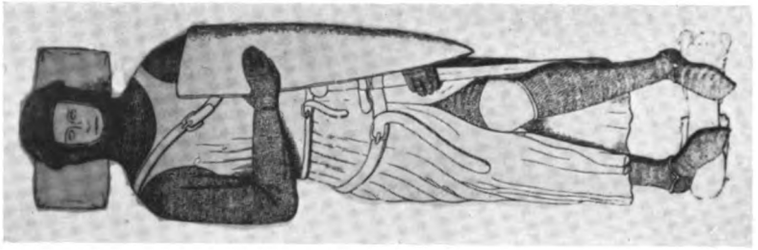
5. Figure in feretory, Winchester Cathedral 1240–1245



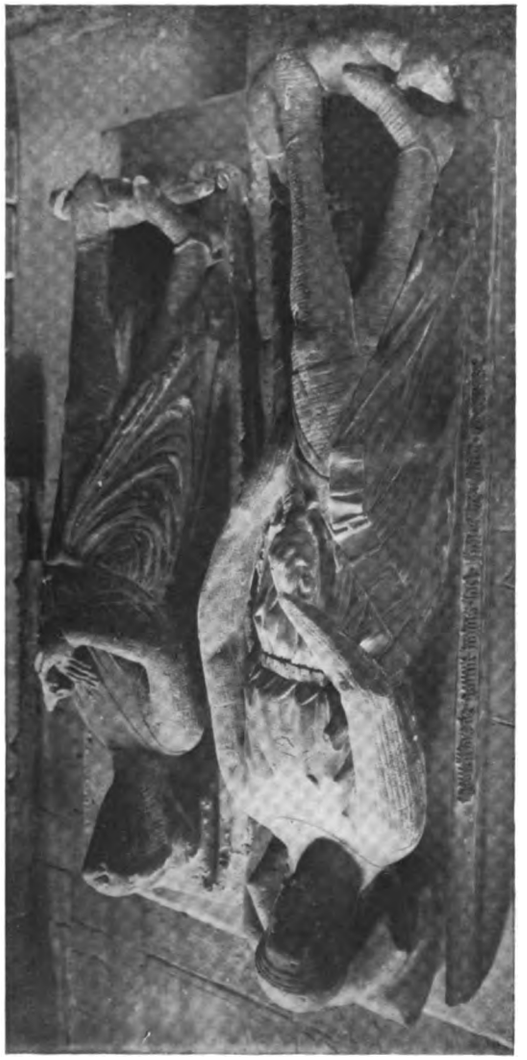
1. Civilian, St. Peter's, Carmarthen. 1240-1245



2. Detail of Fig. 3. *c.* 1260



4. Knight, Iddesleigh, Devon. *c.* 1250



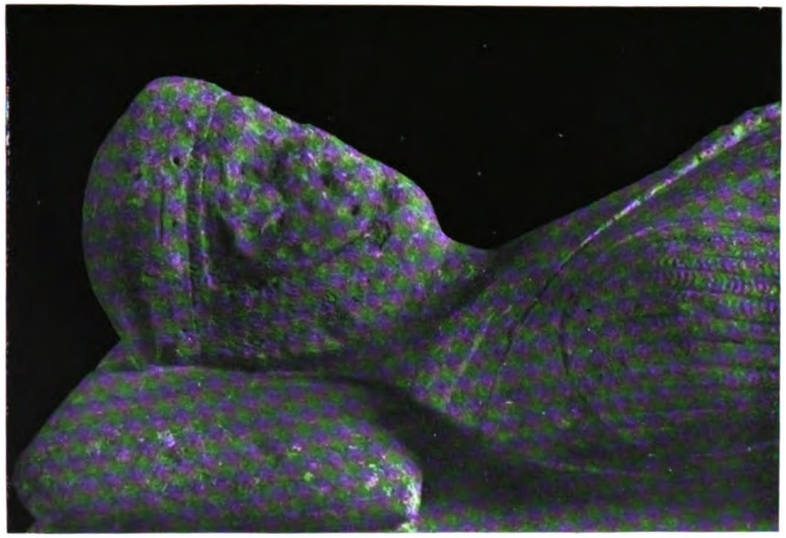
3. Knights, St. Mark's, Bristol. First Knight, *c.* 1240–1250; second Knight, *c.* 1260

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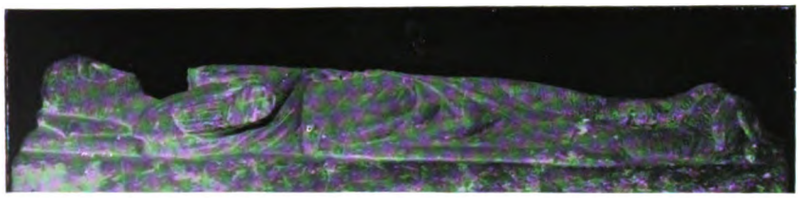
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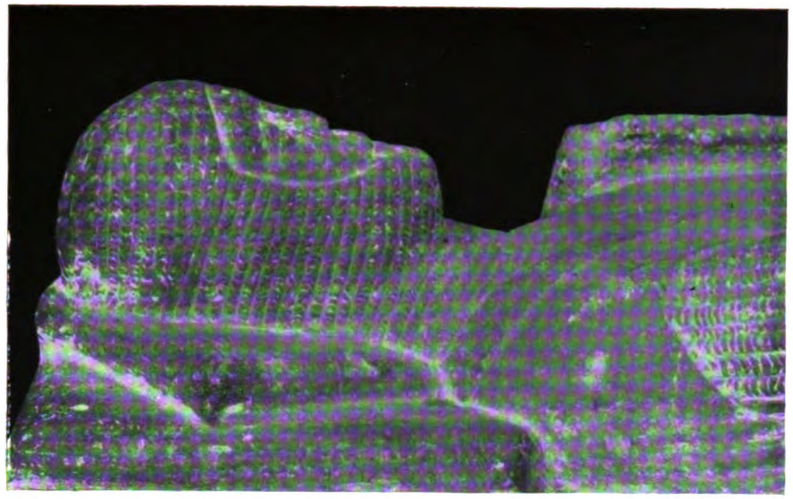
1. Knight, Tickenham, Somerset. 1240-1250



2. Knight, Tickenham, Somerset. 1240-1250



3. Knight, St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol. *c.* 1260



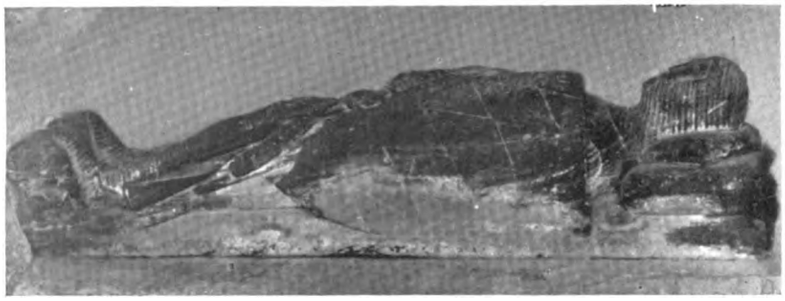
4. Knight, St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol. *c.* 1260



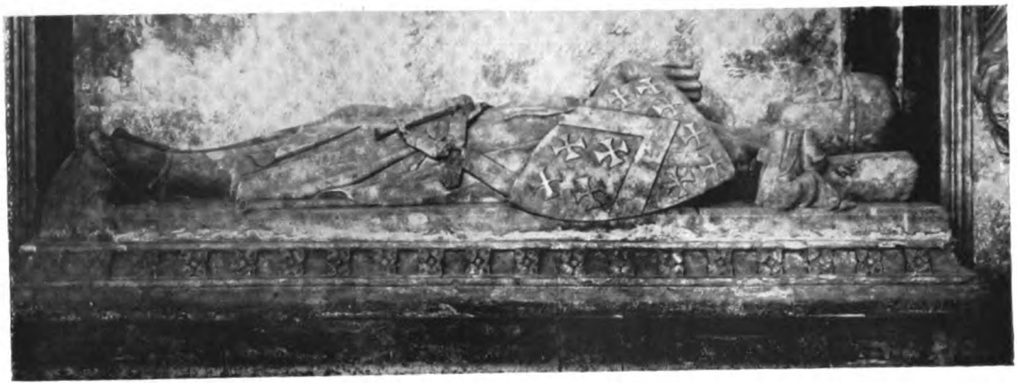
5. Knight, Tickenham, Somerset. *c.* 1260

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1. Knight, Nettlecombe, Somerset. *c.* 1260



4. Thomas II, 6th Lord Berkeley (?), Bristol Cathedral. *c.* 1320



2. Knight, Pershore Abbey, Worcestershire *c.* 1280

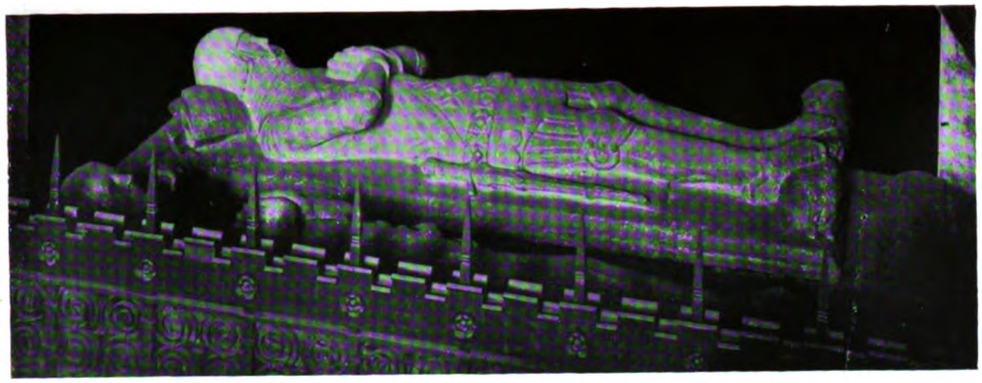


3. Head of Knight, St. Philip's, Bristol. 1290–1300



5. Sir John de Meriet, Combe Flory, Somerset. *ob.* 1327

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1. Margaret, Lady Berkeley. *ob.* 1337: Maurice IV, 9th Lord Berkeley. *ob.* 1368, Bristol Cathedral



2. Sir Edward and Lady de Bradston, Winterbourne, Glos. *c.* 1400



3. Knight, St. Philip's, Bristol. 1450–1460



4. Sir John Newton, Yatton, Somerset. *c.* 1470.

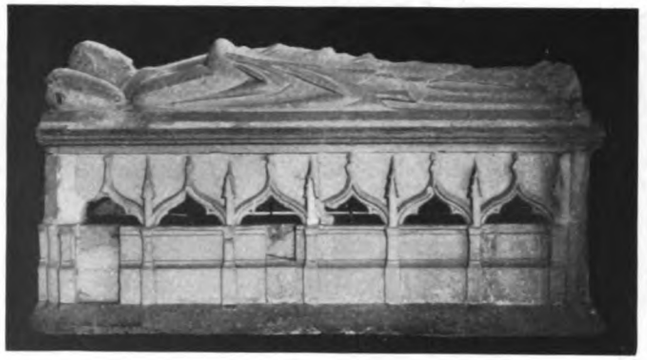


5. Bishop Drokensford, Wells Cathedral. *c.* 1330

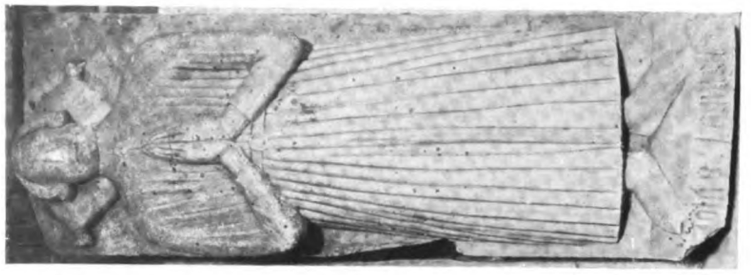


6. Detail of Bishop Drokensford's figure. *c.* 1330

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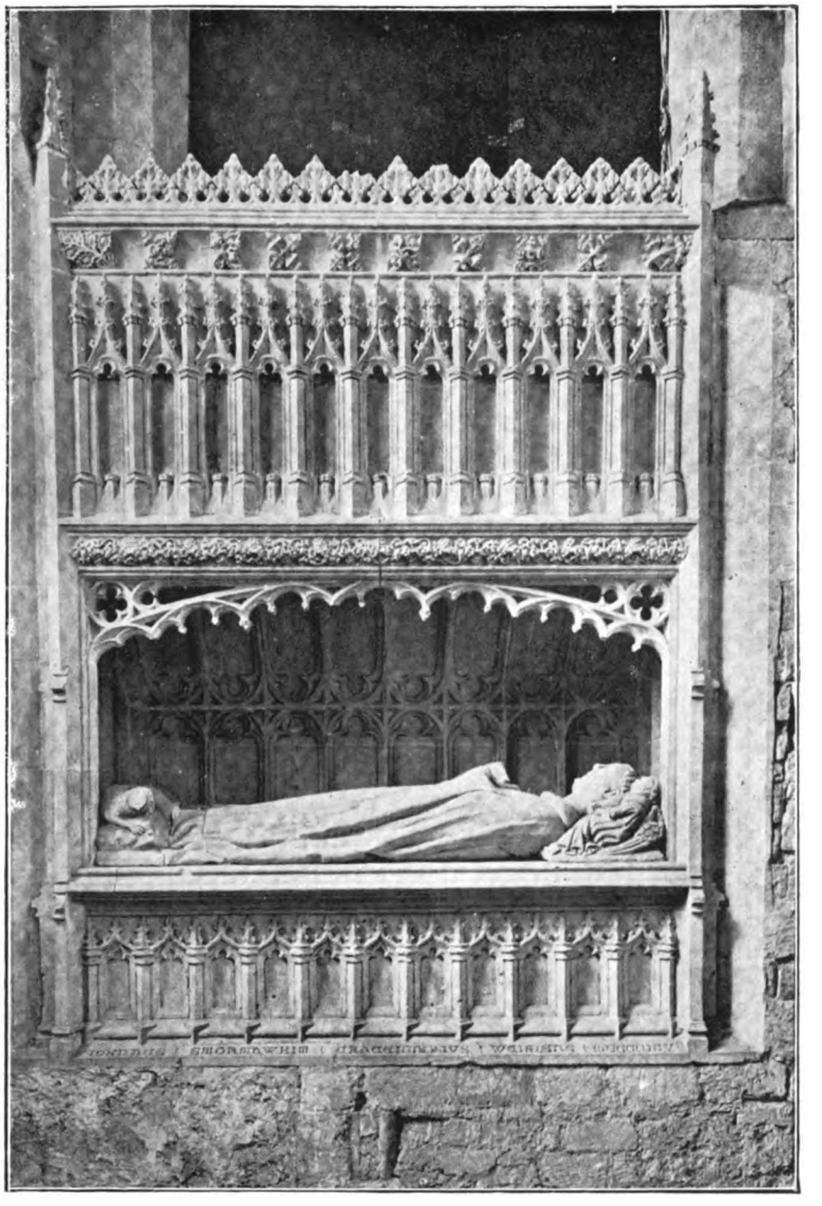
1. Dean Godelee, Wells Cathedral. *c.* 1330



2. John Lanyngton, priest, St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol. 1390–1400



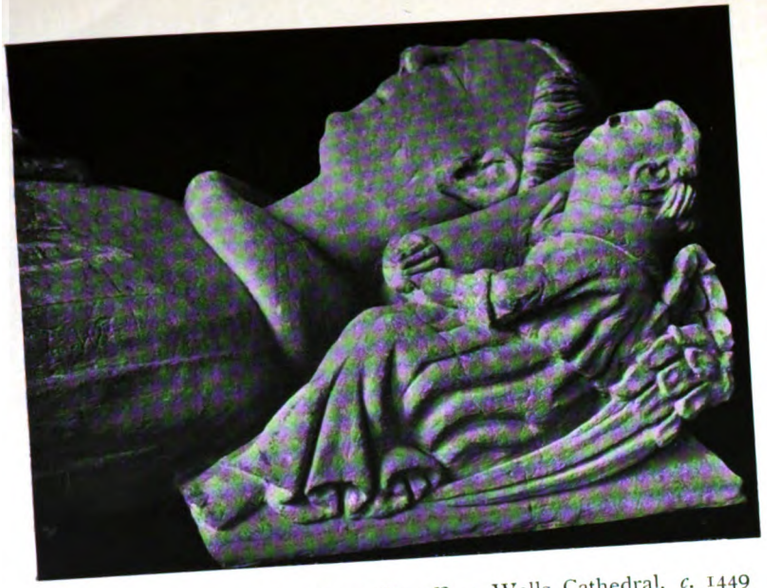
3. Priest, Minehead, Somerset. *c.* 1410



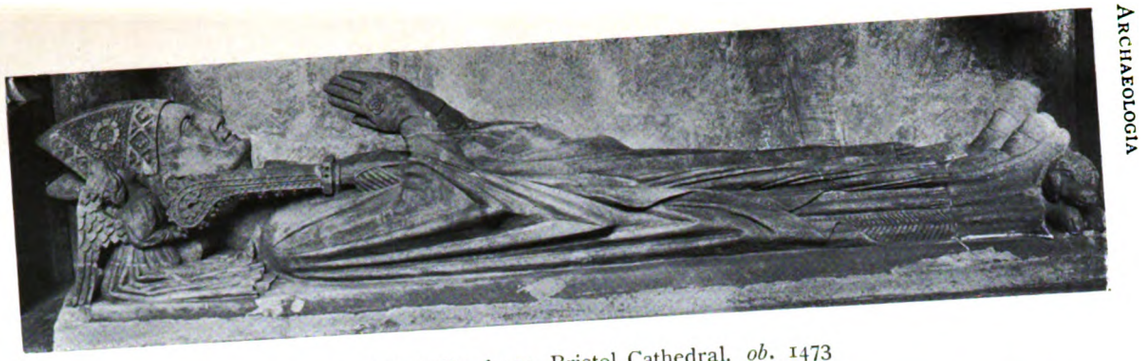
4. Chancellor Biconyll, Wells Cathedral. *c.* 1449

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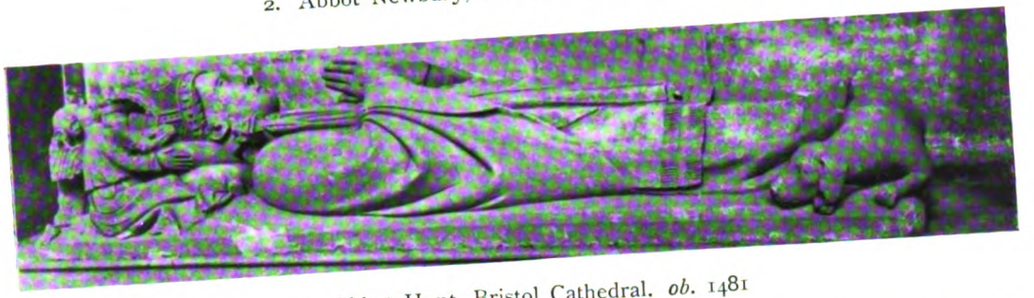
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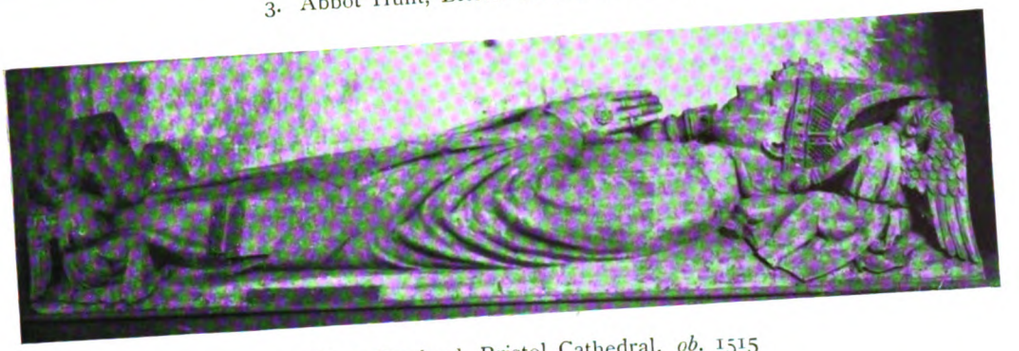
1. Detail of Chancellor Biconyll's effigy, Wells Cathedral. *c.* 1449



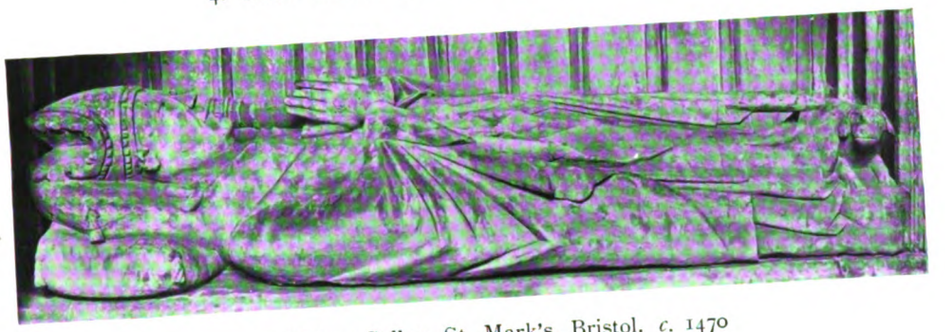
2. Abbot Newbury, Bristol Cathedral. *ob.* 1473



3. Abbot Hunt, Bristol Cathedral. *ob.* 1481



4. Abbot Newland, Bristol Cathedral. *ob.* 1515



5. Bishop Salley, St. Mark's, Bristol. *c.* 1470



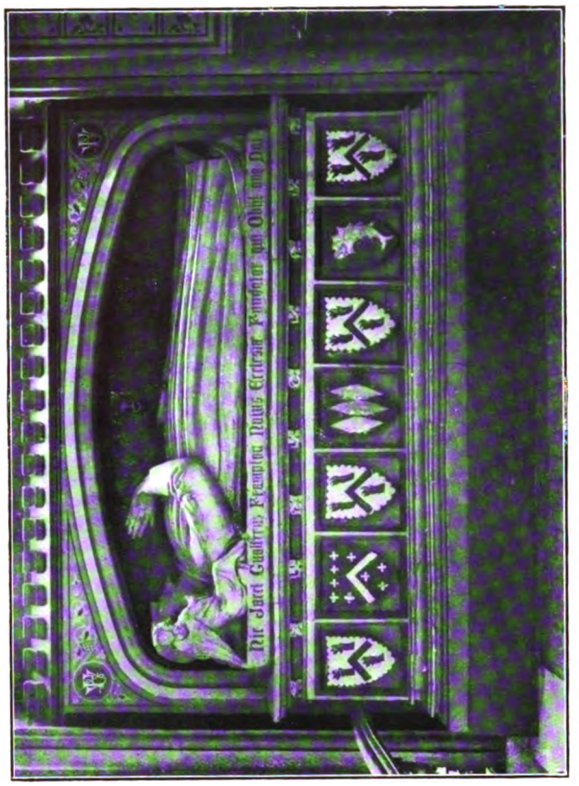
6. Civilian, Yatton, Somerset. *c.* 1325

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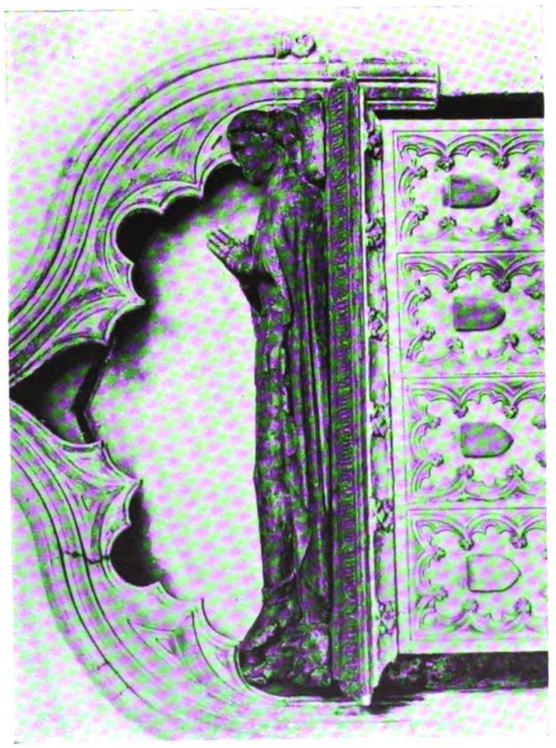
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2. Civilian, Pucklechurch, Glos. *c.* 1360



4. Walter Frampton, St. John Baptist's, Bristol. *ob.* 1388



1. Civilian, St. Mark's, Bristol. *c.* 1360



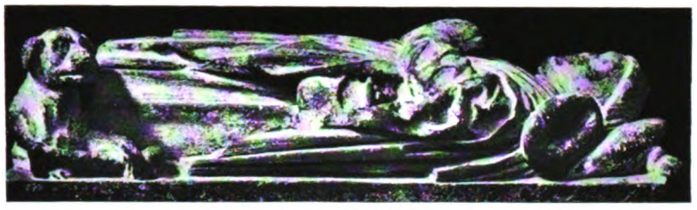
3. Edward Blanket and wife (?), St. Stephen's, Bristol. *c.* 1375

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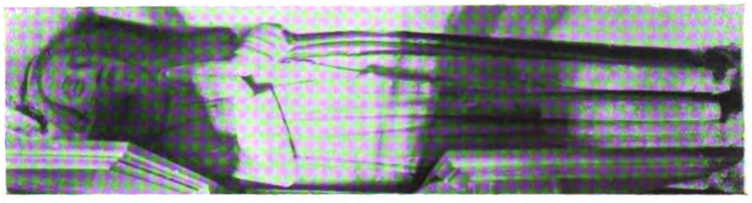
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1. William Canynges II, St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol. *c.* 1460



2. Civilian, St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol. 1470–1480



3. Walter Tyddestille, St. Stephen's, Bristol. 1380–1390



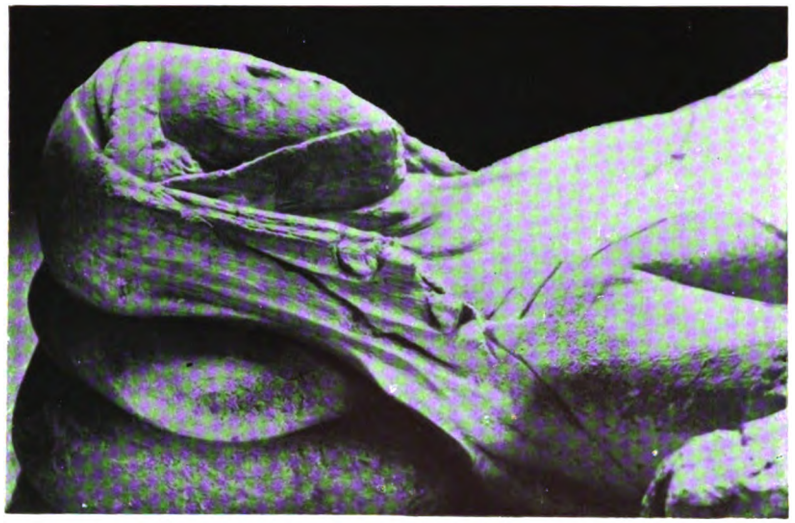
4. Joan, wife of William Canynges II, St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol. *c.* 1460

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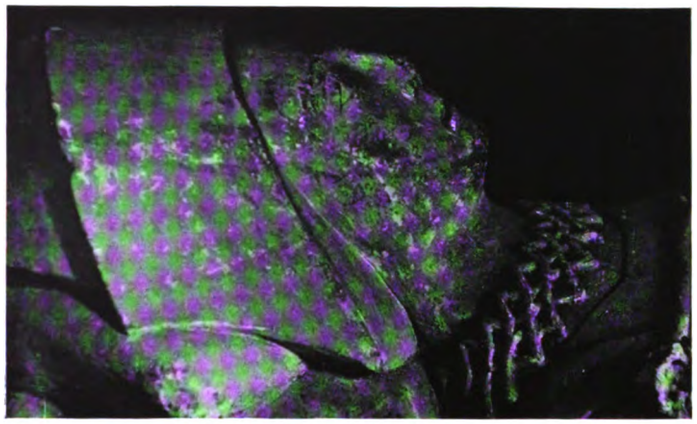
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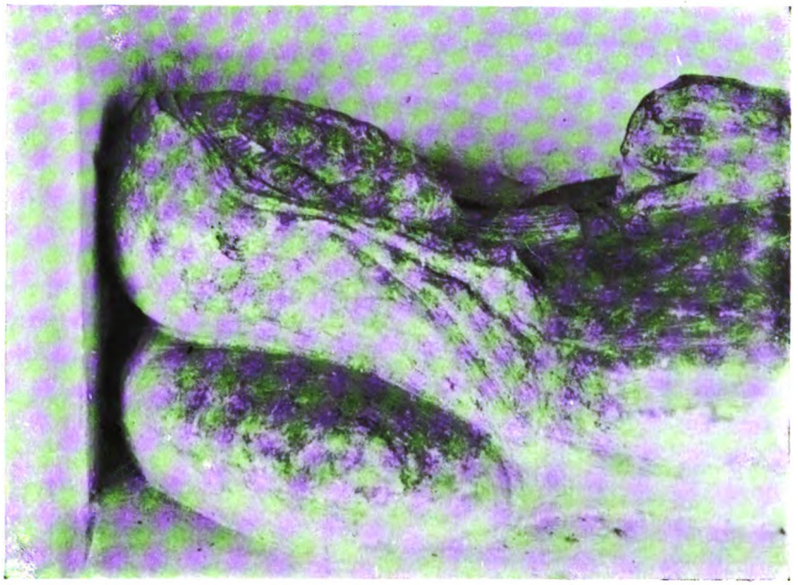
1. Lady, Tickenham, Somerset. *c.* 1300



2. Lady, Combe Flory, Somerset. *c.* 1327



3. Lady Newton, Yatton, Somerset. *c.* 1470



4. Lady, Yatton, Somerset. 1330-1340

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1. Lady, Berkeley, Glos.
1280-1290



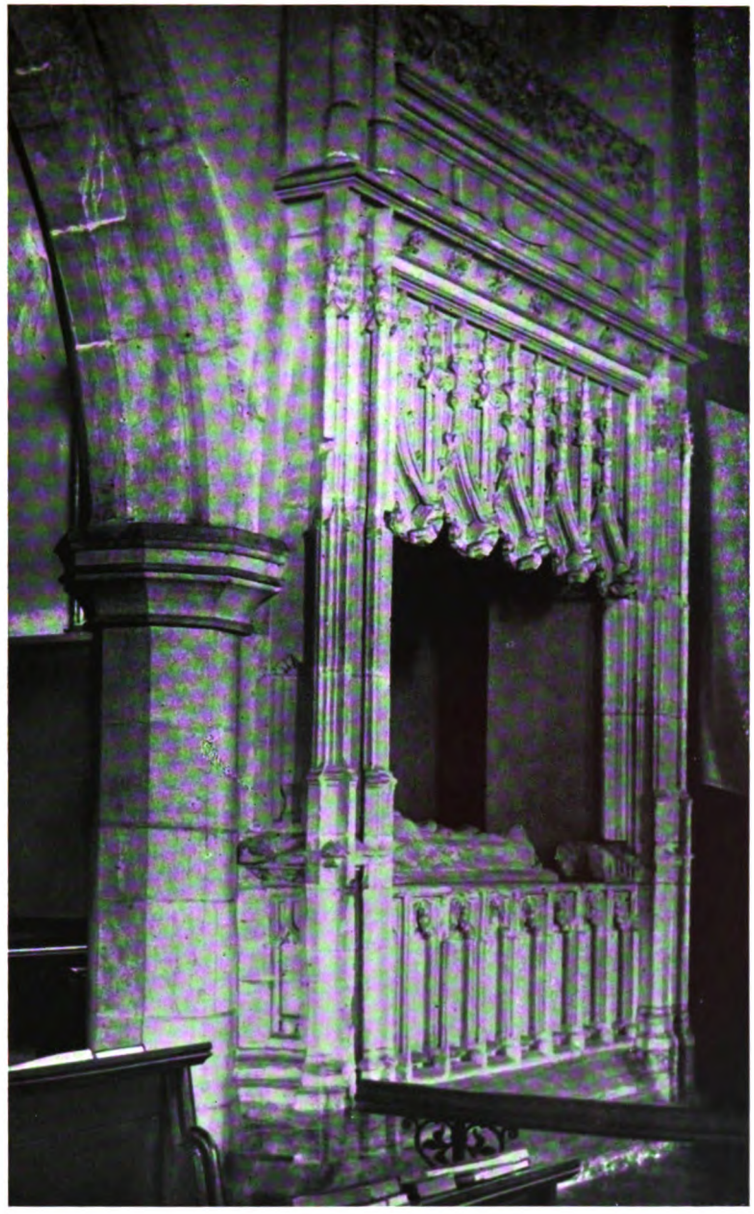
2. Lady, Berkeley, Glos.
1290-1300



3. Civilian, Berkeley, Glos.
c. 1310



4. Priest, Bitton, Glos.
c. 1360



5. Minehead, Somerset. 1460-1465

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1. Sir Richard Choke and wife, Long Ashton, Somerset. *c.* 1470



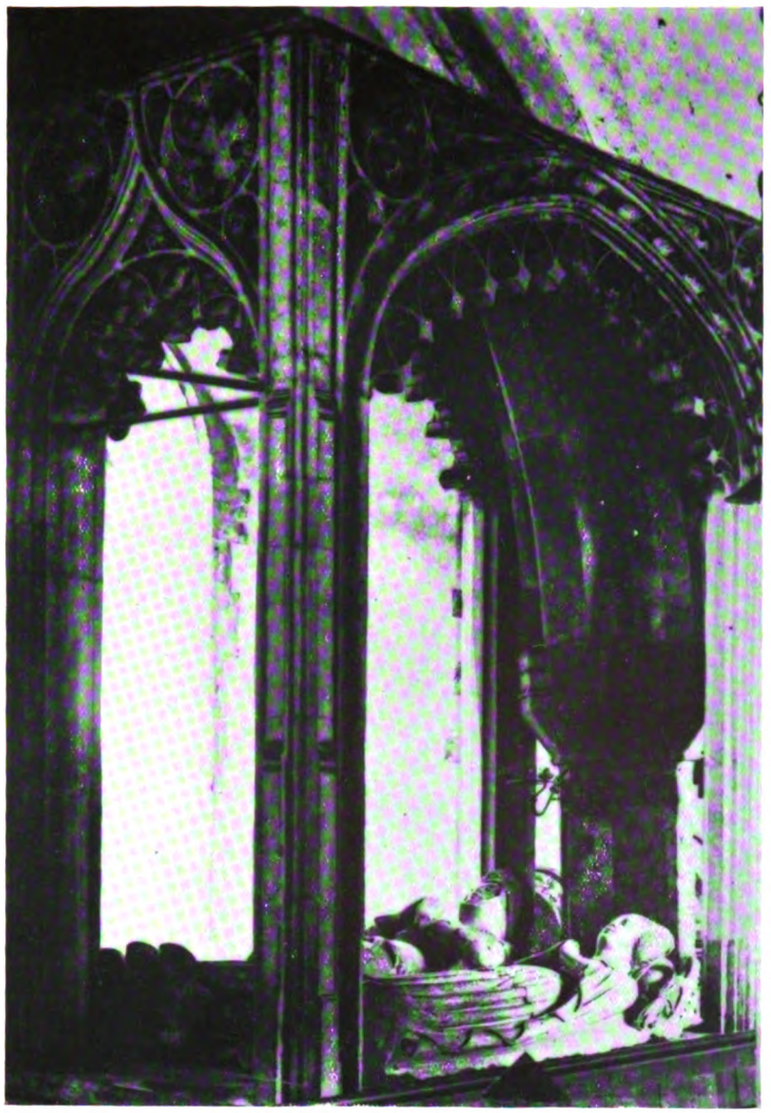
2. Sir Thomas Mede and wife, St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol. 1475

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1. Tomb and chantry of Bishop Beckington, Wells Cathedral. 1451



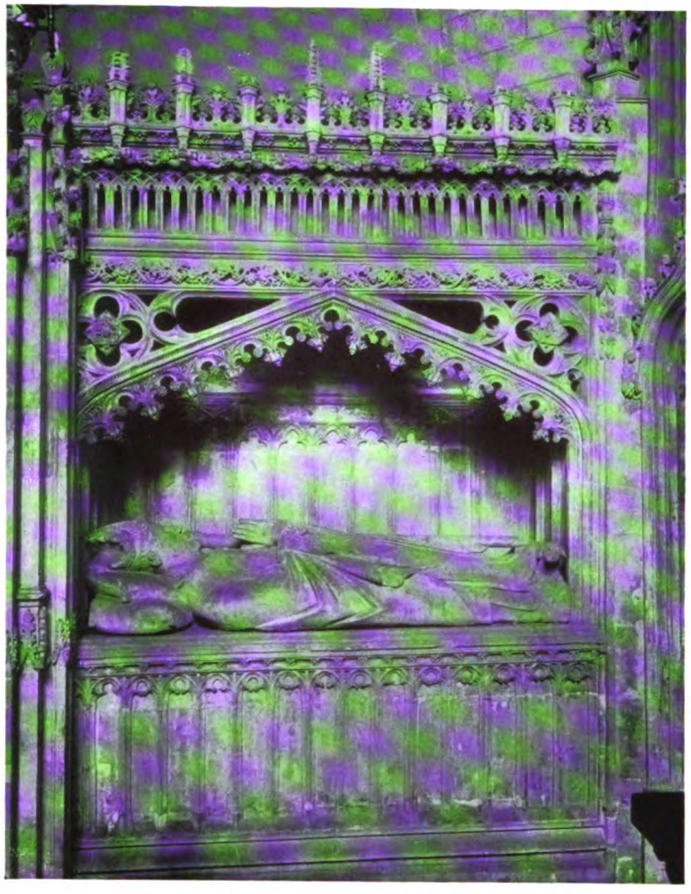
2. Tomb of John, 4th baron Harrington and wife, Porlock, Somerset. *c.* 1475

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1. Detail of Bishop Beckington's tomb, Wells Cathedral. 1451

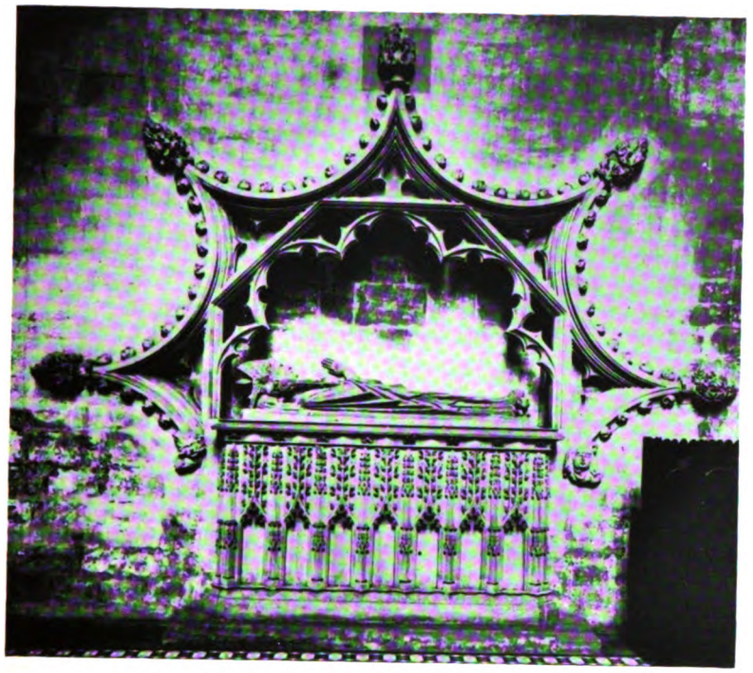


2. Bishop Salley's tomb, St. Mark's, Bristol. *c.* 1470



3. Annunciation from tomb of Sir John Newton, Yatton, Somerset. *c.* 1470

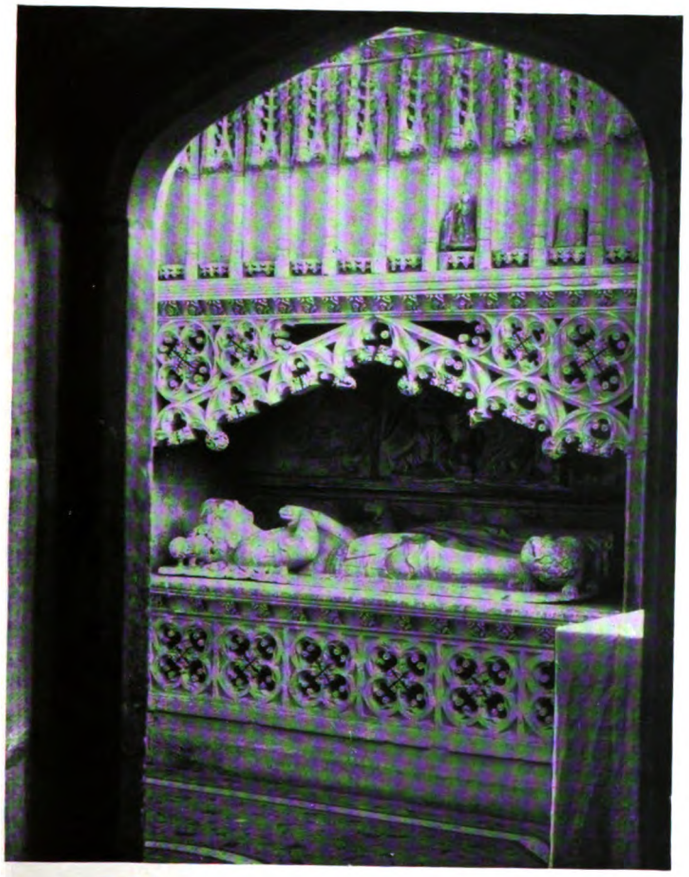
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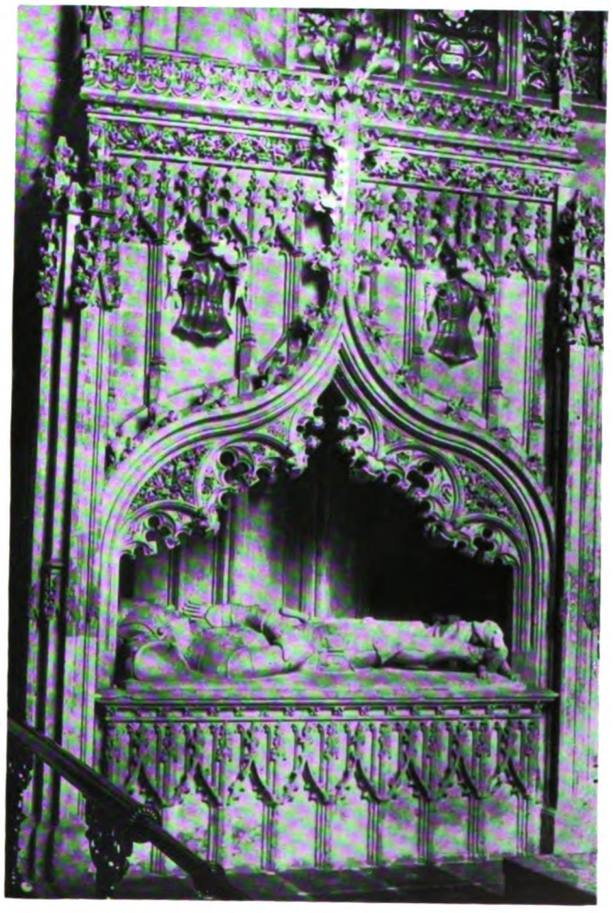
1. Abbot Newbury's tomb, Bristol Cathedral. *ob.* 1473



3. Detail of Sir Maurice Berkeley's tomb, St. Mark's, Bristol. *c.* 1470



2. Tomb of Sir John Newton, Yatton, Somerset. *c.* 1470



4. Tomb of Sir Maurice Berkeley, St. Mark's, Bristol. *c.* 1470

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1. Edward Blanket (?), St. Stephen's, Bristol. *c.* 1375



2. Walter Tyddestille (?), St. Stephen's, Bristol. 1380-1390



3. William Canynges II, St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol. *c.* 1460



4. Joan, wife of William Canynges II, St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol. *c.* 1460



5. Sir Richard Choke, Long Ashton, Somerset. *c.* 1470

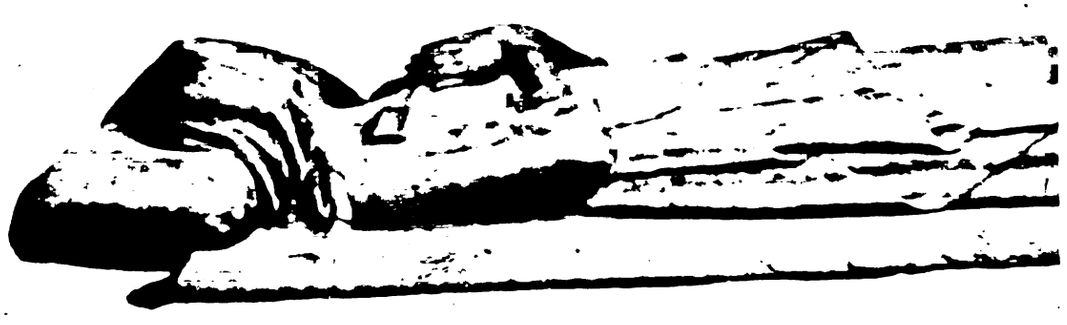
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1. Sir William Gorges and 1st wife, Lady Anne Howard, Wraxall, Somerset. *c.* 1500



2. Robert Duke of Normandy, Gloucester Cathedral. 1280-1290



3. Lady Tawstock, Devon. 1330-1340

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1. Holy Trinity, British Museum



2. St. John's Head, Ashmolean Museum



3. Head from stone retable, St. Cuthbert's, Wells. *c.* 1450



4. The Holy Trinity, The Annunciation, etc. on Alabaster tomb chest, Wells Cathedral. *c.* 1450

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1. Knight and Lady, Abergavenny, Monmouthshire. *c.* 1450



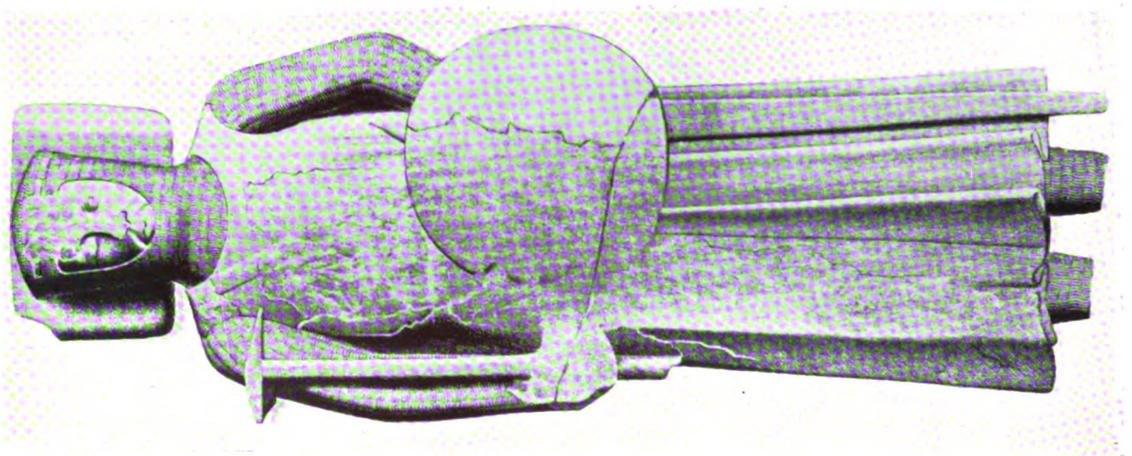
2. Sir Nicholas de Valers, Down Ampney, Glos. *c.* 1270



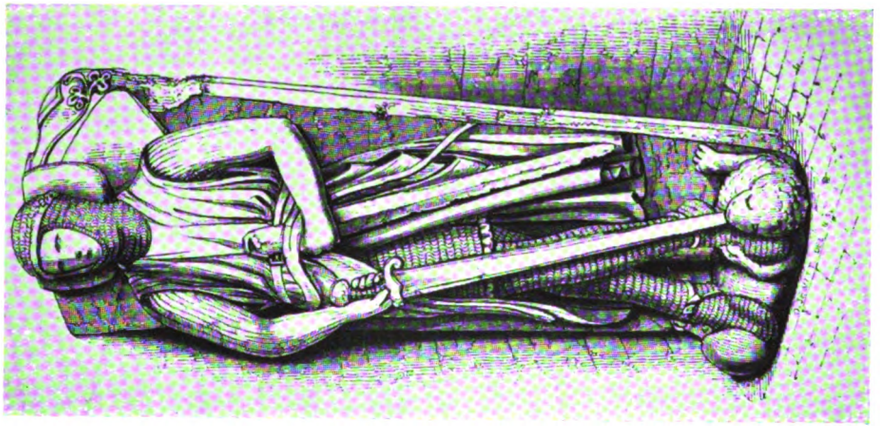
3. Knight, Hughenden, Bucks. *c.* 1270

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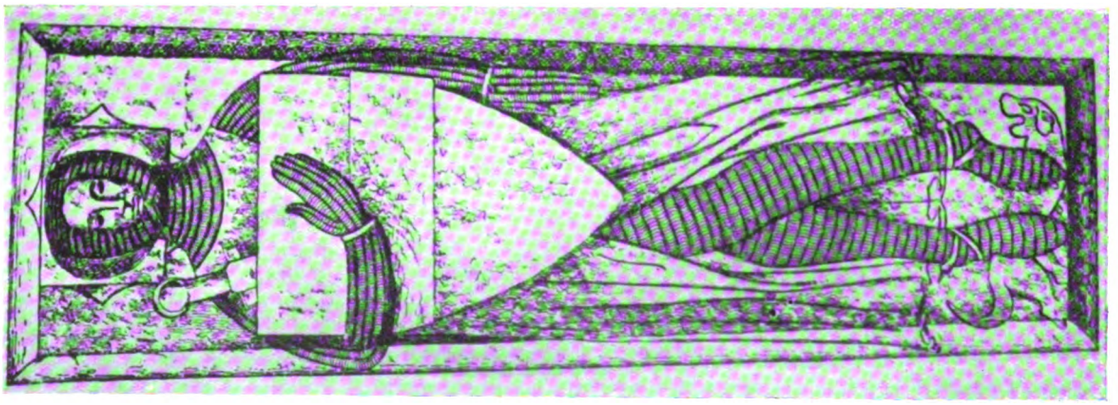
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3. Knight, Priory church, Great Malvern. *c.* 1240



2. Knight, Great Haseley, Oxon. *c.* 1240



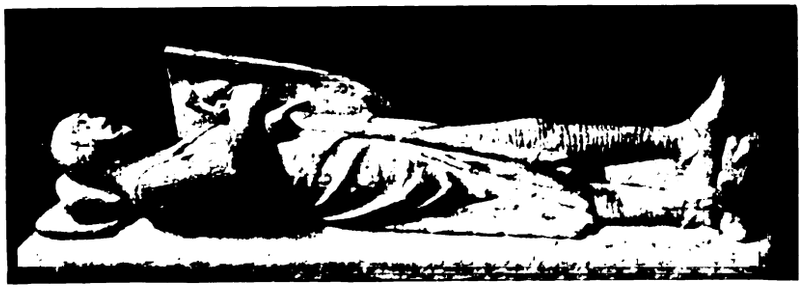
1. Sir Robert de Button (?) Bitton, Glos. *c.* 1240

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1. Knight, Leighton-under-Wrekin, Shropshire. *c.* 1315



2. Knight, Brympton d'Evercy, Somerset. *c.* 1270



3. Knight, Kingsdon, Somerset. 1270–1280



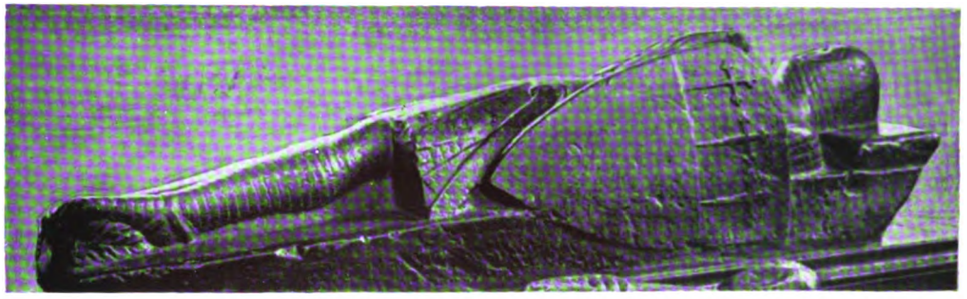
4. Sir John de Domer, Pendomer, Somerset. 1320–1325



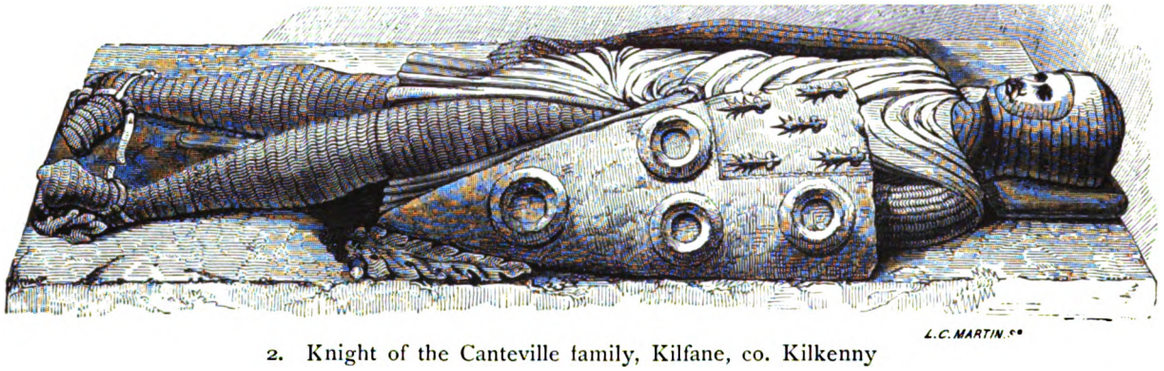
5. Sir Richard Gyvency, Limington, Somerset. *c.* 1330

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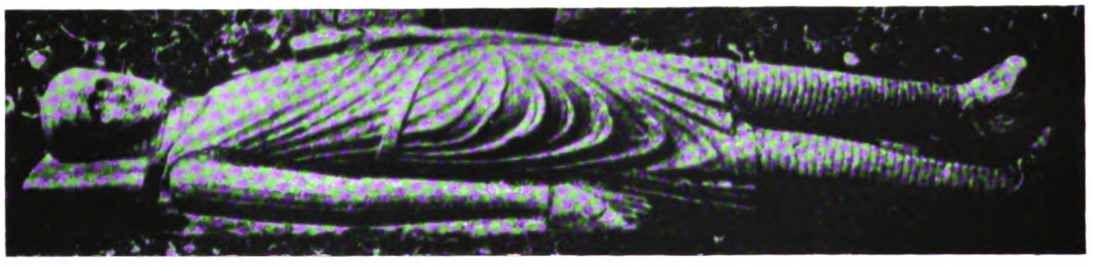
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1. Knight, Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin



2. Knight of the Canteville family, Kilfane, co. Kilkenny



3. Knight of the Canteville family, Kilfane, co. Kilkenny

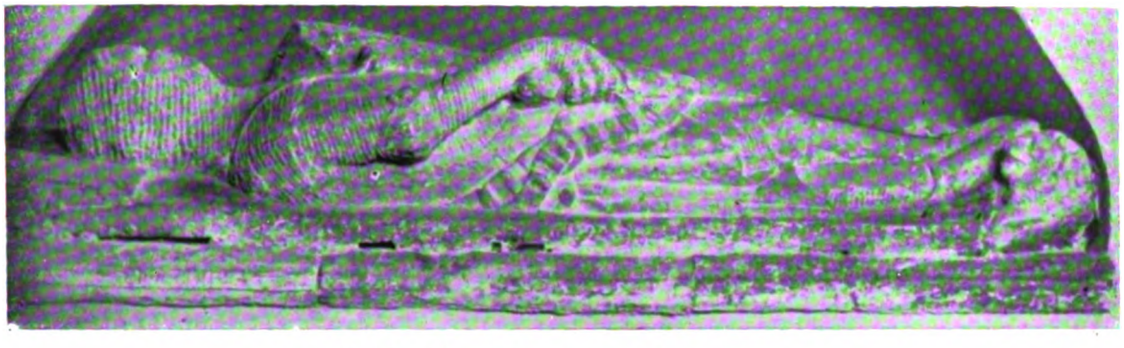


4. Knight and Lady, Beer Ferrers, Devon. *c.* 1300

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1. Knight, Abbey Dore, Herefordshire. *c.* 1280



2. Knight, Manorbier, Pembrokeshire. *c.* 1325



3. Knight, Graique-na-managh Abbey, co. Kilkenny

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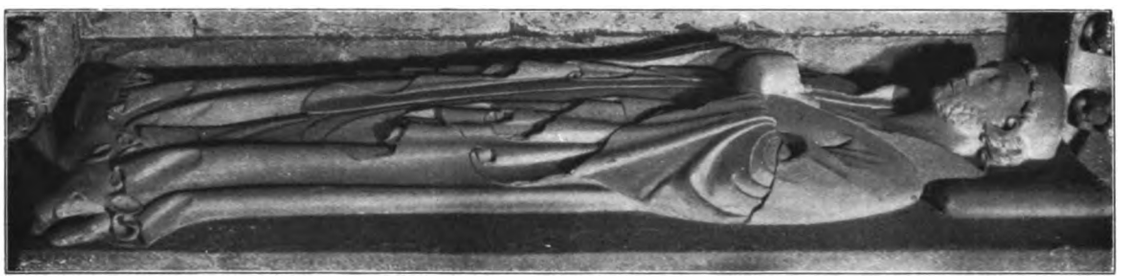
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1. Head of Knight, new cloister, Exeter Cathedral. *c.* 1280



2. Lady, Abergavenny, Monmouthshire, (?) *ob.* 1259



3. Chancellor Swinfield (?), Hereford Cathedral. *c.* 1290



4. Angel on tomb, Kington, Herefordshire. *c.* 1470



5. Sir Walter Rodney, Backwell, Somerset. *ob.* 1466

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II.—*The Bronze Age in Macedonia.*

By Stanley Casson, *Esq., M.A., F.S.A.*

Read 22nd November 1923.

In most text-books of archaeology the section dealing with the Bronze Age in the Aegean invariably refers us to the culture of Crete and Mycenae. Under the heading of 'South-Eastern Europe' we are usually given an account of the Bronze Age of Hungary and the Danubian area. But between these two regions lies an area which is, as yet, almost entirely uncharted by archaeologists, an area which, from its position, is one of the most important in Southern Europe. Between the Danube and the Aegean, the Black Sea and the hills that hem in the river Vardar on its right bank, lies an area across which, by rigidly limited routes, have passed all intrusive elements from Asia and all invading elements into Asia, either by way of the South Russian Steppe or across the Dardanelles and Bosporus.

I take the right bank of the Vardar as my western limit, because there is little evidence to indicate any movements of peoples on an extensive scale, at any historic or prehistoric period, from due east to due west or vice versa between the Adriatic and the Vardar. Movement from the east turns north when it enters the Vardar and Morava valleys; movement from the west, from the Adriatic, is limited to the Western Morava (and so to the Vardar valley) and otherwise to insignificant mountain paths.

The area within these boundaries is divided laterally by the main ridge of the Balkan range which runs parallel with the course of the Danube. South of the Balkan ridge, the irregular mass of Rhodope confines communications either to the coast or alternatively to the Maritsa valley; thence they reach the Vardar from Nish or the Struma from Sofia. North of the Balkan ridge is the Danube highway proper.

In this region excavation at various sites has revealed a partly Neolithic and partly Chalcolithic culture, which in Thrace and Bulgaria is allied on the one hand with the Moldavian culture of which Cucuteni and Tripolje are

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perhaps the most characteristic sites, and on the other with Thessaly. In Serbia this same period is represented by finds which seem more affiliated to the north, to Hungary and Austria.

It is with the succeeding Bronze Age in this same area that this paper proposes to deal.

Bulgaria and Thrace in the late Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods exhibit an extensive culture both north and south of the Balkans and along the coast of the Aegean. A site at Philippi is now being excavated by the French. At all the Bulgarian sites is found the elaborate painted pottery characteristic of the more important centres north of the Danube. The same types of ware are found in Thessaly, notably at Dimini. Macedonia has at present produced no pottery of this type, and is, in consequence, a wedge driven between these two related provinces. But pottery of the earliest Thessalian Neolithic type has appeared at one site near Salonika, and further research may show that in the Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods Macedonia, Thessaly, Thrace, and Bulgaria formed a homogeneous area of culture, meeting the southern and more Aegeanized cultures of Southern Greece and the Islands approximately at the Spercheios valley and perhaps extending even farther south.[1]

But whatever may have been the extent and distribution of this Moldavian or painted pottery culture in the time of its fullness, we have precise and definite evidence as to its termination. Every site in Bulgaria and Thrace comes to an end before the introduction of bronze. Sites inland, such as the mounds of Metchkur and Retcheff (of which the pottery is to be seen at St. Germain), provide nothing that can be attributed to the Bronze Age, and the metal objects found there are of copper. Sveti Kyrillovo is perhaps the latest of the sites. All alike were abandoned before the full Bronze Age, and this conclusion is verified by the more precise evidence of the caves, where a clear stratification showed that in each case the occupation ceased between the Chalcolithic period and Roman times.[2]

Thessaly shows a parallel and almost similar state of affairs.[3] The period of painted pottery closes with the appearance of Bronze, and all sites seem to decrease in importance, in habitation and productivity. There is a change of some fundamental character which is as profound though not so catastrophic as that in Bulgaria.

The only traces of the full Bronze Age in our area—excluding Macedonia proper—are certain finds along the Danube in Bulgaria which consist for the

[1] See Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 123, and Childe, *J. H. S.*, xlii, p. 275 (note).

[2] See R. Popow in *Prähist. Zeitschr.* 1913, p. 449 (Malkata Podlisza) and *Isvestia*, vol. iii, p. 263 (Morovitsa), and vol. ii, p. 248 (Malkata Peschera).

[3] Wace and Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, p. 247.

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most part of founders' hoards,[1] and are all of pure Hungarian or other Danubian types.

A general conclusion, then, seems indicated to the effect that Bulgaria and Thrace were largely abandoned in the Bronze Age, and Thessaly inhabited by a degenerate or different stock.

Eastern Thrace, however, must on all counts be omitted from these or any other conclusions, since it is unexplored and unexcavated and likely to remain so for many years to come.

The cause of this abrupt end of the widespread painted-pottery culture is not yet clear. All we can say is that it corresponds to the similar abrupt end of the Tripolje culture and of Cucuteni. An investigation of Macedonia may help towards a solution.

It has already been remarked that painted pottery of the Bulgaro-Thracian type has never been found in central Macedonia; this is the more remarkable in view of the fact that it is plentiful at the site known as Dikili Tash near Philippi. When a Macedonian site which exhibits Neolithic, Chalcolithic, and Bronze Age strata in proper sequence has been excavated, no doubt pottery of this type will be found and the link with Thessaly established. But there are essential differences between the nature and distribution of sites in Central Macedonia and of those in Thrace (including Eastern Macedonia). The Monastir plain and the Vardar plain are alike very thickly covered with prehistoric mounds or 'kurgans'. The Struma valley, on the other hand, has only one such site, and farther to the east there is, except Dikili Tash, none until the Maritsa is reached.[2] In Eastern Thrace they appear once more in reasonably large numbers, though it must not be forgotten that a very large proportion of the Bulgarian and East Thracian mounds are Greek, Roman, or Sarmatian. A classification of the Vardar plain mounds produces the following types:

(*a*) Conical and small. These are proved by excavation to be historic burial mounds.

(*b*) Flat-surfaced and of large and irregular area: invariably historic town sites.

(*c*) i Ovoid and long.

(*c*) ii Ovoid and long, but with a conical projection on top.

It is with (*c*) i and (*c*) ii that this paper is concerned. Some fifty-seven mounds of the third type have been described in detail and published by

[1] e.g. a large hoard of twenty-seven socketed bronze celts from Sevlievo and a hoard of five sickles and two socketed celts from Rustchuk. These and other similar finds are now in the National Museum, Sofia.

[2] The mounds visible near Gumuldjina are of the Roman period. See *B. C. H.*, xliv, p. 409 fig. 13.

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M. Rey in his recent book.[1] An additional twenty must figure in this list. All are large sites, and the deposits on them are deep. It seems as if a deeply rooted and firmly established culture had settled itself at an early date in the plains where the Vardar emerges from its last defile. Dr. Leaf's explanation[2] of the Homeric description of the Vardar as 'Axios, whose water is the fairest that floweth over the face of the earth', receives some confirmation. If the Vardar, more than other streams, filled the imagination of the Homeric invaders of Greece, it was not only because it had been the *Homeric* invaders' highway, but because it had served many invaders before them, and because upon its banks thousands of the invaders had settled at all periods.[3] Its fame was far older than the Homeric heroes. No such group of mounds is found in any other North Aegean area except near Monastir. The Nestos valley has none, and that of the Maritsa but few;[4] for the Nestos as a route led nowhere except to the fastnesses of Rhodope, and the Maritsa below Adrianople cuts across the route from the Danube to the Hellespont, and so, in its lower reaches, is little more than a backwater. But the Vardar-Morava route is the great highway from the Danube to the Aegean; and more, it leaves the Danube at the greatest of the Danube junctions, at the point where Save and Danube meet, and where the Drina flows into the Save and the Theiss into the Danube. It is to-day, as always, the only line of communications between Central Europe and the Aegean, and has the advantage of running more or less in a direct line north and south. The mounds of the Vardar plain thus acquire an increased importance over other mounds. They are at the meeting-place of the Central European and the Mediterranean worlds.

Our archaeological evidence from these mounds is at present slight. It is as follows:

(*a*) A collection of fragments of pottery, stone and bone implements, made during the war and now in the British Museum. These come from various mounds.[5]

(*b*) Other similar fragments in the museum at the Prefecture and the museum of St. George, Salonika.[6]

(*c*) Surface fragments collected by P. Träger in 1900 and 1901, and now in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.

[1] L. Rey, *Observations sur les premiers habitats de la Macédoine* (1921).

[2] *Troy: a Study in Homeric Archaeology*, p. 274; Homer, *Iliad*, ii. 848.

[3] Possibly the Homeric place-name Amydon is preserved in the modern Amatovo, on the Vardar, which is in close proximity to several large mounds.

[4] The Ergene valley provides a few more.

[5] Published in *B. S. A.*, xxiii, pp. 1–63.

[6] The latter published by Rey, *op. cit.*, part ii.

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Fig. 1. Lake Ardjani from the mound of Chauchitsa, looking west



Fig. 2. The mound of Chauchitsa, looking south-west

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Fig. 1. Incised ware of type *b*

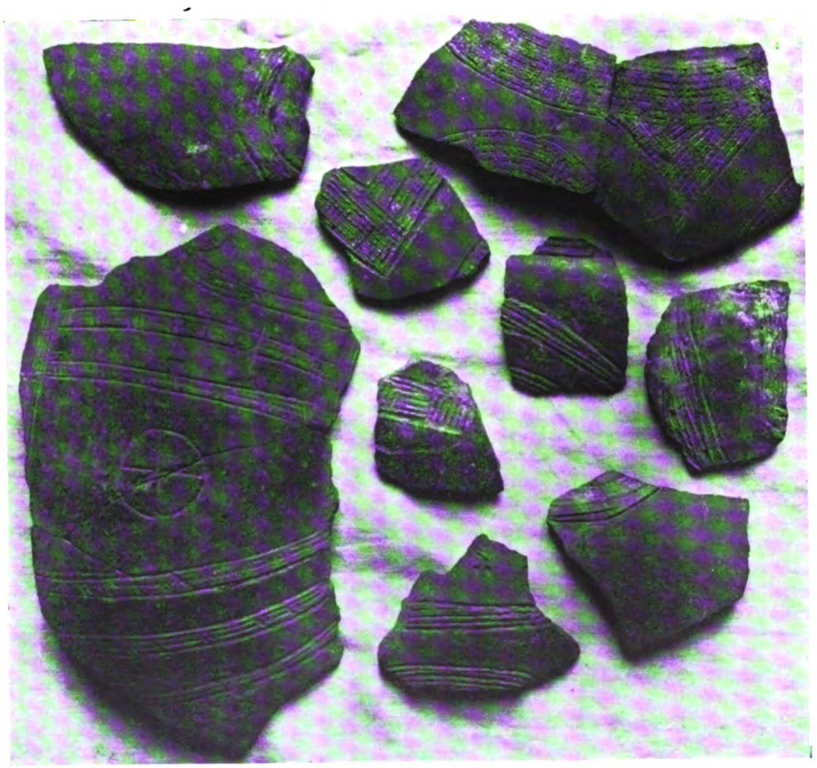


Fig. 2. Incised ware of type *b*

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(*d*) The results of excavations which I carried out in April–May 1922 at the site known as Chauchitsa between Lake Doiran and the Vardar.[1]

Since the fourth source is the only one where stratification and precise circumstances of finding are available, I propose to devote the bulk of my remarks to it.

The site known as Chauchitsa I have already described in the *Annual of the*

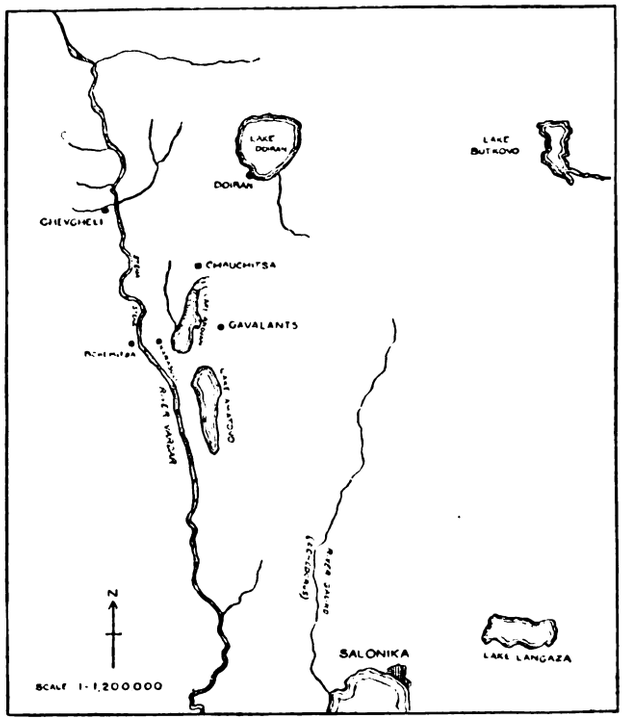


Fig. 1. Sketch-map of the Vardar valley.

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British School at Athens.[2] It lies near the village of Kalinova and is placed at the point where a route, probably the great Vardar route itself, after diverging from the Vardar at Ghevgheli and crossing a plateau, finally descended to the open country by lake Ardjani (pl. xxv, fig. 1, and fig. 1 above); thence it ran directly to the Thermaic Gulf. In 1921 I uncovered an extensive Iron Age cemetery, and continued the excavations in 1922. Behind this cemetery, on the low hills that mark both the edge of the plateau and the edge of the Ardjani marshes, stands a mound (pl. xxv, fig. 2), the most northerly of the Vardar plain

[1] Now in the National Museum, Athens

[2] xxiv, p. 1 ff.

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series, some 50 km. due north of Salonika and 8 km. east of the Vardar. The mound is very prominent on the sky-line, and derives its height and prominence not only from artificial deposits, but also from the fact that these deposits are upon a natural outcrop of rock. I excavated a large cutting on the southern side of the mound, because the northern side is almost entirely of rock, and found an artificial deposit of 3·80 m. of earth. My cutting measured 12 m. by 5 m. in area. I further sank three trenches in other parts of the mound. The total surface area of the mound is 67 m. by 47 m., and rock begins to appear on the surface at the top of the mound as well as along the whole of the northern side.

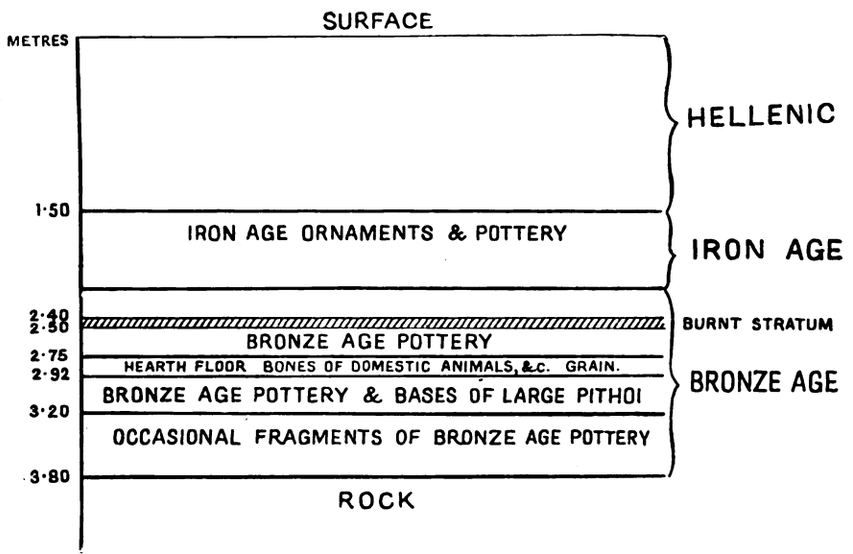


Fig. 2. Stratification at Chauchitsa.

The reason for the occupation of the south side of the mound is the same as that which compelled all military establishments in this area during the war to be built with a southern aspect—namely, the violent Vardar winds, which, coming from the north, make a north aspect unendurable, even in summer.

The stratification of the site was as follows (fig. 2):

(1) A deposit of the historic period, in which coins and pottery of the fourth and third centuries B.C. were found. Nothing Roman appeared, but Roman coins of the fourth century A.D. have been found in the immediate neighbourhood of the mound.

(2) A shallow deposit in which a few objects of the Iron Age were found.

(3) A deposit, homogeneous throughout, which followed directly on from (2). It is interrupted at 2·40 m. by a burnt layer some 10 cm. in depth, but this is followed by no change in the character of the objects. From the beginning to the end of this stratum, three wares are found in close association, viz.:

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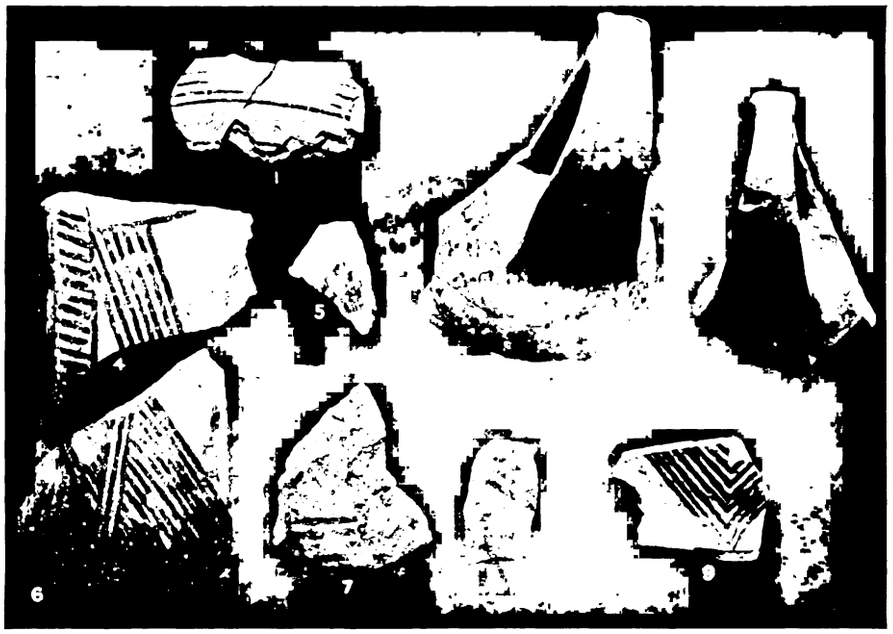


Fig. 1. Painted ware of type *c*



Fig. 2. Vase of type *b* from Akbunar

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Fig. 3. Complete vase of type *b* found with the four pithoi

(The scale is in centimetres)

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Fig. 1. Iron Age vessels from Iron Age cemetery at Chauchitsa

(The scale is in centimetres)

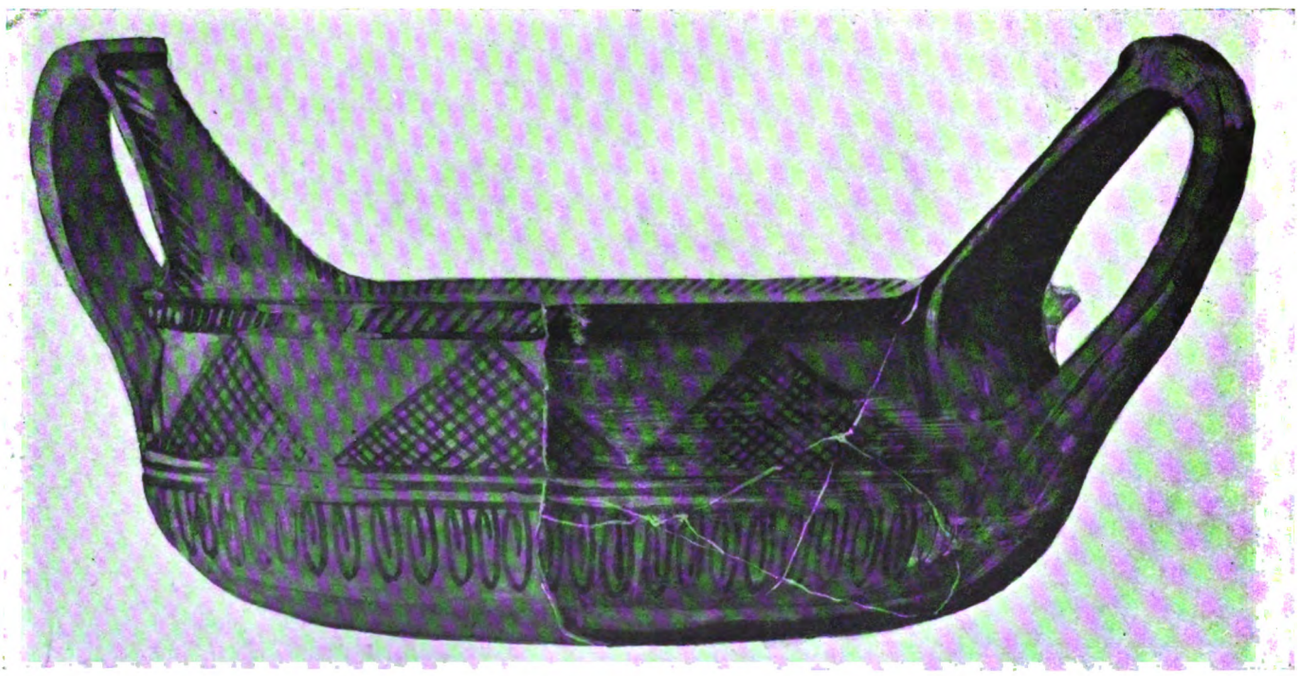


Fig. 2. Bowl of type *c*

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(*a*) Plain burnished wares of grey and chrome fabric, in which flat open bowls with 'wish-bone' handles largely predominate.

(*b*) Larger vessels, usually two-handled jugs decorated with scroll and rectilinear patterns in incision, which is filled with white or pink paste (pl. XXVI, figs. 1 and 2).

(*c*) Elaborately painted ware of light yellow clay which is given a smooth clear surface. The decoration is in chocolate-brown matt paint, and the designs mainly rectilinear and finely worked. This ware is rare, and only one shape



Fig. 3. Pithoi on hearth floor.

was found—a shallow bowl with pronounced handles of a specialized type (pl. XXVII, fig. 1, and pl. XXVIII, fig. 2).

One small fragment of Mycenean ware was found high up in this stratum at 2·30 m. (pl. XXVII, fig. 1, no. 1).

The burnt layer contained large quantities of animal bones and some charred grain. Below it, at 2·75, was a hearth-floor with more traces of burning, and lower still, at 3·20, was a house floor on which were the remains of four large pithoi which varied in height from 1 m. to 1½ m. (figs. 3 and 4). A fifth was recovered intact in a trial trench on the west side of the mound (fig. 5). The necks of these vessels were decorated with crude rope-pattern designs. On the floor level a large vase of type (*b*) above, decorated with an incised pattern, was found in association with fragments of the painted ware (pl. XXVII, fig. 3).

The lowest part of the deposit, before rock was reached, contained but few fragments of pottery, and the last 15 cm. or so was of light yellow earth, which appears to have formed a filling for the uneven holes in the rock surface.

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No metal and no stone implements were found in this excavation. Of the three types of pottery, the first (*a*) has already been found in



Fig. 4. Pithoi on hearth floor.



Fig. 5. Complete pithos on west side of mound.

reasonably large quantities on other mounds in this region. Fragments have already been published.[1] A fine complete vase of the second class (*b*), now in the British Museum, comes from a mound at Akbunar[2] (pl. XXVII, fig. 2), some

[1] Some of Träger's surface finds (now in the Museum für Völkerkunde at Berlin) published by H. Schmidt in *Zeitschr. für Ethn.*, 1905, p. 91, and fragments now in the British Museum published in *B. S. A.*, xxiii, pl. III, 1, 3, 5.

[2] Wrongly published as Neolithic in *B. S. A.*, xxiii, pl. v, 3; for other fragments see Rey, *op. cit.*, ii, pl. XVII, 1–3, and *B. S. A.*, xxiii, pl. II, and pl. XIX, 7.

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kilometres north-west of Salonika, discovered in a hole made in the side of the mound. Other fragments are in the collection from Salonika now in the British Museum. The best and most complete example is that which comes from the floor level at 3·20 of Chauchitsa mentioned above.

Of the third type (*c*), the painted pottery, no other examples, fragmentary or complete, are recorded elsewhere. It is a new type in the *répertoire* of Aegean pottery (pl. XXVIII, fig. 2). There is no parallel in general for shallow bowls of this type, but the handles recall *terramara* types in Northern Italy.[1] The fabric is fine and admirably finished; the clay is not covered with a slip, but the surface is finely smoothed and almost shiny. Small mica particles in the clay suggest local manufacture, since all Macedonian wares and some of the Northern Thessalian are peculiar in this respect. It is impossible to see any marked dependence in the design upon Mycenean prototypes, or to find any connexion with known wares of Southern Greece. These bowls, with very characteristic handles, are quite distinct in shape, fabric, and decoration from what at first sight seem similar wares from Chaeronea.[2]

The incised ware (*b*), on the other hand, falls into line with a large group of incised pottery, of which Butmir provides what are perhaps the earliest and Vinča the latest examples, though both these sites seem earlier than any Macedonian site and are contemporary rather with the period of the Moldavian painted pottery group.[3] The scroll design of the Akbunar example (pl. XXVII, fig. 2) can be paralleled by those of Butmir[4] and less closely by those of Vinča.[5] The panels which are seen on each side of a disc in one fragment strongly suggest the similar patterns on Laibach and similar 'Pfahlbau' pottery.[6] The general type is undoubtedly allied to that of the North and North-West, and is totally distinct from anything in Thessaly or the eastern Moldavian groups in Bulgaria and Thrace. This is the more easily understood since the culture responsible for such pottery lies at the end of the great Vardar route.

Before attempting to place this pottery in the South European series it is essential, from a chronological point of view, to fix the date at which Mycenean

[1] See Modestov, *Introduction à l'histoire romaine*, pp. 173 and 177; and Peet, *Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy*, pls. III and IV.

[2] See Wace and Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 198. H. Schmidt, in the article already referred to, has wrongly reconstructed the shape to which these handles belong. See p. 112, figs. 86, 87, 89, 90. Figs. 19 and 20 on p. 100 show handles which probably belong to flat two-handled bowls, not to jugs.

[3] See Childe, *J. H. S.*, xlii, p. 275.

[4] Radimsky and Hoernes, *Die neolithische Station von Butmir*.

[5] See M. Vassits in *Starinar*, 1906, pp. 114, 115.

[6] Hoernes, *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst* (2nd ed.), pp. 345, 347.

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influence reached the north coast of the Aegean and to ascertain to what extent it penetrated into the interior.[1]

Mycenean pottery has been found on eleven sites other than Chauchitsa in Macedonia. All these sites are on the coasts of the Thermaic Gulf near Salonika or in Chalcidice. In two cases[2] its presence in reasonable quantities is established by trial excavations. The fragment from Chauchitsa[3] is therefore not unexpected. Other signs of Mycenean influence are seen in bronze rapiers, of which two came from Grevena[4] in south-western Macedonia and one from Panagyurishte[5] near Sofia. All must be considered as stray imports which have worked their way inland.

The pottery is almost all of the end of the third Late Minoan period—say 1200 B.C. The swords may be earlier, perhaps 1400 B.C. The latter justify little more than the conclusion that Minoan objects were traded from the coast to the interior, but the pottery finds indicate that trade stations were confined to the Thermaic Gulf and to the settlements actually on the coast. No Mycenean finds are recorded eastwards along the coast until the Troad is reached, and it seems likely that the Mycenean trade which reached Thessaly at the beginning of the Thessalian Bronze Age reached Macedonia through the Thermaic Gulf at approximately the same time. In both Thessaly and Macedonia the duration of the Mycenean intrusion[6] was the same. The Mycenean traces occur only in the latest strata of the Fourth period in Thessaly: in Macedonia they are always near the top of mounds.[7] In other words, the Mycenean influence chiefly began about 1300 B.C. and ceased with the invasions of the Iron Age, which seem to have brought the Bronze Age to a close.

For purposes of chronology it is essential to establish some more definite relationship for the incised and painted pottery than that which associates it merely with the North and North-West.

I have already remarked that the handles of the painted bowls recall *terramara* shapes. In particular, they recall shapes from sites of a Lake-dwelling or *terramara* culture in Bosnia (fig. 6). Debelo Brdo near Sarajevo, Čungar near Cazin,

[1] I have summarized the evidence for this in a recent paper in *Man*, November 1923, p. 170.

[2] See Rey, *op. cit.*, pp. 149, 158, and pp. 248 ff. (Gona and Sedes mounds).

[3] It was found *in situ* in the soil in association with fragments of (*a*) and (*b*).

[4] Now in the Naturhistorisches Museum, Vienna.

[5] In the National Museum, Sofia.

[6] Traces of L.M. II are found in Thessaly, but the intrusion is not definite until L.M. III; see Wace and Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 227. One of the Mycenean fragments from Macedonia may be L.M. II.

[7] See Rey, *loc. cit.*

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and Ripać on the river Una are the three most important of these Bosnian sites.[1] The first two are mound sites almost exactly similar to the Macedonian mounds. The third is a pile settlement of large area on an island in a river. All belong to the late Bronze Age, and the first-named was occupied in the Iron Age also. A similar site at Donja Dolina[2] on the banks of the Save shows that such sites were built and inhabited in the Iron Age also down to a late period. The three first sites have all produced pottery and other objects closely allied to but not identical with objects in Italian *terremare*: the pottery handles provide the most important link.[3] The Macedonian wares resemble these Bosnian wares in the

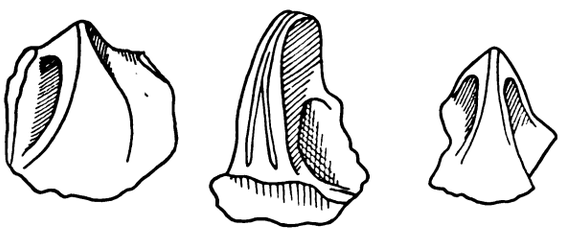


Fig. 6. Pottery handles from Bosnia.

same ratio as the Bosnian resemble the Italian. On the Danube itself, north and south of Buda Pesth,[4] are some twenty *terremare* or sites of a *terramara* type in which pile-dwellings are used. One of the most important of these covers both Neolithic and Bronze Ages, and the sites as a whole seem to be early.

The Bosnian sites themselves seem to be derived from the Hungarian.

A most important link with the Danube is found in the pottery of Gradać on the Morava near Nish, the only site that bridges over the unexplored gap of Central Serbia. Here *terramara* thumb-grip handles occur, and the wares in general closely resemble Macedonian.[5]

We have already seen that the Bosnian and Macedonian sites seem to be related, at least in their wares. It is the more necessary to search for evidence for the existence of pile-dwellings, lake-dwellings, or *terremare* in Macedonia. The *locus classicus* of Herodotus[6] at once suggests itself. He describes in great detail a lake-dwelling on lake Prasias, which he had in all probability seen himself. Corroborative evidence is not lacking. Aeschylus in the *Persae*[7] refers

[1] For Debelo Brdo see *Wissenschaftliche Mittheilungen aus Boz. u. Herz.*, iv, p. 38, v, p. 124, and v, p. 135; Čungar, *ibid.*, iv, f. 735; Ripać, *ibid.*, v, 29.

[2] *Ibid.*, ix, 1 ff.

[3] e. g., *ibid.*, iv, 73, figs. 64, 65 (Čungar); iv, 38 ff., figs. 2, 3 (Debelo Brdo); v, pl. 32 (Ripać).

[4] Peet, *op. cit.*, p. 506.

[5] See Vassits in *Glas*, (Serbian Royal Academy publ.) 1911 (Belgrade), pp. 97 ff.

[6] v. 16.

[7] 867–73. See also Perdrizet in *Klio*, x, p. 8, n. 3. The contrast of λίμνας ἔκτοθεν αἱ κατὰ χέρσον

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to the lake-dwellers of the Strymon valley in the time of Xerxes; the site of Donja Dolina, belonging as it does to the historic period, would seem to afford the best illustration of such a lake-dwelling. Finally, the situation of many of the mounds in the Vardar plains is such that they must have been built on some kind of pile support, since even to-day they are largely in a marsh area. Thus the mounds of Sarai, Arapli, Salamanli, and Gona,[1] to mention only a few, are all situate in marshes. A trial trench at the last-named laid bare at the lowest level walls of unhewn stones supported by wooden piles.[2] It may further be of some significance that the type of site where a conical projection is superimposed on an ordinary oval mound[3] with a level surface (type (*c*) ii above) strongly recalls the *area limitata* of the *terramara*. The conical projection may well be the chief centre of importance in the site.

The evidence, then, is strong for the presence in Macedonia of a people in whom lacustrine habits and methods of building were not yet extinct, and whose pottery still retained *terramara* traditions. At the same time these people, whom we must place at the earliest in the Bronze Age, had, as in the case of the Italian *terramara* folk, largely abandoned their lacustrine habits. The majority of the Vardar mounds are on eminences rather than in marshes; but their inhabitants nevertheless prefer eminences *near* marshes, rivers, and lakes to inland hills: Chauchitsa is a case in point.

My reasons, then, for assigning the culture of the Chauchitsa mound to the Bronze Age can be summarized as follows:—

(1) The pottery is of a type allied on the one hand to the incised wares of Serbia and the Danube, and on the other to *terramara* types, all of the Bronze Age. The large pithoi are characteristic Bronze Age vessels.

(2) Its pottery occurs in a stratum immediately below that of the Iron Age and the historic period, without signs of a period of abandonment of the site before the appearance of the Iron Age culture.

(3) Mycenean wares are found on mounds of the Vardar plain in strata near the surface: the Mycenean fragment at Chauchitsa was similarly placed, but definitely associated with and contemporary with the painted and incised wares.

(4) The technique of the pottery is certainly not that of any known Iron

with the preceding lines seems to me to dispose of all doubt as to the meaning of Ἀχελωΐδες. The existence at the same period of lake-dwellers in the marshes of the river Phasis is recorded by Hippocrates in '*Airs, waters and places*', ch. 15.

[1] Rey, *op. cit.*, pp. 124, 88, 56, 146.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 146. 'Leur présence et surtout la manière dont ils soutenaient le mur en pierres paraît bien indiquer que le plus ancien niveau de Gona appartient à une habitation lacustre.' Cf. also *B. C. H.*, xl, p. 285.

[3] The most striking example is the great mound of Vardarovtsi on the Vardar. See Rey, *op. cit.*, p. 31. It may also be, of course, that the conical mound is a re-occupation of an abandoned site.

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Age types, while the Neolithic period in Macedonia is represented both by cruder and wholly different incised wares,[1] and by stone axes and other implements. Neolithic painted wares of Thessalian types are also recorded, wares in no way connected with the Chauchitsa painted ware.[2]

(5) The objects from Chauchitsa and other Vardar mounds reflect a late phase of the Lake-dwelling culture.

Less cogent but not without importance is the negative evidence—the complete absence of stone implements at Chauchitsa. On the other hand, no bronze implements have been found.

The situation, then, appears to be that in the second millennium before Christ, hardly later than 1500 B.C., a bronze-using people penetrated southwards from the Hungarian plain and the central Danube in two directions. One went down the Save and Western Morava to Bosnia, the other down the Morava–Vardar route to the Aegean. The Monastir plain may mark a western outlier of the second invasion, but as its mounds have never been investigated, this is a mere conjecture.

Other and probably earlier wares of the same Danubian culture perhaps reached Italy through Croatia, Moravia, and Lower Austria. But while in Italy the *terramara* culture merged into the Iron Age by a process of transition, the Iron Age enters Macedonia almost *per saltum* and in a fully-developed form.[4]

It seems, however, to have taken over or else to have brought with it certain pottery shapes which are quite clearly reminiscent of *terramara* shapes (pl. XXVIII, fig. 1). Two types of handle—the 'lobe' and the 'thumb-grip'—are found in the Iron Age cemetery at Chauchitsa, and both are common in Bronze Age sites at Čungar and at Debelo Brdo in Bosnia.[5] A cup-lid of the same period from Chauchitsa (pl. XXVIII, fig. 1, no. 2) is surmounted with a knob which resembles the *ansa lunata* of Italian and Bosnian pile-dwelling sites, but otherwise this distinctive shape is not recorded in Macedonia.

Once established in Italy, in Bosnia, and in Macedonia, this Danubian culture developed on slightly different lines in each of these three places. In Italy and Bosnia it seems to have merged with the indigenous Neolithic culture which was perhaps not wholly unrelated to it. In Macedonia it probably superseded a quite different culture of the 'painted pottery' type which lasted in

[1] Rey, *op. cit.*, pp. 194–99.

[2] *B. S. A.*, xxiii, pl. IV, 1–5.

[3] Peet's second invasion, *op. cit.*, p. 495. The 'first' invasion had come from Alpine regions and led to the Lake-dwelling culture of North Italy: see also Modestov, *op. cit.*, pp. 207 ff.

[4] I do not, however, attribute the burnt stratum in Chauchitsa to a destruction by invaders: it is too low down, and there is no change of pottery above or below it. Perhaps it indicates a deliberate clearance of the site by fire, as was done in some *terremare*, cf. Modestov, *op. cit.*, p. 165, and Peet, p. 337.

[5] Čungar, *W. M. B. H.*, iv, pp. 73 ff., fig. 65; Debelo Brdo, *ibid.*, iv, pp. 38 ff., figs. 2, 3, 63.

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Eastern Europe until the first appearance of copper. This last point, however, must remain *sub judice* until further excavation has revealed the connexion of the two cultures.

The Vardar plains seem to have been the chief centre of these Bronze Age people who came into touch later with Minoan culture from the south. They did not, however, penetrate into Thessaly, which, cut off from Eastern Europe and not yet fully exploited from Southern Greece, was left in a backwater until the Iron Age. The history of Thessaly in the Bronze Age is that of a depopulated and decaying province, while Macedonia increases in population and culture.

Discussion.

Dr. Hall had derived new information from the paper on the Bronze Age in eastern Macedonia (hitherto a *terra incognita*), and hoped that Mr. Casson would be able to prosecute his researches there. Any evidence of Bronze Age culture in that part of the Aegean basin would be included in the second edition of *Aegean Archaeology*, if that were called for, the book having been published eight years ago. Archaeologists concerned with Crete, Egypt, and the Near East wanted to know more about the relations between the Aegean and the lands between Greece and the Danube, especially with regard to the entry into Greece of the Indo-Europeans from the North. It was remarkable that although Mr. Casson claimed a Bronze Age date for his discoveries, no bronze implements seemed to have been found with the pottery on the site excavated, and other evidence of its date was therefore required: the paper could have been fuller on that point. The few Mycenean traces were interesting, and it was curious that Minoan culture did not reach the northern Aegean before 1300 B. C. or later, though that tallied with the evidence from Thessaly. The term 'Aegean culture' included in common parlance only that of Crete, the Cyclades, and the later phase on the mainland; but its northern limit had still to be determined. The Thessalian and Macedonian remains belonged to the Danubian (central European) rather than the Aegean culture; and if everything found in those regions were to be called Aegean because it was found near the sea-coast, where was the frontier of Aegean culture to be placed—at the Balkans?

Professor Myres added his congratulations on the manner in which the paper had been presented, and agreed that it was not easy to disentangle the various human drifts across the Balkans in different directions. Access from the Hellespont to the Vardar and Struma valleys was shut off by the screen of Rhodope; but Mr. Casson had shown how those valleys were approachable from the north-west. Apart from the avenue into the Struma and Vardar plain, Moldavian culture must have followed a difficult cross-country route into Thessaly, and the trail had not yet been picked up. Striking parallels had been drawn in the paper between the pottery industry of the Vardar valley and a large group of similar industries in the lake- or shore-dwellings of the north-west; and he would like to hear whether those simple *terramara* forms were necessarily part of the south-easterly movement from the best known lake-dwelling area. The *ansa lunata* was not primitive but assumed elaborate forms in North Italy; whereas the thumb-grip handle was very primitive. In view of the position of Macedonia on the flank of a great route, he suggested that the culture there was not a back-wash but a long continued survival and a south-eastern extension of the lake-dwellings. Confirmatory evidence was hard to obtain in Asia Minor, as the upper valleys were washed out and the lower valleys silted up; but ancient references to lake-dwellings in Colchis and North Syria, as well as

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in Macedonia and on the lower Danube, suggested that the Alpine lake-dwelling culture was only a north-westerly survival of a very widespread mode of life, discontinued farther to the south-east as the physical conditions changed. In Cyprus from the middle Bronze Age onwards, the horned handle was in fairly continuous use.

PROFESSOR ERNEST GARDNER, while on service in Macedonia, had not been able to dig in the mounds, but had observed what came to light, and he laid stress on one find of pottery like early Thessalian ware, which was unique in Macedonia. The ware did not come from a mound, but was discovered accidentally by two young officers. He agreed that Mycenean types could be picked up on the top of the mounds, and he himself had found pieces incised with scroll-pattern which he thought had originally been a little below the surface of a mound.

Mr. FORSDYKE thought Mr. Casson had rendered a service in distinguishing Iron Age from Bronze Age pottery; but a still greater service would be to determine the Stone Age wares. Central Europe and the Aegean were separated by the paucity of intervening finds as well as a want of sympathy between excavators in the two areas; and it was on that account that he particularly welcomed Mr. Casson's endeavour to provide a link between them by means of excavation.

Mr. PEAKE was gratified to learn that the investigation of the Balkan Bronze Age had been so auspiciously begun, and hoped that nothing would interfere with its continuation. On a future occasion Mr. Casson might be in a position to describe to the Society not only the pottery fragments but also the typical bronzes of the district, which might come to light under his supervision.

Mr. V. G. CHILDE was glad to have attention called to the presumed connexion in culture between central Europe and the countries south of the lower Danube. As a parallel to the curious handles excavated by Mr. Casson, he cited one from Monteoru between the Danube and the Carpathians which could be dated before the Aunjetitz period, and indicated when the southward movement took place. The curious extension of the *terramara* culture was matched by that of Michelsberg through the north of Europe; and he often wondered how so small a nucleus of population could spread any particular type over districts so widely separated from each other.

Mr. REGINALD SMITH disclaimed any special knowledge of south-eastern Europe, and approached the problem from the North. It should be remembered that three separate occupations of North Italy were accepted by several authorities, and no doubt reacted on the Balkan population. The Ligurians were late Neolithic, lived in caves and huts, were non-Aryan in speech, and buried their dead unburnt. On them descended, by passes in the central and western Alps, the chalcolithic lake-dwellers who spoke an Aryan language and burnt their dead, as did a later wave from the north-east in the full Bronze Age—the *terramara* people, who imitated lake-dwellings on dry land, occupied the Bolognese, where they evolved the Villanova culture, and founded Rome in the eighth century B. C. Mr. Casson had assigned his Macedonian finds to those people or their ancestors, and the main problem was to fix the date of their arrival in the Balkans. Mention had been made of a move from the Danube about 1500 B. C., and it was significant that the Achaeans reached the Peloponnese from the same direction a century or two later. Sir William Ridgeway had pointed out that the Achaean accoutrements tallied with those of the Hallstatt people, who could apparently be traced from the neighbourhood of the Iranian plateau across the Russian steppe; and in prehistoric Europe painted pottery was exotic, and in all probability of oriental origin.

Mr. CASSON replied that the discussion had furnished him with much information. In his opinion the north shore of the Aegean and the Thermaic Gulf at least should be included in the Aegean area. He felt certain, but could not prove finally, that the pottery from the mound was of the Bronze Age; and the piece of Mycenean ware found by himself in a definite stratum fitted stratigraphically into the Bronze Age. The pottery was certainly not Neolithic,

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and there was hardly any alternative but the *terramara* group of the north-west. M. Léon Rey had called it Bronze Age without argument. In regard to the later Iron Age culture of Macedonia, a chain of sites producing spectacle-brooches could be shown from Sparta through Boeotia into Macedonia via Thessaly, where one recent excavation at Pherae had yielded several hundred, together with lead figurines and ivory carvings of Spartan types. No one had yet investigated the area between the Vardar plain and Danube, but similar bronzes of the Iron Age were found all over the Sofia region and Bulgaria generally. He had not had the opportunity of fixing the Lake-dwellers and *terramara* people definitely in Macedonia in space or time, and had avoided the Achaean question as controversial: nothing that could be definitely identified as Achaean had been found yet in Macedonia or any part of Greece. The Hallstatt period in Macedonia, at least at the cemetery of Chauchitsa, had been dated in 1922 by the discovery of a geometric vase, which in southern Greece would belong to the century 1100–1000 B. C.

The CHAIRMAN (Rev. E. E. Dorling), in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Casson for an important paper, remarked that it had given rise to as full and interesting a discussion as he could recall within recent years.

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III.—*A Portable Dial in the form of a book, with Figures derived from Raymond Lul.* *By* O. M. DALTON, *Esq., M.A., F.S.A.*

Read 28th February 1924.

THE dial forming the subject of this paper, acquired by the British Museum in 1923, is of gilt copper, made in the form of a book, along the edges of which are inscribed in capitals the words: *Lucerna instrumentalis | intellectus directiva | sive instrumentum sciendi.* The dial-plate which is fixed in the interior has a compass and two very short gnomons. It is for use in the latitudes of 42 and 45, and would serve for Rome and one of the large towns in the North Italian plain, perhaps Milan or Venice.[1] It was made at Rome in the year 1593, as shown by the inscription on the dial-plate. On the cover is a shield of arms, barry, and in chief the letters I H S surmounted by a cross, a feature perhaps indicating that the owner was a member of the Society of Jesus; a fuller device, in which the three nails of the Passion are seen below the sacred monogram

[1] The two faces of the dial-plate are shown in pl. XXIX; the inscriptions which they bear are as follows:

Upper Surface.

Across the middle, and partly concealed by the attachment of the compass: *Horae ab Ortu | Inaequalibus pūctuatis immixtae. | Romae año Dñi 1593.*

In the upper half: *Ad polū 45 Gradūu.* In the lower half: *Ad latitudinē 42 Gradūu.* Round the border are the names of the winds in Latin. Along the top: *Cirrius* (for Circius, a westerly wind); SEPTENTRIO, *Boreas* (both N. winds). Along the right side: SOLANUS (E. wind). *Eurus* (SE. wind). At the bottom: MERIDIES (S. wind). Along the left side: *Aphricus* (for *Africus*, SW. wind). FAVONIUS (W. wind).

Lower Surface.

Across the middle: *Horae ab Occasu cū Astronomicis pūctuatis.*

In the upper half: *Polus 45 Gradūu.* In the lower half: *Latitudo 42 Gradūu.* On the surface the names of winds round the border are in Italian. At the top: TRAMONTANA (N. wind). Along the right side: *Greco* (NE. wind), LEVANTE (E. wind). Along the bottom: *Scirocco* (SE. wind). OSTRO (for *Austro*, = S. wind). *Garbino* (SW. wind). On the left side: PONENTE (= W. wind), *Maestro* (NW. wind).

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and cross, occupies the centre of the figure on the outside of the lower cover.[1] The identification of the arms presents difficulties. They might be those of the Caraffa (gules, three bars argent), a member of which family, Vincenzio Caraffa, was general of the Jesuits in 1645. But as he became a Jesuit in 1601 at the age of sixteen, he would only have been eight years old in 1593. The shield might, again, represent that of another Roman family, the Patrizi, which bears barry, sable and argent; but there appears to be no record of a Jesuit member of this name at the required time. As we need not confine the possibilities to Roman families, it would be interesting to connect the dial with the well-known mathematician and designer of instruments, Petrus Clavius of Bamberg, also a Jesuit, who was writing his books on geometrical dialling at Rome at this very period; but there seems to be no evidence that he bore the arms above described. For the present the name of the first possessor of the dial must remain undetermined.

Although this dial is important as a dated example of fine Italian workmanship, its peculiar interest lies not so much in its use for telling the time, as in its employment as a 'logical machine' or instrument of knowledge (*instrumentum sciendi*), attested by the elaborate figures and inscriptions, with which all the surfaces of the two covers are engraved. The larger among these figures contain terms which clearly recall the scholastic philosophy of the middle ages, while the smaller at once attract attention by their remarkable forms. The inscriptions, which fill most of the spaces unoccupied by the figures, are chiefly texts from the Scriptures in praise of learning. This combination seems at first sight incongruous upon an object dating from a time when Francis Bacon was already a man in his prime; it is to be explained by the continued cult in post-medieval times of the 'Illuminated Doctor', Raymond Lul. The figures upon the dial are in fact connected with those employed in the *Ars magna sciendi* of this celebrated man, of whose activities and their influence on the thought of Europe it is necessary to give some short account.

Raymond (Ramón) Lul, whose name through its latinized version, Lullius, has often been corrupted into Lully, was of Catalan descent and born in 1235 at Palma in Majorca, where he was also buried. His father was a noble who had helped James I of Aragon to drive out the Saracens a few years before, receiving a grant of lands as his reward. As a young man, Raymond led a dissipated

[1] The Rev. H. Thurston, S.J., reminds me, in a letter, that although this device was commonly identified with the Society of Jesus and was frequently used by its members, it was not confined to them alone. With regard to the arms, he adds that, if the dial had belonged to any Jesuit establishment, a mark of individual ownership would be irregular, members of the Order not even writing their names in their books. The RR. PP. Dudon and Mariès have also kindly helped me in my inquiries as to the possible ownership of the dial by a known member of the Society.

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life. His conversion was delayed till he was about thirty years of age, when a vision of seven crucifixes appeared to him. For nine or ten years after this event he studied with intensity, and chiefly in solitude, on the mountain of Randa, adopting a religious habit, and attaching himself to the Franciscan brotherhood.[1] It became his great ambition to confute with argument the infidel Mohammedans whom the crusaders had not succeeded in suppressing with the sword; this led him to begin his studies with Aristotle in order to prove that the mysteries of the Christian faith were not contrary to reason, for he was well aware that the subtle oriental thinkers brought up on the works of Averroes were not to be disposed of by the simpler methods of evangelization. In pursuance of his object he also learned Arabic, and the story goes that the Mohammedan whom he employed to teach him, discovering the purpose of his master, attempted to take his life. In 1275 he explained his plans to James II, who endowed a college at Miramar in which Franciscan missionaries were to be trained. In the following years he visited Montpellier, Rome, and Paris, lecturing and seeking support for his enterprise; he is also said to have voyaged to Palestine and other eastern countries. His first personal attempt to convert the Saracens appears to have been made in 1291 or 1292, when he embarked for Tunis; but after meeting with some success he was expelled from the country. After this, he taught at Naples and in Rome, at Genoa and in Paris, obtaining recognition both from the university and from the king of France. More travels followed, including visits to Cyprus, Armenia, Rhodes, and Malta. In the first years of the fourteenth century we find him at Genoa and Paris, at Palma, and in Catalonia, where he sought to obtain the support of the king and Pope Clement V for a crusade to the Holy Land. In 1305 or 1306, at the age of seventy, he sailed a second time as a missionary to Africa, but was again expelled. We next find him in Italy, once more attempting to promote a crusade. A further period of disputation and teaching in Paris followed, during which he enjoyed both academic and royal support. In 1311-12 he again urged a crusade upon the pope, and though he failed in this, he obtained further recognition through the sanction of a scheme for founding colleges in which missionaries were to be trained. He now, at the age of eighty, set out a third time for Africa (1315). Openly preaching Christianity with the most admirable courage, he was at last attacked by a hostile crowd, stoned, and left for dead. The story goes that he was carried to safety by some Genoese merchants, and lived until the ship was in sight of his native Palma. His body was buried in

[1] He is described as a hermit of the third order of St. Francis. His desire to convert the Saracens is said to have been awakened by a sermon heard on the Feast of St. Francis on 4th October 1266.

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the city, where a sumptuous tomb, erected at a later period, is still to be seen. After his death his works were placed upon the *Index*, from which they were not formally removed until 1563. This was not on account of any particular heresy, but because he had sought to introduce logical proof into regions where authority required the surrender of the discursive reason, a course which Aquinas had carefully avoided. Nevertheless, his system was approved as a general method of instruction in Spain throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Ferdinand the Catholic founded a university in Majorca, and established a chair at Valencia in 1500; these foundations were confirmed and approved by Charles V, Philip I, and Charles II. In France, though his fame was less constant, he was not wholly neglected; in Germany he had admirers both among the orthodox and among learned men not primarily occupied with religious studies.[1]

No man beginning to study the philosophy of religion in the second half of the thirteenth century could fail to be drawn into the orbit of scholasticism. Lul became a scholastic, but of an eccentric kind. As an ardent convert, he held all his persuasions with fervour; as a student of the Aristotelian logic, he was persuaded that the truth of all Christian doctrine could be demonstrated to any infidel. We therefore have to deal with a man evidently devoted to dialectic, metaphysics and theology, not merely for the sake of knowledge, but for a definite and practical end. It is this which distinguishes him from other scholastics. While it may have detracted from his general reputation as a philosopher, it lends him a unique interest, for it led him to try and invent something in the nature of a thinking machine. It was his idea so to mechanize the process of demonstration that two disputants with hardly any knowledge of each other's language might yet be able to refute or convince each other.

As a scholastic inclining to the Realists rather than to the Nominalists, his methods are almost wholly deductive; he knows little or nothing of the tendency to experiment and inductive reasoning which gave our countrymen Roger Bacon and William of Ockham so distinguished and original a place in the history of thought. His religious philosophy is theocentric: all essential principles are of God. Since these essential principles contain everything that is to be known, it is the business of dialectic to tabulate them, in order infallibly to extract from them any required particular by question and proposition. Lul formally claimed that the principles of all proof were contained in his Art of Dialectic, or *Ars magna sciendi*, and that any conclusion in any science could be reduced to its formulae. He claimed that it was an art of universal demonstration, by which the highest and most general attributes could be discovered and

[1] Lul was beatified, his day falling on 5th June.

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displayed in all subjects, as the reason of their existence and of the relations connecting them with each other. Cornelius Agrippa, in his treatise on Lul, repeats this claim on his behalf: 'This art is called the *ars inventiva* because it teaches us to discover and multiply subjects and terms, propositions, definitions, divisions, arguments and questions with their solutions, deductions etc. on all possible matters that can be proposed for examination.'[1] To us the word *inventiva* in this passage appears misleading. The only new things which the art can produce are combinations and juxtapositions within the boundaries of the already known, and this is not invention. The great thinkers of later times criticized Lul's work from this point of view. Leibnitz said that it was more useful for talking about science than for acquiring scientific knowledge; Francis Bacon condemns it because it encouraged the conceit that to know the vocabulary of an art was the same thing as to know the art itself. In short, Lul's system brings in no new facts; it merely draws out facts already known and puts them into suggestive relations, thus encouraging fresh arrangements. As an instrument of discovery, it is practically condemned by the historical fact that it was found most useful, not by investigators, but by preachers and public speakers. Some of the books upon the Lullian system were frankly written for the secondary purpose. In them it was openly recommended as a provider of topics for the pulpit.[2] Lul himself might not have been dissatisfied with this course of events. Though in his later years he applied his art to sciences, he never forgot that it had been his primary object to teach Christian doctrine to the heathen, and the taunt that his system was good for preachers might have been accepted by him as high praise. He did not make the exaggerated claims put forward by his later disciples. A certain Kriegsmann, whose book, curiously enough, was published at Oxford in 1677,[3] assures his readers that the Lullian art should be called *Pantosophy*, since it epitomizes all philosophies, Hermetic, Platonic, Aristotelian and Scholastic; at the same time it embodies the wisdom of all the sacred books, Mosaic and Christian. Yet, although able to open all these gates, it can be learned by the average intelligent boy, who by its aid is promised the skill to answer any argument with eloquence and erudition. The climax of absurdity was reached by one John Terrentius, *magni nominis Lullista*, who told another devotee, one Alsted, that by the help of the art he would undertake to give

[1] *Henrici Cornelii Agrippae . . . in Artem Brevem Raymundi Lullii commentaria*, 1538, pp. 1–2.

[2] H. Carbonel, *Artis Lullianae seu memoriae artificialis secretum, oratoribus et praedicatoribus utilissimum*, Paris, 1620. N. de Hauteville, *L'art de bien discourir, ou l'art de Lulle expliqué, étendu et appliqué à la chaire et au barreau, etc.* Jean Belot, *Œuvre des oeuvres, contenant l'art de la mémoire, l'art de doctement prêcher et haranguer d'après Raimond Lulle.* Rouen, 1640.

[3] W. Kriegsmann, *Pantosophiae sacro-profanae a Raymundo Lullio in artem reductae.* Oxford, 1677, p. 3.

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a hundred definitions of anything, even of a point in space.[1] Much more sober are the claims made by the Jesuit Kircher at about the same period. He rightly said that Lul's system was an art of *combination*: given certain subjects, it could reveal to you how often and in how many ways they can be combined, and how many permutations can be made.[2] As far as discovery was concerned, he only claimed that the art could extract ideas already latent in existing knowledge, but susceptible of association in new ways.

We may now turn to the most original part of Lul's system and that which concerns us in relation to the dial: its introduction of Figures and Diagrams, by which he proposed to force conclusions on any mind of average understanding by a half-mechanical method of demonstration. If he could produce a logical mechanism able to demonstrate Christian doctrines by appeal to the eye as well as the ear, he conceived that the intelligent Saracen might be brought to his knees, for such a mechanism, not being dependent on any one language, might carry truth across all linguistic frontiers. We here meet with the idea of a thinking machine which has recurred to many minds in later periods, chiefly those concerned with mathematics.[3] A series of theological propositions, once set in motion, would proceed to its appointed end, much as in Babbage's 'analytical engine' series of mathematical operations were carried to their true conclusions. To the scholastic Realist, with his fixed ideas and deductive habit of thought, there was nothing impracticable in this. If universals were definable entities set in a rigid eternal order, they could be visibly suggested in the world of things which imperfectly shadowed forth that order. Single letters or written names could be used as symbols; the relations and reactions of principles and ideas could be presented by means of geometrical figures. In using these figures, either the eye itself, glancing to and fro, might connect symbols spatially removed from each other, or the symbols themselves might mechanically be brought together through the operation of diagrams with movable parts. Ideal relations might thus find their analogues in spatial: all kinds of suggestive combinations could be effected. Even in these days of inductive science we can see that within certain limits a mechanism of this sort might have its uses. The mind may really be directed by mechanical means to syllogisms which might not otherwise occur to it. To the scholastic Realist it might well appear that the whole body of possible knowledge might be brought before the mind by a sufficiently elaborated mechanical process.

[1] J. H. Alstredius, *Clavis artis Lullianae.* Strasburg, 1652, p. 15: 'Ejus institutum fuit concinnare artem generalem cujus ope possemus *disserere de omni Scibili.*'

[2] A. Kircher, *Ars magna Sciendi sive combinatoria* (Amsterdam, 1669), p. 155.

[3] We may recall the Logic Demonstrator invented in 1777 by Charles, third Earl Stanhope, and now in the Ashmolean Museum (R. T. Gunther, *Early Science in Oxford*, 1923, vol. i, p. 129).

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Lul[1] first divided the universe into fundamental *Subjects* and *Essential principles* (God, Angels, or Spirits. Heaven. Man. The imaginative. The sensitive. The elementative. The instrumentative). He next distinguished a double series of *Attributes*, one absolute, the other relative. The *absolute attributes* are: goodness, greatness, duration, power, wisdom, will, truth, virtue, and glory; the *relative attributes* are: difference, agreement, opposition, beginning, middle, end, majority, equality, minority.

In the third place he enumerates the principal *Questions* which can be asked of anything: Whether? What? Of what? Wherefore? How much? Of what sort? When? Where? With, or by what? He introduces other categories, including the Virtues and Vices, but we cannot attempt here to exhaust his classification of things. Now if the Subjects are brought into relation with each other, in all their possible permutations, through the agency of the Questions of Existence (cause and effect, quality, quantity, relation, time, place, and mode), any number of propositions can be set up for discussion. They become endless when it is explained that every Subject can be dissected, and shown to imply a whole series of subordinate subjects, each and all of which are potentially involved when it is brought into an argument.

The lines drawn from any one term (principle) to any other signify a necessary connexion between the ideas which they represent, so that he who is in contact with one is of necessity in contact with the others. On this essential and necessary connexion depends Intellectual Circulation, or the method of forming demonstrations in a circle. Circulation in the largest and outermost circle is the most important process of all:[2] 'A given particular, through its necessary connexion with any other by the mediation of primordial and supreme principles, leads on to the certain and infallible knowledge of any required particular.'

In such a system the circle was obviously the best form for the diagram or figure. It could present the principal subject as visibly central; when the lesser ideas belonging to its group had been written in concentric circles described about it, the relation between these to each other, and that between all of them to the central idea, were clearly set before the eye. A circular figure of this sort has a real value, since it suggests in the simplest way the notion of an organic whole in which every part is related to every other. To such a circular figure the mechanical principle can be applied by making one or more of the circles revolve, so that the terms engraved upon any one of them can successively be moved opposite to different terms engraved upon other circles. The influence

[1] I. Salzinger, *Collected Edition of the Works of Raymond Lul*, Mainz, 1721. Vol. iii: In the *Introductoria Artis Demonstrativae de Figura A.*

[2] See, in the same volume of Salzinger, the *Liber vere mirandarum demonstrationum.*

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of the centre being regarded as passing radially through all the concentric circles to the circumference, it is clear that fresh groups of terms are formed by each turn of a circle, and that from these new syllogisms can be constructed. Within the innermost circle of certain Figures Lul fixed at the centre superimposed triangles or squares, the angles of which bore other terms. These also were constructed to revolve, so that the angles could be made to point in turn to the different terms inscribed on the innermost circle. Lul says that the movable parts may be made of electrum or other metal, or, if the figure is in a book, of parchment.[1]

In Lul's figurative presentation of the universe each of the different spheres of thought was represented by its own Figure, its circles being inscribed with the names of concepts falling under its dominant idea, the symbol of which occupied the centre. It is undeniable that he thus helped people to visualize the unity of great concepts and the connexion of subordinate ideas within them. But an active mind always adding to its ideas and seeking to improve its methods could not fail to modify and multiply the original Figures until the practical value of the system was much impaired, if only because the strain upon the student's memory becomes too severe; we are reminded of the pre-Copernican system in astronomy, 'cycle on epicycle, orb on orb'. And as Lul had employed the letters of the alphabet to denote his Figures and concepts, there came a time when each letter had a dozen or fifteen meanings, all of which the disciple had to carry in his mind. This weakness in the Lullian system was criticized by Kircher,[2] who sought to avoid it in a reformed system of his own invention.

The figures engraved upon the dial before us embody some of Lul's contributions towards a system of mechanical reasoning. Only one of them appears exactly to coincide with any Figure illustrated in Salzinger's edition of his works, but two others are in essentials so similar that their Lullian derivation is beyond a doubt.[3]

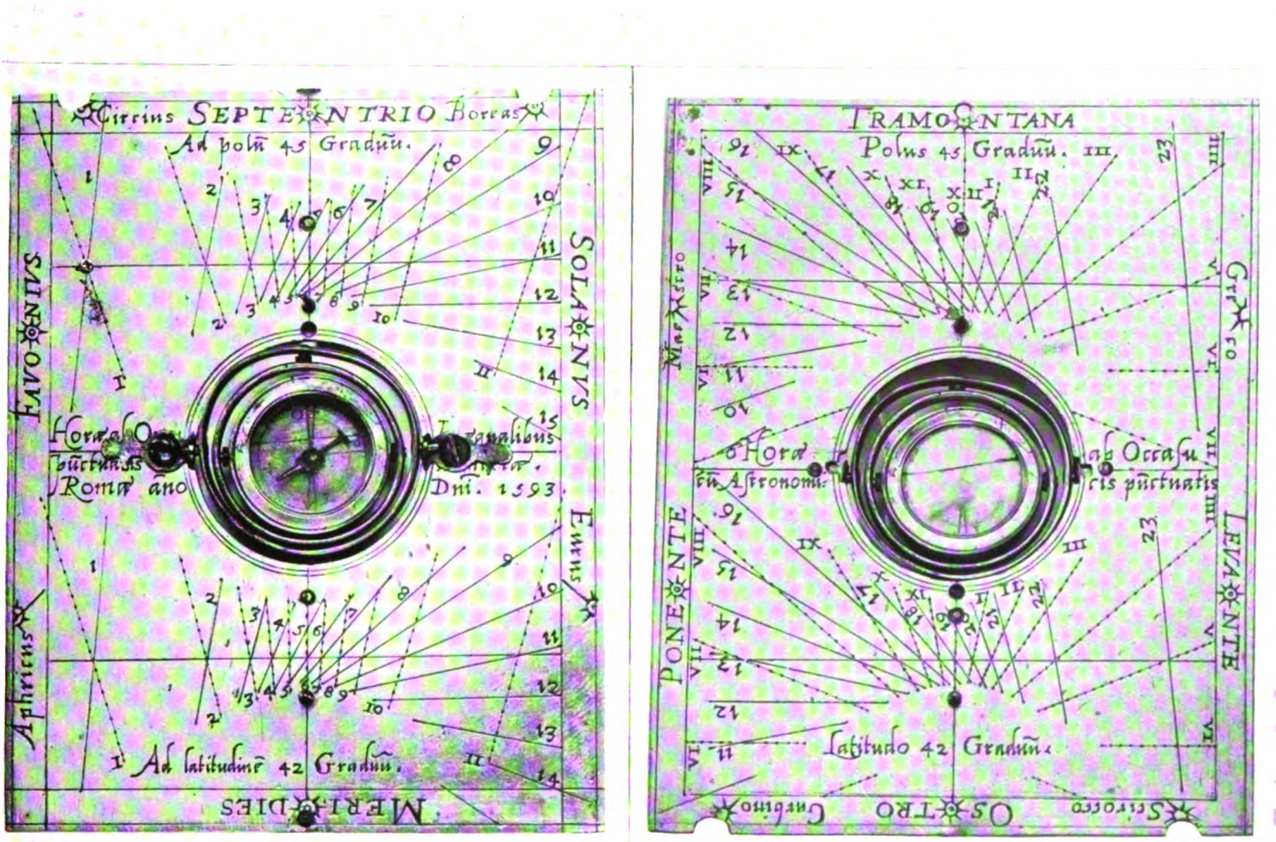
On the outer side of the upper cover (pl. xxx, 1) is engraved a variant of his fundamental figure called: 'Figure of the Alphabet', the word alphabet being here used in a special sense to signify the nine letters B–K standing for nine *Subjects* (see above); the principal subject, God, being omitted from the series

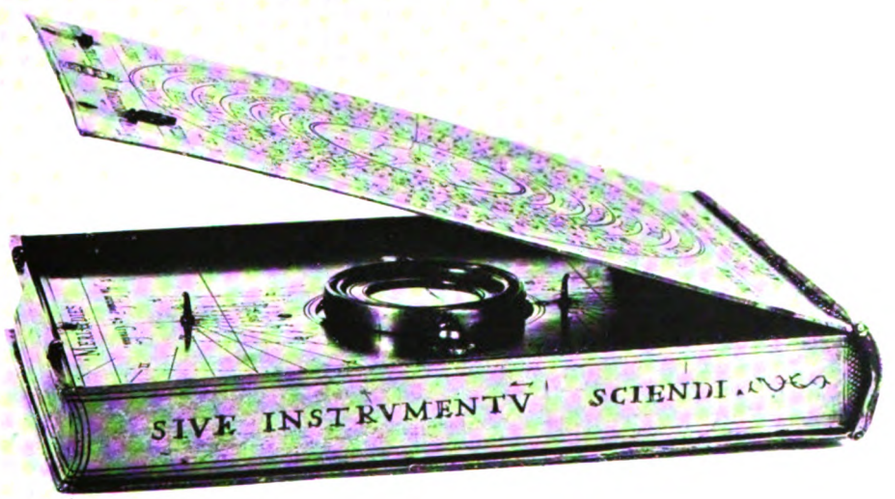
[1] The British Museum has a fifteenth-century MS. of Lul in which a figure has one of the concentric circles cut out, and attached in such a way as to revolve.

[2] As above, p. 7.

[3] Research in MS. copies of Lul's numerous treatises might reveal originals for these also. Lul introduced so many variations and modifications that the changes are hard to follow; their pursuit would have taken far more time than I could afford to give.

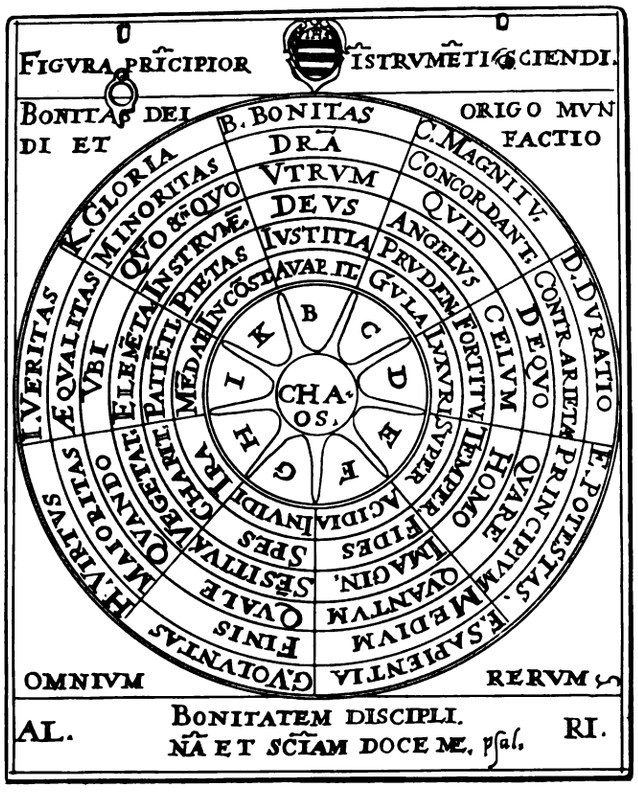
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Below, the dial ; above, obverse and reverse of the dial-plate

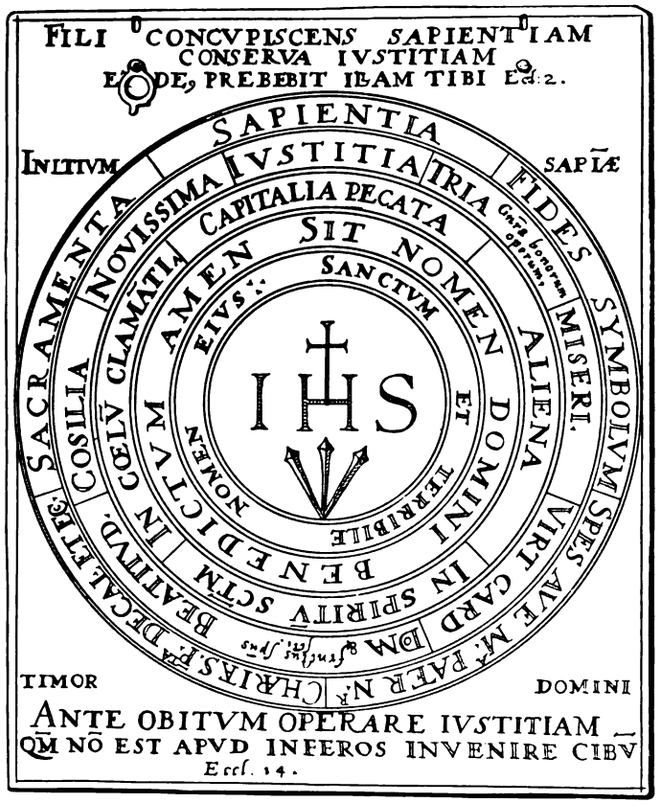
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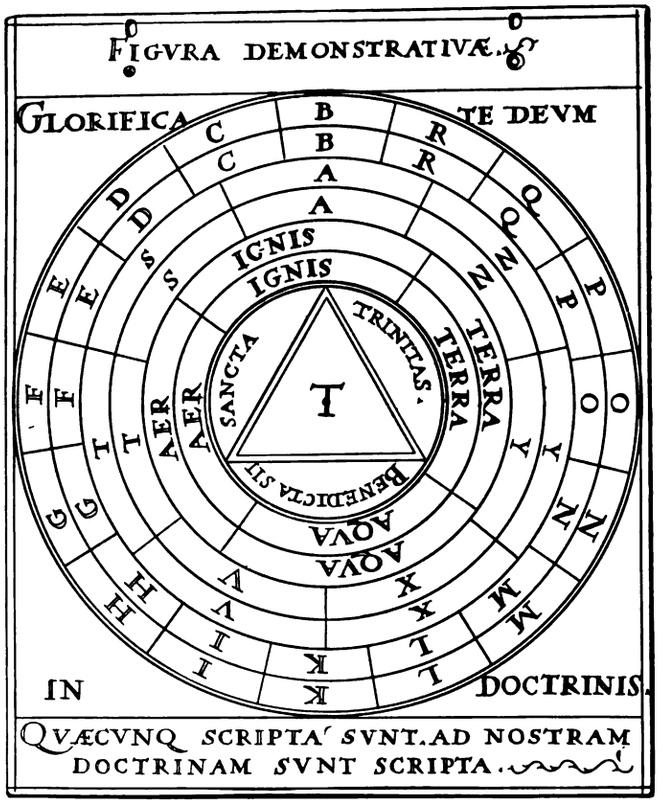
1. Upper cover, outer side



2. Upper cover, inner side



3. Lower cover, outer side



4. Lower cover, inner side

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as belonging to the centre of the Figure.[1] At the top is the descriptive legend: *Figura principior instrumenti sciendi.* In the spandrels beyond the circumference, towards the four corners of the dial, is the legend: *Bonitas Dei origo mundi et factio omnium rerum.* At the bottom is the text: *Bonitatem disciplinam et scientiam doce me* (Ps. cxviii (cxix), 66). To right and left of this text we see the syllables AL and RI.

It will be seen that if radiating lines are drawn from the centre through the seven concentric circles, nine equal sectors are formed, each marked by one of the above-mentioned letters. One would have expected A, as the letter of God, to have occupied the centre of the Figure. In its place we find the word *Chaos.* But Lul wrote a treatise entitled *Liber Chaos,*[2] in which Chaos represents the formless matter through which God actuates ideas, the medium without which they cannot receive form or definition; this potential source of all things is really almost as much in place as the letter standing for the Creator himself. Round the outermost of the six circles we see engraved the Subjects or principles (*bonitas, magnitudo,* etc.). In the next circle are Attributes (*duratio, concordantia,* etc.). The third contains the Questions (*utrum, quid? de quo?* etc.). In the fourth are further Subjects (*Deus, Angelus, Coelum, Homo, Imagin(ativa), Sensitiva,* etc.). The two innermost circles contain the Virtues and Vices.

It is easy to see, as we look at this figure, how premises and syllogisms might be formed by linking up terms in the different circles. You can ask whether the heavens are eternal? Which is worse, avarice or pride? Why the angel is greater than the man? Whether the intellect and the will are of equal power or not? The answers can be worked out through formal propositions composed by reference to the contents of the several circles. The process is aided by the fact that the rules of this intellectual game allow a verb to be formed from any noun or adjective. Thus *bonitas* yields an active verb *bonificare,* to 'bonificate'. Assembling the terms *Bonitas, Magnitudo,* and *Homo,* you may form the proposition 'magnitude bonificates (i.e. ennobles, or is of advantage to) man'. In the same way, deriving a verb from *magnitudo* you may say: 'Goodness magnificates man'. There is no end to such a process, and every proposition so formed may take its place in a syllogism. The following

[1] I have not succeeded in finding this Figure in the books describing Lul's system; but it is the simple reduction to circular form of the Alphabet tabulated in columns, which often occurs.

[2] It is to be found in Salzinger, as above, vol. iii.

'Ex Chaos influuntur quattuor elementa simplicia. Per Chaos Deus species seminavit.'

'Cum Creator omnium Deus Chaos de non esse ad esse produceret, seminavit in ipsum semina causalia et appetitus eorum, id est, dispositionem et habilitatem formae et materiae speciem.' Chaos has three grades, the first being a state of mere confusion, in which the *semina causalia* are potentially present: 'In primo gradu Chaos erant per modum creationis omnes species in potentia.'

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are arguments from the pages of the Lullists, and illustrate a more advanced use of the suggestions derived from the Figures:

Everything operating according to its virtue is glorious.
All sciences and disciplines so operate.
Ergo they are glorious.

All extremes are bad.
All excess and defect are extremes.
Ergo excess and defect are bad.

The principle of life cannot be material.
The soul is a principle of life.
Ergo it is not material.

In all this kind of ratiocination we detect tautology and commonplace, and when the Lullists suggest that the system accords well with dialogue after the Platonic model, we make allowance for their loyalty to their own master. Kriegsmann elaborates a dialogue between a Lullist and an atheist on the question: does God exist? It is indeed a kind of dialogue, but very unlike those of Plato; we feel all the time that we are moving too evidently in circles, and all too probably in a mist.[1] In short, try as we may, we cannot, in our age of inductive discovery, constrain our minds to a mechanical system like this. The calculating machine we can understand; we can approve of 'Napier's bones'. Such instruments work with completely abstract and absolutely defined symbols; in their case thought is deliberately superseded by mechanism to facilitate a practical end. A thinking machine in which mathematical signs are replaced by general concepts is another matter. All sorts of confusions and contradictions must creep in through the impossibility of defining absolutely the meaning of terms, and through uncertainty as to their full connotation. Moreover, it seems to us that a mechanism which tries to do the work of the intellect must enfeeble the intellectual powers in proportion to its own success. We therefore find it a matter less for regret than for congratulation that Lul's system does not possess the kind of fitness which leads to survival.

The Figure on the inner side of the upper cover (pl. xxx, 2) is of a less universal character, specially concerned with the sphere of perception and its relation to the outer world.[2] In the centre of a pentagram we see a circle inscribed

[1] At such moments we are inclined to accept Carlyle's severe judgement of the Schoolmen as a body: that they gyrated like spinning dervishes, and ended where they began (*Miscellanies*: 'Characteristics'). The *ars circulandi* of Lul seems peculiarly open to this criticism.

[2] In Salzinger, vol. ii: *Liber propositionum secundum artem Demonstrativam*, p. 2, there is mention of a *Figura Sensitiva*, which has in the centre five triangles of different colours, and three revolving circles.

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Sensus communis; in the five points are inscribed the five senses. The pentagram is surrounded by three concentric circles, the innermost of which contains the classes into which the subject-matter of apprehension may be divided: The *sensible*, the *intelligible*, the *credible*, *the dubious*, and the *imaginable*. In the next circle we find: *Nature*, *substance*, *accident*, the *simple*, the *composite*, the *individual*, *species*, *genus*, *entity*, *action*, *passion*. The outermost circle contains, in four of its compartments, headings already seen in the third circle of the former Figure: *God*, *angel*, *heaven*, *man*. But in the present case these terms are followed by more concrete and material terms: *brute*, *plant*, *flame*, *stone*. The following texts and diagrams surround the Figure. At the top: *Sapientia aedificavit sibi domum* (Prov. ix, 1); and *Magna et mirabilia sunt opera tua Domine* (Rev. xv, 3). In the spandrels about the circle: *Invisibilia Dei a creatura Mundi | per ea quae facta sunt | intellecta conspiciuntur.* To right and left of the Figure: *Scalae intellectus.* At the bottom, below the Figure: *Nisi credideritis non intelligetis.*

Enclosing or interrupting these inscriptions, and flanking the upper part of the main Figure, are seven smaller figures or subsidiary diagrams, some of which are still obscure to me, though I happened to light upon the interpretation of two or three. The nature of the main Figure suggested that these satellites should bear some relation to applied science, while the figure in the middle at the bottom is connected by its own descriptive legend (*Quadratura circuli*) with the problem of squaring the circle. The figure in the right-hand bottom corner, with combinations of the first four letters of the alphabet in a square, superficially resembles a magic square, but must really be one of the 'Tables' which appear frequently on Lul's pages, filled in the same way by letters, each standing for a definite concept; I have not been able to identify it in the very insufficient time in which I have been able to pursue Lullian studies, and must confess an equal ignorance with regard to the group of intersecting circles under the words: *Invisibilia Dei.*

To the meaning of the other four small figures I am able to provide clues. That in the top left-hand corner, though elementary in appearance, is really subtle. The plain man inspecting this figure would suppose that three triangles into which the square is divided contain nine angles and no more. This, it appears, is not the case, for in perception the intellect does not alone suffice; it must be supplemented by the imaginative faculty. By using both the two faculties, and so forming a 'perceptive combination', you discover twelve angles in the three triangles. If A is equal to B and C, it must contain as many angles as the two of them together; otherwise it would not be wholly equal. Since, therefore, B and C together have six, A must also have six, whatever the eye may seem to tell us to the contrary, and the whole figure must

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have not nine but twelve angles. It is true that, of the twelve, only nine are visible, while three are potential. But since the combination of *intellectus cum imaginatione* is able to envisage the potential no less than the actual, it may be safely assumed that the twelve angles are really there.[1]

The corresponding figure in the right-hand top corner, explained in the same book, is again by no means as simple as it looks: it illustrates, in fact, the theorem that there cannot be a plurality of worlds. The contention is that the four elements and the celestial bodies form a *continuum* in the same nature, from which nature their *virtue*, or influence, flows inward to the centre of the world: 'Sed sic non esset si multi essent mundi separati qui convenirent in corporeitate et figura absque subjecto communi ambobus et sic implicarent contradictionem: quia species non possunt esse absque genere, neque distantia et propinquitas eorum esse possent, ut patet per sequentem figuram.'

Lavinheta also supplies the explanation of the figure in the lower left-hand corner, resembling a fan inscribed in a lozenge.[2] Few, perhaps, would guess that it concerns a nautical problem, but the legend beneath it says: 'This is a ship putting out to sea' ('Est hic navis in ingressu maris'). It occurs in a chapter on Navigation, and it is apparently intended to illustrate a theory of deviation from a set course. The ship puts out from harbour, bound eastward. But the north wind forces it to sail four miles for every three miles which it makes on its course: 'Ratio hujus est: quia in duratione motus primo generatur unitas sive punctus: et quando navis innevit per octo miliaria apud exaloch[3] ipsa quidem non valent versus orientem nisi sex. Ratio hujus est: quod causatur secunda unitas quae cum prima causat unam lineam compositam ex duabus unitatibus sive punctis.' When the ship has proceeded another four miles, a third unity comes into being: 'et sic causatur triangulus per duodecim miliaria ter quater causatur quadrangulus quater tria. Et sic ostenditur per quem modum in motu navis componitur.'

The explanation of the remaining two diagrams in the spandrels to right and left of the large central figure, I have not yet been able to discover, though doubtless it might be revealed by a prolonged research.

We proceed to the third large Figure, which is inside the lower cover

[1] See the chapter on Geometry in *Practica compendiosa Artis Raym. Lul*, by B. Lavinheta, 1523. 'Nam si A valet tantum quam B et C, tot angulos habet per intellectum cum imaginatione, quot habent B et C per sensum. Sed B et C habent sex; ergo, A habet sex.'

[2] This figure is said by Lavinheta to occur in Lul's *Ars magna* (*hanc figuram declarat doctor noster in Arte magna*). It may perhaps be assumed that all these subsidiary figures are derived from Lul, for his encyclopaedic works covered the whole range of contemporary knowledge and included treatises upon many branches of science.

[3] I have been unable to discover the meaning of this word.

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(pl. xxx, 4). It is drawn in a similar way in Salzinger's edition,[1] where, as on the dial, it is called *Figura Demonstrativae.* It represents a kind of compendium of other Figures which it potentially contains: 'et sic ista Ars per hanc figuram sub compendio speculandi memoriae commendatur'.

In this figure there are three pairs of concentric circles, some of which should properly revolve in such a way that any of their letters may be brought opposite to any letter of the next circle. The two letters thus form what Lul calls a *camera,* which becomes the basis of a premise or proposition. This *Figura Demonstrativa* is only to be used by the advanced Lullist, for each letter carries the sum of meanings ascribed to it in several other figures, and none but a practised memory could carry so condensed a load. The two interior circles are inscribed with the names of the elements which first emerge from the primal chaos, and potentially contain all the species of existence. The principal meanings of the letters in the two middle circles (A S T V X Y Z) are: God; the Soul or Life; Action and distinction; Virtue and Vice; Opposition; Truth; and Falsity. In the two external circles, E I N and R, at equidistant points mean *Choice* (of the desirable); *Rejection* (of the hateful); *Clarification*; and *Confusion.*[2] The T in the centre of the Figure as drawn by Lul was originally placed there as the name-letter of *Figura T,* one of the three most important Figures in the system. But, in his symbolic philosophy, the triangle (in which it is here enclosed) stands as mediator between the square, or emblem of the imperfect, and the circle, or emblem of perfection. But as it was also a very ancient symbol of the Trinity, the theological and philosophical meanings must have been closely linked in Lul's thought, and it is not surprising that later Lullists, such as the person for whom the dial was constructed, should have made the latent theological meanings of the triangle explicit by adding the words BENEDICTA SIT SANCTA TRINITAS, placed at its sides.

Below this figure we read: *Quaecunque scripta sunt ad nostram doctrinam sunt scripta.* Disposed in the spandrels are the words: *Glorifica | te Deum | in | Doctrinis.*

The last Figure (pl. xxx, 3) is engraved outside the lower cover. It embodies a series of concentric circles in the style of Lul's Figures, but having in the centre the sacred monogram between a cross (above) and three nails (beneath), a device, as already noted, often used by Jesuits, but not confined to members of their order. The outer concentric circles are inscribed with the names of

[1] Salzinger, vol. iii, sections: *De figura elementali,* and *Compendium, seu commentum Artis Demonstrativae.* A very similar figure, in vol. iii, with T in the centre, and the four elements in the inmost circles, but with A–P in each of the three outer circles, is described as: *Secunda Figura T.*

[2] These four letters occur on the squares in the centre of Lul's figure S (*Figura Animae*).

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Virtues, invocations, prayers, etc.[1] The two inner circles have respectively: 'Blessed be the name of the Lord, Amen'; and 'Holy and terrible is His name'. At the top of this cover is the text: *Fili concupiscens sapientiam | conserva justitiam | et Deus prebebit illam tibi* (Eccl. 2).[2] At the bottom: *Ante obitum operare justitiam q(uonia)m no(n) est apud inferos invenire cibu(m)* (Eccl. 14).[3] In the spandrels about the circular Figure: *Initium sapi(enti)ae timor Domini* (Ps. cx (cxi), 10).

It may seem that in this paper a disproportionate space has been devoted to Raymond Lul and his works. But, as noted at the outset, this dial was the property of a Lullist; it was probably valued by him less as a means of telling the hour than of profiting by the hour when told. To its owner it was, as its inscription implies, 'a lamp guiding the way of the intellect', and an instrument of learning. It was a kind of scholastic *vade-mecum*, by the possession of which he followed the master's advice that the Figures should be kept at hand for constant reference. We thus have before us something which is more than a time-teller: it was a valued possession, bound up with the owner's intellectual life. It may not be alone in this respect; other such instruments may exist. But if so they are very rare, and it is well that this fine example should be placed on record. Nor need we regret that in the process we have been reminded of the brave and indefatigable Catalan whose name, now half forgotten among us, loomed so largely in the history of medieval thought.[4]

[1] We may note, in addition to Virtues: *Symbolum* (the Creed), *Ave Maria*, *Pater Noster*, *Praecepta Decal(ogi)*, *Sacramenta; Consilia novissima*, *Tria genera bonorum operum*, *Dona et fructus Spiritus Sancti; In Cœlum clama(n)tia*, *Capitalia Peccata*, *Aliena*, *In Spiritum Sanctum*.

[2] The real reference is: Ecclesiastes i, 33.

[3] Eccl. xiv, 17.

[4] Apart from his importance to linguists as the first important writer in Catalan, Lul has appealed most strongly to our century through his mystical thought. Quite recently two small books have been published in England illustrating this aspect of his mind: E. Allison Peers, *The Book of the Lover and the Beloved*, translated from the Catalan of Ramón Lull, with an introductory essay, 1923; and A. E. Waite, *Raymund Lully*, 1922.

It may be of interest to record that the Library of Karlsruhe possesses a fine fourteenth-century MS., with a series of illuminations illustrating the career of Raymond Lul (W. Brambach, *Des Raimundus Lullius Leben und Werke in Bildern des xiv Jahrhunderts*, Karlsruhe, 1893).

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IV.—*Seals in the Public Record Office.* *By* R. C. FOWLER, *Esq., O.B.E., F.S.A.*

[Read 22nd May 1924]

PERHAPS the first thing to remark about these seals is that they have suffered serious damage. Of course, anywhere seals are liable to damage. The chalky composition used in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries becomes very friable with age, and sometimes seems only to be held together by the varnish; various chemical preservatives have been suggested, but it is doubtful whether they are effective. The wax of the next three centuries is very much better, and a seal free from pressure and left undisturbed should be quite perfect to-day. These conditions may often be found in the muniment boxes of corporations or old manor houses, but the public records, until their arrangement in the last century, had lain for many years in such vast piles that seals among them had a poor chance. Every one knows that the wax of seals is brittle, but it is often forgotten that it is also a liquid and will yield to any pressure, however small, if continued long enough; just as we see a block of pitch in the street sinking under its own weight, though hard to the touch. Deformation of seals is quite common, and occasionally two or more have coalesced. Cotton-wool is a good protection against concussion, but it is harder than wax and will penetrate it under pressure; while, on the other hand, the cases of wood or metal known as skippets are protection against deformation, but not so much against concussion.

Next, the collection is very large, the number of varieties running into several thousands; even though the proportion of survivals is very small and in the great majority of cases only traces of wax now remain or marks of tags where seals were once attached. Almost every class is represented. The formation of a corpus of British seals is certainly not a programme at present or for many years to come, and perhaps not even an ideal; but there is plenty of work to be done in study of types or classes like that of Sir William Hope on seals of bishops, archdeacons, colleges, or municipalities, and of Mr. Hunter Blair on seals of Northumberland and Durham; and all such studies will find material at the Record Office.

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Thirdly, to go again in the other direction, most of the best seals are well known. A great many casts in the British Museum collection were made from originals at the Record Office; even though references were not kept at first, they can often be identified by some imperfection. The classes of Acknowledgements of Supremacy and of Surrenders of Monasteries have been thoroughly searched for this. The magnificent set of seals attached to the Barons' Letter to the Pope in 1301 has been described and studied several times. Laing's *Ancient Scottish Seals* and Bain's *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland* describe a large number, though not all, of the Scottish seals. Then, too, many of the finest impressions are of famous seals such as the Holy Cross of Waltham Abbey and the Virgin and Child of Merton Priory, which are found elsewhere. It is annoying to come across several first-class specimens of a common seal and then only a single damaged fragment of a very valuable one. However, the luck probably runs fairly evenly, though favouring small size, and fragments often supplement each other usefully, perfect specimens not being so common among seals as among postage stamps. Some valuable finds have been made in recent years, as, for instance, the superb Palatinate seal of John de Warenne; which may be called doubly unique, for no other impression of it is known and no other English seal is of quite the same class.

For very many years the seals lay almost completely neglected, though old antiquaries sketched a few from time to time and probably stole others. They are ignored in the first Record Commission report of 1800, and little appears to have been done for them before the establishment of the Record Office by the Act of 1838. Loose seals in the Chapter House at Westminster were placed in new wooden skippets and a rough list of them was begun in 1840; the Acknowledgements of Supremacy and Deeds of Surrender were listed in 1844 and the seals of the Barons' Letter in 1845. The second volume of Bain's *Calendar* was published in 1884, and many Scottish seals were described there for the first time. A number of damaged seals were mended, but little was done for their study. The reason, of course, was that written records were much more important, or at any rate considered so by most people, and their bulk is so enormous that the work of arranging, listing, repairing, and cataloguing them, which is still unfinished, taxed the resources of the staff to the utmost. But steady progress has been made. In 1890, for instance, the Ancient Deeds were packed in separate envelopes, and those with the best seals placed in little boxes. And during the last forty years more and more care has been directed to the protection of seals, and much learnt from experience.

Loose seals are easy enough to deal with. Each is placed in a box just

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large enough to hold it, resting on a pad of cotton-wool in grease-proof paper, with reasonable access to the air, and takes up very little room. But the case of seals attached to documents is different. The ideal would be to give each document a box large enough to hold it and its seals flat and comfortably, but this is generally impracticable for reasons of space, the Office being already crowded. The method serves well for documents with several seals, but the ordinary deed with one or two seals remains folded, just as it was originally in a medieval muniment chest, and is placed in a small box or stout envelope and stored with others in a larger box, with precautions against concussion. Files of documents with seals give most trouble. In a few special cases a document with an important seal has been removed and a cross-reference left in its place; but usually the file is placed in a box built to fit it, or is otherwise protected by stout wooden guards, pads being added where necessary. Seals in skippets are generally in better condition and need less care. But invariably at the present time seals are in greater danger from careless handling than from improper storage.

In 1912 some worthless fragments of seals of known origin and date were sent to the Government Laboratory for analysis, and the results have been given in a paper by Sir James Dobbie and Dr. J. J. Fox entitled 'The Composition of some Medieval Wax Seals' in vol. 105 of the *Transactions of the Chemical Society.*

A definite scheme for a card catalogue was taken up before the war. In 1912 arrangements were made with Sir William Hope to describe the seals, and the form of the card was decided on after careful consultation with him; it gives name, colour, shape, size, date, description, legend, other remarks if thought necessary and desirable, and reference to original, with reference to description in the printed British Museum catalogue, if found there. References to other lists, such as those of Laing, Douet d'Arcq, or Demay, have sometimes been added; but as such searches are often fruitless they have been postponed in many cases until the main work shall be done and the card revised and prepared for printing. The cards are roughly classified and will ultimately be arranged and numbered in a similar manner to the British Museum catalogue, with some modifications suggested by experience. Sir William went steadily through some of the more likely classes of records, but of course he was not giving his whole time to the work, and it was interrupted by the war and then stopped by his death. After an interval it was taken up again, and is now proceeding. Most of the chief classes have now been searched, and it is improbable that many more important seals remain undiscovered, but there is a considerable amount of work still to be done.

Even before the card catalogue was begun, it was recognized that it was

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very important to make a collection of moulds and casts of the seals; and this was considered, but delayed by pressure of other work and then set aside because of the war. Afterwards it was taken up again, and early in 1922 definite instructions were given to the repairing department. The principal reason was the danger of damage to unique specimens, but it is also thought that casts may be more convenient for study and useful for exhibition. It is also well known that in many cases better photographs can be taken from casts than from originals, chiefly because of colour; and experiments have been made on colour and material, which are described by Mr. Jenkinson.[1] When all the seals have been numbered, the corresponding moulds will receive the same numbers; in the meantime they have been given temporary numbers which are marked on the cards, and can thus be found without delay. After the needs of the Office have been satisfied, it may be possible to sell casts as certified copies of records are now sold; but this will not be for a long time yet. Of course, the Record Office makes casts of its own seals only, and does not collect them from outside like the British Museum.

The various Courts of Law differ very considerably in the number of seals found among their records. There is practically nothing in the later courts, nor in the King's Bench or Common Pleas; and very little in the Chancery except with the deeds. The great majority come from the Exchequer, but there too there is practically nothing in the branches of Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer and Exchequer of Pleas. The Augmentation Office has muniments from religious houses, with numerous seals; the Exchequer of Receipt the wardrobe debentures; and the King's Remembrancer large numbers of receipts and deeds. But the pick of all are in the Treasury of the Receipt, formerly in the Chapter House at Westminster, which was not an administrative office but rather in the nature of a record office. The Duchy of Lancaster has many good seals, most of which have long been known; their bulk is not great, but they have been more fortunate in preservation than most. The Court of Wards has a few. The State Paper Office has some impressed armorial signets of the sixteenth century and later.

No statistics are ready yet, but some rough notes on colour may be interesting. In a few cases seal and counter-seal are in different colours; Battle Abbey seems fond of this, and there are other instances in the seals of the priory of St. Denis, Southampton, the towns of Yarmouth and Denbigh, and Swinfield, bishop of Hereford. After the whitish seals come to an end and we get whole-colour mixtures of wax and resin, the enormous majority are either green or red; green, coloured with verdigris, predominating earlier, and red, coloured with vermilion, later. It will be remembered that the great seal from

[1] *Antiquaries Journal*, iv, 388.

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Henry III to Henry VIII on the more important documents is always green and the privy seal red. A long way after these colours comes natural wax, such as the great seal on minor documents, which is in almost pure beeswax, and brown. Then some orange, mostly early, and some bronze, a very hard wax, mostly official; a few black, mainly cockets, a very few reddish purple, and one bluish purple, from Rome. There is no blue seal at all, and there appears to be none in the British Museum and perhaps none in England. The reason was probably the high cost of ultramarine, made from lapis lazuli, but the complete absence of this beautiful colour is remarkable, for it is often found in ancient glass.

There is also no matrix in the Record Office. Probably any that came to the Augmentation Office were destroyed.

There is a large number of specimens, good and bad, of Great Seals of England, but so far nothing has been found to add to the varieties or dates given by Wyon and others. The privy seal, half-seal, and other minor royal and official seals are much better represented, and there are some which do not appear to exist anywhere else, such as the seals attached to the wardrobe debentures of the fourteenth century, the delicate tracery of which may have been intended, as Mr. C. Johnson has suggested, as a protection against forgery, like the engraving of a bank-note. Episcopal, ecclesiastical, and monastic seals are numerous, but borough seals comparatively few. The diplomatic documents have many seals of foreign princes and towns which cannot be found elsewhere in England. But to many people the chief attraction will be in the lesser armorial seals of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, made while heraldry was still flourishing and containing a great amount of new and first class heraldic information. The reference books of Burke and Papworth, though still valuable, are uncritical and out of date.

The seals selected for description and reproduction have been chosen either as being unique or rare, or as illustrating some uncommon type of design, shape, or legend, or some special idea, such as adaptation to name.

Uncommon Shape.

1. Ralph FitzWilliam, thirteenth century, green. $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. [Anc. deed C. 6531]

Shield. A lion crossing a bridge of three arches over a river. Legend: ✠S' RĀDVLFI FIL' WILL'I. This shape is generally only found with early armorial seals.

2. Alice de Bussay, thirteenth century, green. $1\frac{3}{8}$ in. [Anc. deed L. 2239]

Lozenge. An oval gem, a standing figure, with a crescent above and below and a star on either side. Legend: SIGILL[V]M : ĀLICIE : DE : BVSSĀY.

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3. William Chacede, 1331, green. $\frac{3}{4}$ in. [Anc. deed B. 3007]

Hexagonal. A head. The legend ✱CAPVD MINISTRI DEI begins at the side.

4. John Lancastre, 1416, red. $\frac{9}{16}$ in. [Anc. deed D. 4660]

Cusped quatrefoil. A shield of arms, *seven bars, a border, a baston*, between a lion on each side, an eagle above, and a wivern below. No legend. Perhaps a signet.

5. Thomas Wymondham, 1508, red. $\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Anc. deed B. 6556]

Square. A lion's head erased with exaggerated head and open mouth. Legend in field Sanz Grondbere. A signet; the usual shape is an octagon.

Arrangement of Legend.

6. Official of Richard Gravesend, bishop of Lincoln, 1273, green. $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. [Anc. deed B. 11356]

Above, a half-length figure of the bishop with right hand raised in benediction and pastoral staff in left; in base, under an arch a head. Between these is an extremely uncommon arrangement of the legend in five lines:

[SIGILL] : OFFICI
[ALIT]ATIS : LIN
.
. ICA . . .
EPISCOPI

7. James de Mesnyl, 1276, green. 1 in. [Anc. deed L. 1791]

A gem, a figure walking with staff in right hand and cross over left shoulder. There is a double legend, an inner ring IhC · EST · AMOR · ME · · · and an outer · · · · · IACOBI DE MENILLIOI · · · . Probably the outer ring is an addition to the original seal. The double ring is generally only used for legends of exceptional length.

8. Peter Coc of Checkendon, 1316, green. $1\frac{7}{16}$ in. [Anc. deed D. 6117]

The legend S' PETRI KOK D' ChAK'N is continued in the field DENE, a tassel device filling the space left.

Names.

9. Adam de Howtone, 1315, green. 1 in. [Anc. deed D. 7941]

Adam and Eve standing on either side of the Tree of Life, round which is coiled the Serpent. The legend is a rhyming hexameter: E ADE SIGNV VIR FEMINA VIP'A LIGNV.

10. John de Drokenesford, keeper of the wardrobe, canon of York, 1308, red. $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. [Anc. deed WS. 2]

On a field sown with trefoils, figures of St. John Baptist standing on a corbel and pointing to

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a roundel with the Holy Lamb, and St. John Evangelist with palm-branch standing on an eagle holding in its beak a scroll lettered IN PRINCIPIO, which the saint upholds in his right hand. The legend runs: (Head of our Lord) S' IOhANIS (dragon) DE DROKEN' (angel) CL'ICI CANO (cup and devil) ICI EBOR.

11. Katharine de la Pole, 1366, red. $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. [Anc. deed AS. 243]

St. Katharine standing and holding in front of her a large shield of arms, *a fesse and three leopards' heads* (de la Pole.) On each side a Katharine wheel. SIGILLVM KATERINE DE LA POLE.

12. Nicholas de Hugate, 1344, red. $\frac{15}{16}$ in. [Anc. deed WS. 60]

St. Nicholas the bishop standing on a couchant leopard and blessing three boys standing in a tub. In the background an oak tree with a bird singing on a branch. ✱SIGILLVM · NIChOLAI · DE · hVGATE · CL'ICI. The design is taken from the legend that St. Nicholas of Myra brought back to life three boys who had been boiled in a tub.

Surnames.

13. Elias de Wheteleye, 1328, red. 1 in. [Anc. deed WS. 541]

Five birds pecking at an ear of wheat, with a leopard's head above. S' ELIE DE WhETELEYE.

14. John de la Rivere, 1337, red. $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. [Anc. deed BS. 425]

Upon the waves of a shallow river with water plants a shield of arms, *two daunces*, with a chained swan above. ✠SIGILLUM : IOhANNIS : DE : LA : RIVERE.

15. John Foxholes, 1426, red. $\frac{3}{4}$ in. [Anc. deeds C. 2412, RS. 404]

A fox looking out from his hole. Loke Wel forth. A signet.

16. Thomas Gardiner, 1569, red. $\frac{7}{8}$ in. [Anc. deed DD. 54]

A gardener digging with a spade. THOMAS GARDINER. Interesting because of its late date.

Curious.

17. Walter de Grendone, 1335, red. $\frac{7}{8}$ in. [Anc. deed BS. 16]

The man in the moon. Within the horns of a decrescent moon a man in tunic and hood carrying on his back a bundle of sticks in front of him a little dog and in the field two stars. Hexameter legend: CVR SPINAS PhEBO GERO TE WALTERE DOCEBO. According to an old legend a rustic who had stolen a bundle of thorns from a hedge was carried up to the moon in punishment.

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18. John de Gynewelle, canon of Salisbury, 1343, red. $\frac{1}{16}$ in. [Anc. deed LS. 213]

In a richly cusped sexfoil the sacred monogram, with the head of our Lord in the middle with the letters T and S above and below. To the right is the legend S' IOh' GYNEWELLE, and on the monogram are other letters.

19. Peter de Cestria, 1290, red. 1 in. [Anc. deed L. 1904]

The head of our Lord, with nimbus, in high relief. SIGILL' : PETRI : DE : CESTRIA.

20. John le Chaunter, 1366, dark green. $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. [Anc. deed BS. 77]

In a trefoil with fleurs-de-lis outside, three heads with crowns of fleurons meeting in the centre. ✱FRVGI SATIS VITIS TRES POCVLA TRINA SITITIS (?)

21. Thomas Esperun, early thirteenth century, white varnished brown. $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. [Anc. deed A. 2583]

A figure with sceptre (?) and book (?) above the west elevation of a church. ✱SIGILLVM ThOME DE ESPERVN.

22. Richard de Folevile, thirteenth century, green. $1\frac{3}{8}$ in. [Anc. deed AS. 188]

A figure seated in a chair and reading a book upon a lectern before him. ✱SIGILL' RICARDI DE FOLEVILE.

23. William de Boudon, 1327, red. $1\frac{1}{16}$ in. [Anc. deed AS. 57]

Four cusped circles conjoined, with the emblems of the four Evangelists. MARC' MATh' LVC' IOh · ·.

24. John de Sandale, late thirteenth century, red. $\frac{15}{16}$ in. [Loose Seal A. 207]

A gem with a compound device of the heads of an eagle, a bearded man, and a youth. Pentameter legend: ✱SI NON VIS IVDERI CREDERE CREDE SERI.

Wardrobe Debentures.

25. Ingelard de Warlee, keeper of the wardrobe, 1314, red. $1\frac{1}{16}$ in. [Anc. deed WS. 4]

A cross with five leopards' heads on it, between the Hand of God, a leopard, a clerk's head, and a castle. ✱SECRETVM : INGELARDI : DE : WARLEE.

26. Thomas de Garton, 1329, red. $\frac{15}{16}$ in. [Anc. deed WS. 19]

In a traceried quatrefoil, two angels lifting out the body of St. Katharine from her tomb on Mount Sinai. Between them is a Katharine wheel, with the Hand of God above, and on the mount a shield of arms, *ermine and a chief with three swans.* (Holy Lamb ?) MONTE SEPVLTA SINA PRO ThOMA SIS KATERINA.

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27. John Charnels, 1337, red. 1⅛ in. [Anc. deed WS. 29]

In a circle within a sexfoil a shield of arms, *a cross engrailed with the middle voided circularly*, between the letters I O h; all within a ring of six semicircles with traceried spandrels between, containing (1) the Lamb and Flag, (2) a half figure of our Lady with the Dove flying towards her (3) a half figure of St. Paul with sword and book, (4) a half figure of a man with hands raised in prayer, (5) a half figure of St. Peter with key, (6) the angel of the Annunciation. Legend in the spandrels I DH ChARNELES.

28. Richard de Feribi, 1337, red. 1 in. [Anc. deed WS. 23]

A leopard's head with three rampant bodies; the head of our Lord in a pointed oval above. SIGILLVM ❀ RICARDI ❀ DE ❀ FERIBI ❀ CLERICI.

29. John Cok, 1347, red. 1 in. [Anc. deed WS. 30]

In an oval sexfoil, the eagle of St. John with upraised wings standing on a ball. Aquila Johis.

30. Thomas de Clopton, 1349, red. 1⅛ in. [Anc. deed WS. 33]

In an oval octofoil with cross-hatched field, two keys erect with a wand laid across them; on either side a small cinquefoil. ✱S' PRO BILL' GARD' D' THMPOR' T D' CLOPTON.

31. Henry de Walton, 1359, red. 1¼ in. [Anc. deed WS. 40]

In a canopied housing a full-faced mantled helm with crest, on a torse *a leopard's head and neck*; between two trefoiled canopied niches each containing an angel holding a shield of arms, *crusily fitchy, a lion rampant*, both lions facing the helm. [S' H] enrici · de · Waltone Arch'[i] richemundie.

32. William de Farlee, 1360, red. $1\frac{3}{16}$ in. [Anc. deed WS. 43]

In a quatrefoil in rich tracery, a key with trefoil bow between the letters Far and Lee. Legend: Testatur cera qd clavi · no cerat era.

Ecclesiastical.

33. Simon Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, 1376, red. 1⅝ in. [Anc. deed BX. 479]

Beneath a panelled canopy the Trinity, with two angels, one above the other, on each side. Around are the heads of the archbishop, with right hand raised in benediction and cross in left, and the seventeen bishops of the province, all mitred and vested, each with a short inscription below (? the name of the see) and a small canopy above.

Professor Jenkins has recently discovered an entry in the register of Archbishop Reynolds, f. 26 B, which seems to refer to this seal. Reynolds in 1320 collated the church of Saltwood to his chancellor Master John de Bruyton, and at the end of the instrument are these words:

> In cuius rei testimonium sigillum nostrum est appensum. Et quia idem cancellarius noster utrumque sigillum officii dignitatis nostre, magnum videlicet atque parvum, continue

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secum gestat, nos sigillum nostrum privatum rotundum in custodia nostra remanens, in cuius circumferencia octodecim episcoporum mitrata capita sunt insculpta, dorso sigilli nostri hic appensi imprimi fecimus ad huius rei evidenciam pleniorem.

The seal was apparently made by Reynolds and passed down to Sudbury, and used by both privately, which is strange in view of its remarkable character. The only other known specimen is a damaged fragment attached to another private deed of Sudbury in 1379. [Anc. deed BS. 412]

34. Adam Houghton, bishop of St. Davids [1361–89], 1365, dark green. $2\frac{7}{8}$ in. [Anc. deed LS. 102]

Within a double housing, under a super-canopy with a seated figure of our Lord in majesty, standing figures of St. Andrew and St. David as archbishop; below, under a supporting arch, the bishop mitred and vested, with crozier, with hands in prayer. On either side, interrupting the legend, is a shield of arms: dexter, *Old France and England quarterly*, sinister, *a fesse with three uncertain charges between six crosslets.* SIGILL' ✕ · · · · IHANAVAS' ✕ API ✕

35. John Halton, bishop of Carlisle [1292–1325], green. 3 in. [Loose seal G. 22]

The bishop standing on a corbel, mitred and vested, with rationale brooch on breast (a late example) and fanon hanging from left wrist, with right hand raised in benediction and crozier in left. The field is diapered, and above his head is a canopy representing a church. S' · IOhIS · DAI · GRA · KARLIOLAnSIS · APISCOPI.

This is his first seal, for Mrs. Ware, in her account of seals of the bishops in *Archaeological Journal*, vol. xlviii, describes a fragment dated 1293 at St. John's College, Cambridge. In 1314 he used another seal of a different type. [Anc. deed AS. 319]

36. Hervey de Borham, dean of St. Paul's, London [1274–6], white. $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. [Anc. deed AS. 537]

Under a canopy the dean standing fully vested, on a boar (?); on each side a panel with a head in a circle. S' hARVA[I DA]CAn SCI PAVLI LOnDOn'.

It is unusual to find a whitish seal so well preserved.

37. Priory of St. Oswald, Nostell, 1280, green. $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Anc. deed AS. 484]

St. Oswald the King, with early crown with pendants, seated on a throne with wolf-head ends, holding in his right hand a short sceptre with cross paty and in his left an orb with short staff carrying a bird (?). SIGILLV · OSWALD' RAGIS & n DA NOSALT.

The seal is much earlier than the deed, and probably dates from the foundation of the priory soon after 1114. It was noted in the 1846 edition of *Monasticon*, vi, 91, but seems to have been overlooked since.

38. Abbot of Waverley, 1363, green. $1\frac{7}{8}$ in. [Anc. deed AA. 457]

An abbot vested for mass with pastoral staff and book standing under a canopy springing from leopard's head corbels; field diapered. On either side is a shield of arms, dexter England, sinister the abbey (?) · · · · · · · BIS WAVARLAYA.

Probably late thirteenth century.

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ARMORIAL.

39, 40. Walter Wattes or Lovel, 1373, red. 1 in. [Anc. deed D. 9593]

A shield of arms, *a chaplet* (?), above which is seated a figure with right hand raised in benediction and flag in left; on either side a female figure, dexter, crowned, with sceptre, sinister with palm-branch. SIGI · · · · TRIS WALTERI LOVEL.

Attached to the same deed is the seal of Joan his wife, which is exactly the same without the legend. Apparently this is an instance of the use of the screw-matrix.

41, 42. Philip de Aylesbury, 1372, red. $\frac{15}{16}$ in. [Anc. deed A. 6182]

A shield of arms, *a cross and a label of three points*, between palm-branches. ✱S' ✱ PhI ✱ DE ALESBVRI.

The seal seems to be rather older. It was used by his son Roger in 1394 [A. 6870], but in 1412 Roger used another [AS. 122], which is the same with the legend altered to suit his own name (no. 42).

43. Thomas Catesby, 1386, red. $\frac{15}{16}$ in. [Anc. deed BS. 359]

In a traceried panel, a shield of arms, *a quarter with a two-headed eagle in the quarter*, field diapered, and mantled helm with crest, a cat with a collar about his neck standing on a cap of estate. S' : Thome : Catesby.

44. Ernald Savage, 1382, red. $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. [Anc. deed BS. 369]

In a traceried panel a shield of arms, *six lions*, with a hawk's lure above. [Sigil]lum (lure) Ernaldi (lure) Savage.

45. Patrick Dunbar, earl of March, 1334, red. $1\frac{1}{16}$ in. [Anc. deed AS. 269]

A shield of arms, *a lion rampant with a border sown with cinquefoils*, hanging from a full-faced helm surmounted by a castle with a lady above holding out a crown in each hand over a lion on either side peeping out from behind the castle. Helm and shield supported by two wodewoses. Below the shield a wivern. SIGILLVM · · · · COMITIS DE MARCHIE.

46. William de Bracebrigge, 1347, red. $\frac{15}{16}$ in. [Anc. deed L. 1222]

A shield of arms, *vair, on a fesse two rowels*, between two wiverns. In place of the usual legend is the motto ✱ ALAS HAPLAS

47. Alice (Lacy) wife of Ebulo Lestraunge, 1324, green. $1\frac{3}{16}$ in. [Anc. deed AS. 253]

A shield of arms, *a lion rampant* (Lacy), *impaling six lions* (Longespée), between three wiverns. In place of the legend is a running scroll of vine leaves and bunches of grapes with the letter A at the top and L at the foot. She was daughter and heir of Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, by Margaret Longespée.

48. Richard de Eccleshale, treasurer of Calais, 1355, red. $\frac{15}{16}$ in. [Anc. deeds WS. 70, 615]

In a richly traceried triangle, between three circles each containing a leopard's head, a shield of arms, *a fesse and six crosslets fitchy with three roundels on the fesse*. Hexameter legend: SCVTVM RICARDI CONSERVENT TRES LEOPARDI.

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49. William de Paston, 1307, red. 1 in. [Anc. deed RS. 41]

In a quatrefoil a lozenge of arms, *checky*, between the busts of four praying monks. S' WILLI DE PASTON CLICI.

50. William Granson, 1358, bronze-green. $1\frac{3}{8}$ in. [Anc. deed AS. 306]

Filling the whole circle, these arms, *paly of six pieces and a bend with three scallops on it, in chief a rowel.* Guillame de Granson sire de la Jan · · · · Aubona.

51. John de Dictone, 1319, green. $\frac{13}{16}$ in. [Anc. deed WS. 261]

In a sexfoil a roundel of arms, *a saltire cotised indented with five martlets on it.* SIGILLVM · IOH'IS · DE · DICTONE · CL'ICI.

52. Isabel de Saunbi, early fourteenth century, used by Thomas Disner in 1390, red. $\frac{15}{16}$ in. [Anc. deed BS. 338]

A shield of arms, *fretty*, between three roundels of arms, top and dexter *two bars and three roundels in chief*, sinister *a boar's head*. In the upper part are two popinjays, and in base a rabbit and a bird (?). S' ISABELLE DE SAVNBI.

53. Margaret de Umfraville, lady of Badlesmere, 1328, red. $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. [Anc. deed LS. 188]

Three shields of arms; the middle *a cinquefoil between four crosslets, a baston*, impaling *a fesse between two gemel bars*, for her two husbands Giles de Umfraville, d. 1303, and Bartholomew de Badlesmere, d. 1322; dexter *three chevrons and a label of three pieces* for her father Thomas de Clare; sinister *a saltire and a label of three pieces* for her mother Julian FitzMaurice. * S' MARGARETE DE AMFRAMVILLE DNA DE BADELESMERE.

54. [Eleanor de Bohun, wife of Robert Ferrers, earl of Derby], 1273, green. $1\frac{3}{16}$ in. [Anc. deed L. 2233]

Between two lions rampant above and two sheaves below, a lozenge of arms, *dimidiated per fesse, Ferrers and Bohun.* In place of the legend are lozenges, cinquefoils, and letters, with a leopard's head in base. Two of the lozenges are charged with three chevrons (Clare), and one is voided (Quincy).

The deed to which this remarkable seal is attached is a defeasance by Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester and Hertford, of a bond by Ferrers; though not indented, it is probably the equivalent of a counterpart by Ferrers, using his wife's seal.

55. Alice de Vere, countess of Oxford, 1297, red. $\frac{7}{8}$ in. [Anc. deed A. 5577]

Within two interlacing squares, a shield of arms, *quarterly, in the first quarter a molet* (De Vere). * S' SAVNFORDISSE.

The use in the legend of what appears to be a nickname is remarkable. She was the daughter and heiress of Gilbert de Saunford, who died in 1248; married in 1252 or earlier, when she must have been very young, Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, who died in 1296; and died herself in 1312. The De Veres claimed a barony of Saunford through her.

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56. Rose, wife of Richard Mounfort, 1374, red. 1 in. [Anc. deed AS. 304]

In a cusped panel a shield of arms, *a fesse checky and three scallops* impaling *bendy of ten pieces and a border.* **Sigill' : roisee : mounfort.**

The husband's arms, which are on his own seal also attached to the deed, are here placed on the sinister side.

57. Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford and Northampton.

58. Miles de Stapeltun.

59. John de Burley.

60. Walter Deweros.

61. Richard de Waldegrave.

These five seals are attached to two bonds [Anc. deeds L. 1638, 1639] made at Epiphany, 1363, at Thorn in Prussia, for money to be paid at Bruges within fourteen days of Easter. It will be seen that Burley's seal is of the ordinary English type, and the other four quite different, of inferior workmanship and apparently made by the same man. Presumably the four owners had not their seals with them, and had these specially made. They do not seem to have been used again, but there is no reason to doubt the deeds, which are found duly cancelled among the Bohun muniments.

Royal and Official.

62. Henry, prince of Wales [1399–1413], brown. 2¾ in. [Loose Seal G. 6]

A shield of arms, *France modern and England quarterly, a label of three points*, with helm and crest, on a cap of estate a standing lion. On each side a labelled ostrich feather held upright in the beak of a chained swan. **S' Henrici : Principis : Wall' : Ducis : Aquitan : Castr Cornub : Comitis : Cestr :**

The mother of Henry V was Mary Bohun, and swans were badges of the Bohun family.

63. Exchequer of Chester, 1354, green. 1⅝ in. [Anc. deed AA. 444]

Within octagonal tracery, a shield of arms, England and a label of three points. SIGILL' EDWARDI FIL' REGIS ANGL' COMITIS CESTR'.

64. Edward, earl of Rutland and Cork, admiral of England, 1397, red. 2⅛ in. [Exch. Diplomatic Document 33

A single-masted ship on waves with crow's-nest full of spears and full mainsail of arms of *St. Edward with a label of three pieces on a diapered field*, impaling *Old France and England quarterly with a label of five pieces each with three roundels.* On the stern platform a banner with three labelled ostrich feathers. All on a field diapered with scrollwork. **S' Edwardi : Comitis : de : Rutteland t · · cork : Admirali : Anglie.**

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Towns.

65. Bridport, Dorset, 1534, red. 2 in. [Anc. deed BS. 104]

Two upright posts with a rope stretched taut between them and coiled up on the ground at one end, at the other is an uncertain object. Above is a large shield of arms, *France modern and England quarterly*, ensigned with a crown of cinquefoils. Sigillu : Comunne : Ville : de : Bridporte

Probably early fifteenth century.

66. Denbigh, 1285, dark green. 2¼ in. [Anc. deed LS. 33]

In the lower part a triple-towered castle, the remainder of the field plain. Legend: ✠ S' COMVNE : BVRGENSIV : DE : DINBEY. It has a smaller counter-seal in red wax, with the field quite plain and legend: SECRET' B · · · · DE DINB'.

Apparently this was an unfinished seal.

Foreign.

67. George, duke of Saxony, 1511, red. 2½ in. [Dipl. Doc. 737]

On a cross a splayed eagle with two crowned heads having on its breast a shield, *two lions passant* (? Friesland); on the upper limb *a crowned lion rampant* (? Thuringia). In the quadrants are, (1) *six bars and a crown in bend* (Saxony), (2) *a lion rampant* (? Meissen), (3) *two pales* (Landsberg), (4) *a splayed eagle crowned* (Palatinate of Saxony). Legend on a scroll: SIGILLVM DVCVM SAXONIE ET GVBERNATORVM FRISIE.

68. Town of Bilbao, Spain, 1481, greenish black. 2 in. [Dipl. Doc. 576]

A horizontal bridge over a river, with four piers of masonry and a triple-turreted tower on it. ✠SEGILLIVM 2 DE 2 CONCILLIO 2 DE BILVAO.

69. Town of Bergen op Zoom, Holland, 1496, dark green. 2½ in. [Dipl. Doc. 1412]

On a field diapered with scrollwork, a shield of arms, field diapered, *three saltires*, supported by two naked men and one naked woman. ✠S' OPIDI ⁘ BERGENSIS ⁘ SV[PER]ZOMAM ⁘ AD CAVSAS.

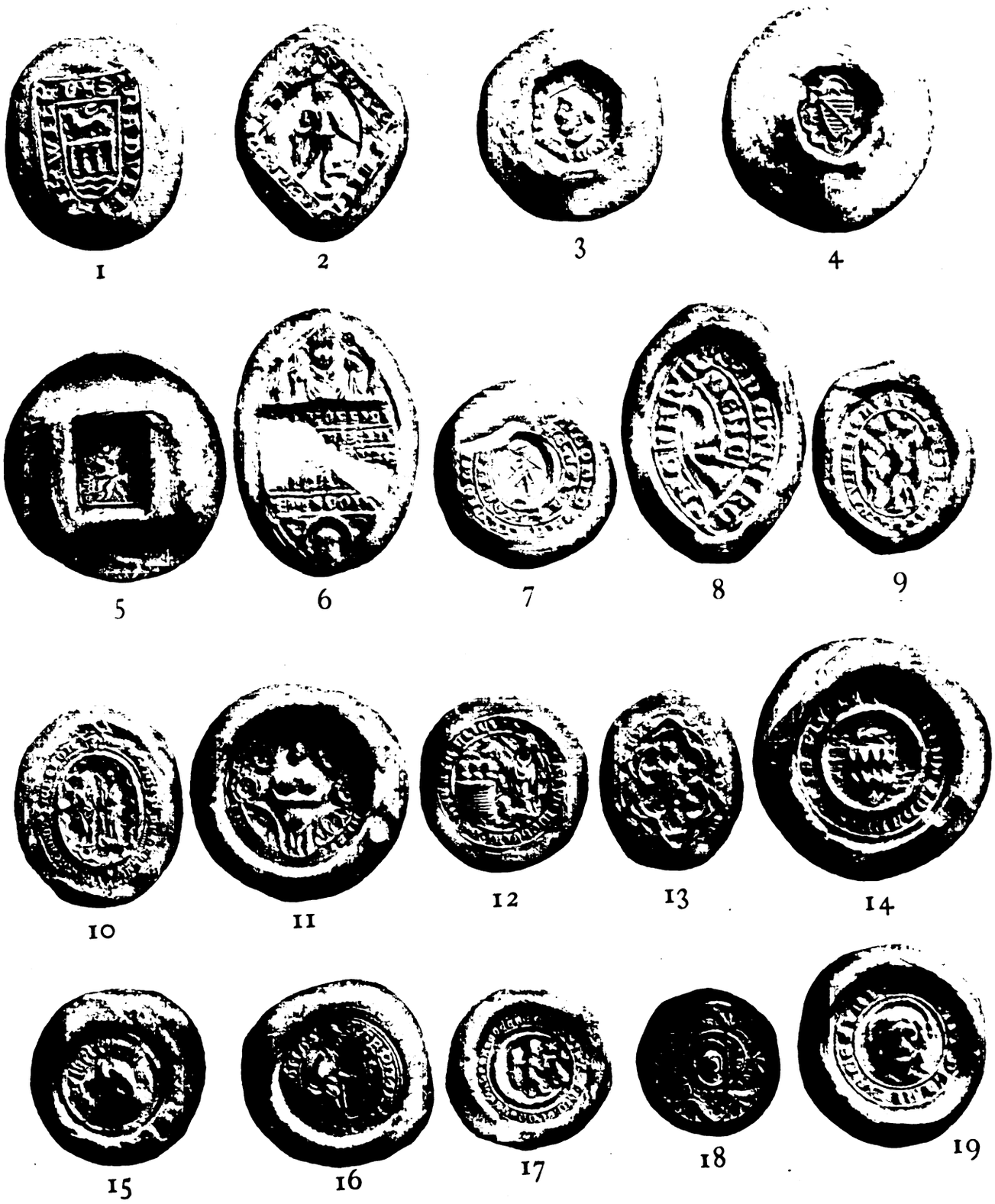
Probably fourteenth century.

70. Town of Ypres, Flanders, 1508, dark green. 3 in. [Dipl. Doc. 716]

The Cloth Hall with its tower and spire, within a battled wall with gatehouse in front. Above on either side is a shield of arms, dexter *a lion rampant*, sinister *a cross vair and on a chief a two-barred cross*. The legend, round the upper half only, is all broken away.

Probably late fourteenth century.

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V.—*Flints from the Sturry gravels, Kent.* *By* HENRY DEWEY, *Esq., F.G.S., and* REGINALD A. SMITH, *Esq., F.S.A.*

Read 10th April 1924.

A COMBINATION of circumstances having recently brought the Canterbury gravels into prominence, a preliminary survey of some implement-bearing deposits in the Stour valley is now offered to the Society for comparison or contrast with the report on the Swanscombe and Dartford areas in the Thames valley published in *Archaeologia*, lxiv and lxv. The map of Kent issued by the Geological Survey in 1865 showed only the solid geology, not the Drift deposits, which date from the human period and provide abundant (if often puzzling) evidence as to the sequence of primitive dwellers in this region. The geological map is now being revised, four sheets having already been published; and as the series of memoirs accompanying the sheets includes a survey of the palaeolithic relics and conditions, a special effort is required to disentangle the recent geology of the Stour valley, which, in comparison with the lower Thames, has been unaccountably neglected.

For some years collectors have been busy in the neighbourhood of Canterbury, but their harvest has been richer in specimens than in scientific evidence; and it was not till three years ago when Dr. A. G. Ince took up the subject and began to observe the gravel-workings about a quarter of a mile from his own house, that the geological and archaeological interest of the neighbourhood became apparent. Thanks to him, the successive faces of one pit, through which runs the 100 ft. contour, have been noted, and the many implements they produced have been preserved and plotted on diagrams drawn to scale. He has without reserve placed his notes and specimens at our disposal, and has on several occasions conducted us round the pits and communicated his impressions of the results obtained. Our own thanks and those of fellow-workers in this field are due to him for an important contribution to a subject that still teems with difficulties and can only be advanced by such careful and continuous observation on the spot.

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Dr. Ince's method of recording the exact provenance of each implement should be mentioned here. Along the top of the excavation posts were inserted at 10 ft. intervals, one series running east and west, the other north and south. Each find was carefully measured from the fixed points, and its height above the Thanet Sand recorded. Plans and sections (fig. 23) of the successive workings were marked by a dot at the point where the implement lay, and a separate number was assigned to each. The precise spot of each discovery is thus recorded, and no other pit in England has ever been so carefully watched or mapped so systematically.

The gravel-pits (fig. 1) that form the subject of the present inquiry are situated to the north and north-east of Sturry and eastwards of the road between that village and Herne Bay. Maps: Six-inch, Kent 35 S.E.; 36 S.W. One-inch, New Series 273; Old Series, geological, sheet 3.

They are worked by several contractors, and from west to east are known as (1) Homersham's west pit, (2) Ashenden's west pit, (3) Homersham's east pit, (4) Ashenden's east pit, (5) Dadd and Cooper's pit, all lying within the rectangular area bounded by the Herne Bay Road, the Island Road, the Hoade's Court Road, and Hawe Lane.

Homersham's west pit (fig. 2) lies immediately east of Herne Bay Road and about 330 yds. north of Sturry station. Our work lay principally in this pit, and detailed records have been taken of the sections exposed during three years' investigation. The deposits are about 30 ft. thick, but diminish from the centre both northwards and southwards on account of the walls of Thanet Sand that bound the old river channel in which they lie (fig. 3). Brick-earth overlaps the gravel at St. Aubyns on the north and at the vicarage on the south side of the pit. The centre of the deposit lies at the level of the 100 ft. contour line, while the base of the gravel is here just below the 70 ft. level above Ordnance Datum. The deposit is characterized by a basal even-bedded gravel up to 3 ft. thick, everywhere overlain by conspicuously current- or false-bedded gravel and sand, covered in turn by a variable thickness of brick-earth overlain by the soil. In June 1921 the north-facing section of the pit (fig. 23) showed the following deposits:

		Feet
Soil		2
Gravel	current-bedded	$5\frac{1}{2}$–9
Sand and clay	current-bedded	$1\frac{1}{2}$–5
Gravel	current-bedded	6–10
Sand	current-bedded	1–5
Clay and gravel		3–6 (6 in old river-bed)
Thanet sand		

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This face has been observed by Dr. Ince; and records taken at intervals reveal the irregular character of the deposits. The basal bed of clayey gravel has always acted as an impervious layer to percolating rain, and in consequence

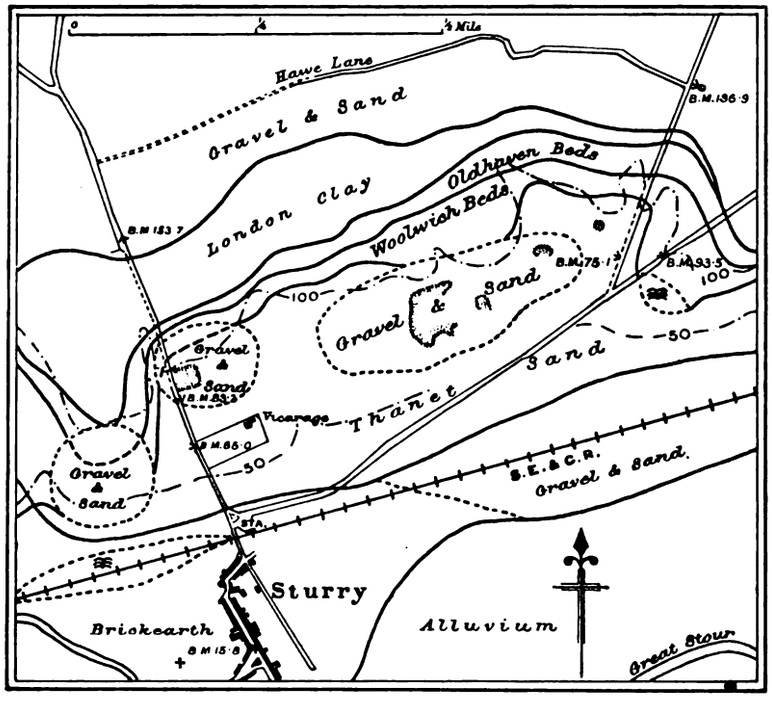


Fig. 1. Geological Sketch-map of the valley of the Great Stour at Sturry.

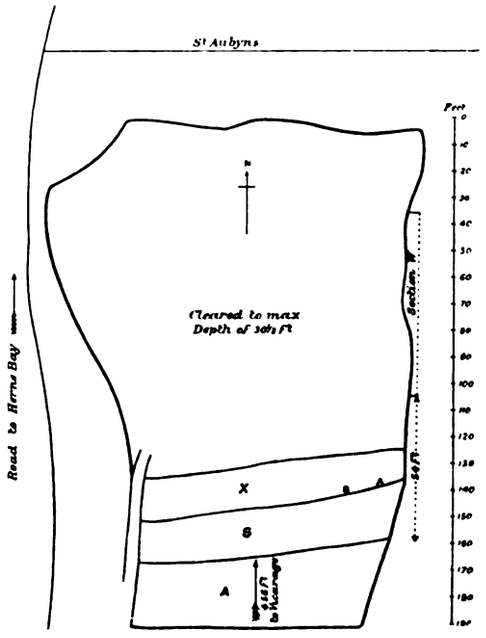


Fig. 2. Plan of Homersham's west pit, Sturry.

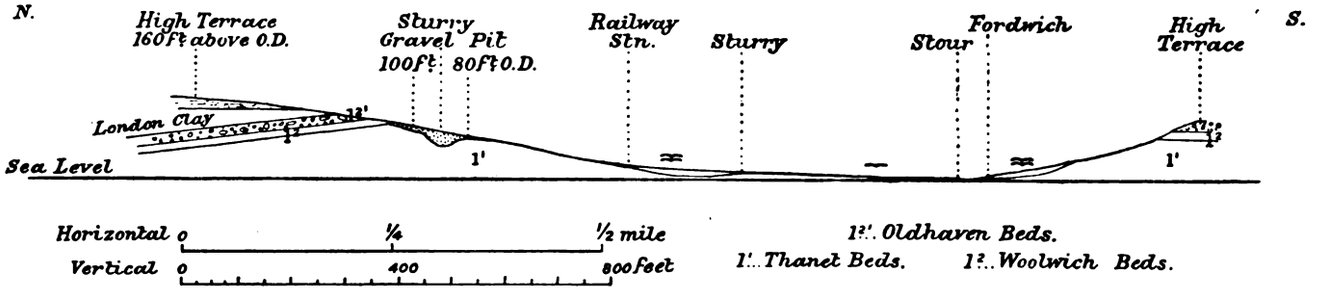


Fig. 3. Geological section across the valley of the Great Stour at Sturry.

a marked band is frequently observable above it, in which the black dioxide of manganese has become concentrated. The basal bed is tough, as the clay acts as a binding matrix to the pebbles; and in marked contrast with it the overlying gravels are of loose texture, and 'run' when undermined by the spade. These coarse, loose gravels are frequently stained black locally with the manganese

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dioxide, and many of the palaeolithic implements bear on their surfaces thin deposits of that substance.

During our preliminary investigation in June 1921 an ovate implement was taken out at a depth of 17 ft. from the surface. Dr. Ince has collected and noted upwards of 200 other implements from this southern end of the pit, and has distinguished them as the X, S, and A series.

The foreman digger stated that only eight implements had been discovered during the removal of about 16 tons of gravel in the year 1920, and that proportion he thinks represents the average yield. We are not able to express an opinion as to the value of this estimate, but in our experience it appears to be too low. The same workman stated that 'ovate' implements always occur low down in the gravel, whereas the 'pear-shaped' forms are found just below the brick-earth and are usually rolled and stained. But some implements of pear-shape had been obtained from what he described as 'rafts' of sand, and these had sharp, unrolled edges and points, and thus differ from the hand-axes found in the surrounding gravel. The masses of sand described by the workman form a conspicuous feature of the current-bedded layers of gravel in the Sturry district. They are derived from either the Thanet Sand or from a Pleistocene deposit of earlier age than the one in which they occur. Frequently, also, lens-shaped masses of bedded loam or clay from the Woolwich Series are exposed resting on one of their pointed ends with the bedding nearly vertical and the underlying bed bent, contorted, or even broken up. An instance was clearly exposed in Ashenden's west pit where masses of Woolwich clay rested at high angles on even-bedded laminated brick-earth; and at the point of contact the laminae were broken, bent, and twisted. It is obvious that such friable, soft masses could not have floated in water in their present state or been driven with violence into underlying formations. They must, therefore, have been rigid when carried to their present position. If they were frozen at that time there is no difficulty in accounting for their conveyance, for similar masses are familiar elsewhere in areas acknowledged by all geologists to be glaciated. An instance may be cited at the Biddenham pit near Bedford, in the Ouse valley. In the large gravel-pit the section consists of about 6 ft. of even-bedded gravel overlain by perhaps 10 ft. of unassorted material. Locally large masses of chalky boulder clay have been forced downwards into the even-bedded gravel and greatly disturb it. Tylor observed similar phenomena in a clay-pit at Erith, Kent, where a mass of Thanet Sand measuring 38 ft. by 8 ft., with a portion of the Woolwich pebble-bed attached to it, was lying upon and against a mass of Woolwich shell-bed measuring 12 ft. by 6 ft. by 5 ft. and near another fallen piece, the whole enveloped in a mass of purple clay, lying at 65 ft. above O.D. He remarks on the 'difficulty of understanding what kind of water removed

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such incoherent materials and re-deposited them without destroying them', and compares the disturbed masses of chalk at Trimmingham, Norfolk, with the Erith instances.[1]

Although there are no indubitable glacial deposits at Sturry, the phenomena just described point to arctic conditions at that period in the Stour valley, and also in the Thames valley, at a time when the two rivers were flowing at about the same height above sea-level.

The current-bedded gravel has been removed at several places by what appear to have been torrents from sudden floods, which ripped out gullies in the surface, afterwards filled up with later deposits. One such gully is still exposed in Homersham's east pit, and measures about 20 ft. wide. The torrents appear to have coursed southwards, whereas the river-deposits were laid down by water flowing in an easterly direction. After the period of cloud-bursts had ceased, more peaceful conditions obtained, and water laden with the finest mud deposited the brick-earth. The land during this long sequence of events had steadily sunk, while the river widened its channel, since the basal gravels are overstepped by the current-bedded deposits; and these in turn by the brick-earths. Then an uplift occurred, and the river changed its course, leaving its former channel high and dry.

From the following descriptions of the pits the characters already mentioned may be recognized. One feature calls for special mention, and that is the abundance of silicified wood in these fluviatile deposits. Sections of stems up to a foot in length are common, and some of the branches were probably 6 in. in diameter. Specimens were sliced for microscopic examination, but not much light can be thrown upon their origin. For the following report we are indebted to Professor A. C. Seward, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University.

Note on a specimen of dicotyledonous wood from Sturry, Kent.

The wood appears to have been bored by *Teredo* or some other wood-boring animal.

In all probability it is a stem of one of the *Ericaceae*. It agrees very closely with the structure of *Clethra arborea*, but it is impossible to assign the specimen to a definite species or even genus. It is interesting to notice that the annual rings are not very clearly marked.

It would seem from the presence of borings that the wood may have been drifted some distance before its arrival at the place where it was found.

Section W (fig. 4), from which half the implements illustrated were derived, is about the middle of the east face of the pit, and in the line of greatest depth,

[1] Tylor, A., *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.*, vol. xxv, 1869, pp. 88-9.

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the Thanet Sand floor rising from this point southward to form the southern bank of the original notch in the hillside; and other remnants of the bank are visible farther east, parallel to the road. The southern end of W was 54 ft. from the southern face called A (fig. 2), and itself extended northward for 63 ft., reaching a depth of nearly 30 ft. A hundred implements are plotted as coming from

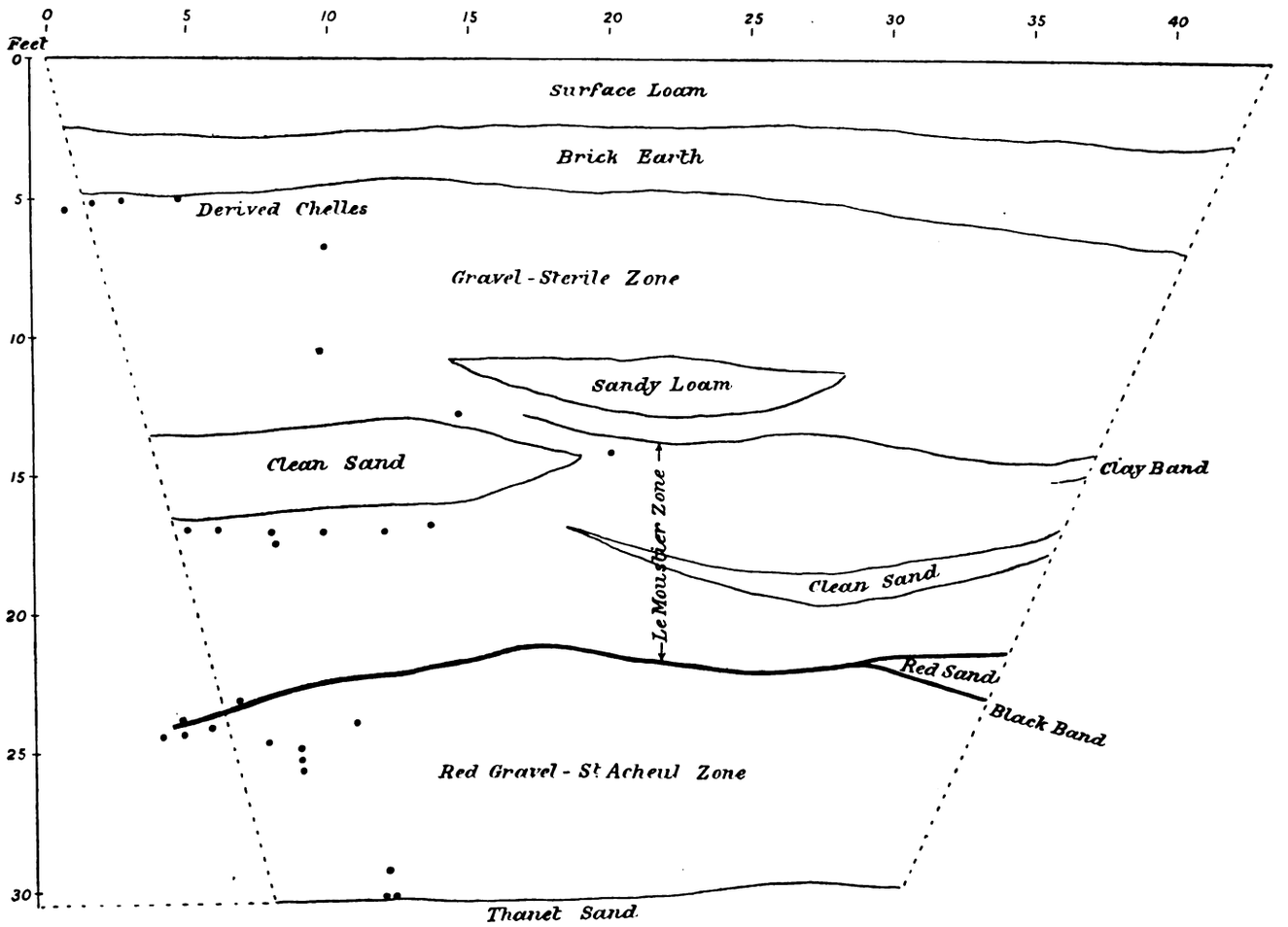


Fig. 4. Section of east side of Homersham's west pit, Sturry, dots showing the location of implements.

this section, and the general stratigraphy was clear. The red gravel, resting on the Thanet Sand floor of the pit, yielded specimens of St. Acheul types, mostly under the black band but a few in or just above that band, which was 21 ft. 8 in. from the surface. The next prolific horizon included a few feet below the upper clay band, about 14–18 ft. from the surface, the flints being of St. Acheul II and Le Moustier character. About 9 ft. from the surface was

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a barren layer, and near the top of the upper gravels and sands, at about 6 ft. from the surface, were found a few rolled hand-axes of Chelles or St. Acheul type; also, between the loam and the brick-earth beneath it, were a few small implements about 4 ft. from the surface, either of the Cave or Neolithic period.

The red gravel at the base of the deepest section thins out and disappears as the Thanet Sand rises towards the south of the pit; and a sharp hand-axe of St. Acheul I date was found in some shingle just above the black band at the end of May 1921, when this manganese deposit was found to come into close contact with the Thanet Sand.

Fig. 5. Ovate hand-axe of St. Acheul type with even cutting-edge all round, not

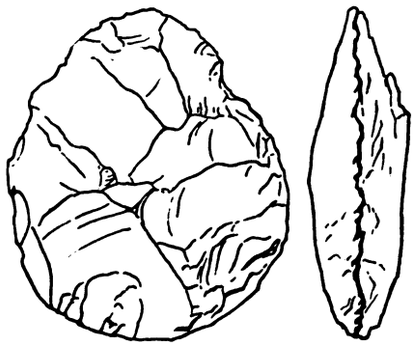


Fig. 5. Ovate hand-axe (front and side views) ($\frac{1}{2}$).

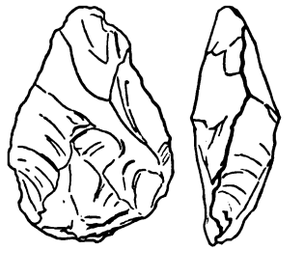


Fig. 6. Pointed ovate hand-axe, with curved side ($\frac{1}{2}$).

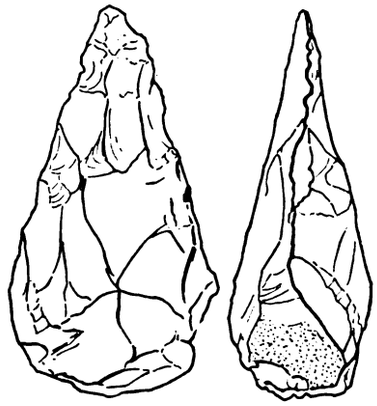


Fig. 7. Pear-shaped hand-axe (front and side views) ($\frac{1}{2}$).

curved, with deep ochreous patina all over, and ferruginous deposit on one face; edges dulled. L. 3·6 in. Found in red gravel at 25 ft. from the surface of section W.

Fig. 6. Pointed ovate with one face nearly flat, black and brown, fairly lustrous, with cutting-edge all round, the sides being even and curved in reversed S form; slightly rolled. L. 2·5 in. Found at $18\frac{1}{2}$ ft. from the surface of section W, in the lower Le Moustier layer.

Fig. 7. Pear-shaped hand-axe of St. Acheul type, with crusted lateral butt and fine point, one side slightly curved, the other straight; lustrous dark brown, with the edges dulled. L. 4·2 in. Found at 18 ft. from the surface in section W, lower Le Moustier layer.

Fig. 8. End-scraper with central rib, various shades of brown, with both sides also worked from both faces, bulb and flat platform at butt; rather rolled. L. 3·7 in. Found at $17\frac{1}{2}$ ft. from the surface of section W, on lower Le Moustier level.

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Fig. 9. Ovate hand-axe of St. Acheul type with one face chipped flat, black and brown marbling, fair lustre, and basil point, the sides zigzag and not curved, and cutting edge all round except at angle on left of base; the edges dulled. L. 3·4 in. Found at 17 ft. from the surface of section W, in lower Le Moustier layer.

Fig. 10. Black and grey mottled hand-axe with buff crust covering nearly all the butt and part of both faces; the upper half thin, the sides finely zigzag, not curved; less rolled than A, with short basil point. L. 8 in. Found at 15 ft. from the surface in section W, on what was considered a Le Moustier level.

Fig. 11. Sub-triangular flake with signs of use along the edges, the bulbar face being clean along the longer sides, but showing some work at the butt; the bulb and slightly faceted platform are at the lower right-hand corner of the face illustrated, and the opposite angle is almost a right angle; brown with cherty patches of yellow, unrolled—a variety of Le Moustier point. L. 4·7 in. Found at 15 ft. from the surface of section W, in the upper Le Moustier layer.

Fig. 12. Small ovate with basil point, lustrous black, cutting-edge all round, and the sides zigzag but not curved; much rolled. L. 2·3 in. Found at 13 ft. from the surface of section W, on upper Le Moustier level.

Fig. 13. Narrow ovate hand-axe of St. Acheul type, bright yellow patina all over, zigzag but not curved edges running all round, and a basil point; rather rolled. L. 3·4 in. Found at 6 ft. from the surface of section W, on the gravel just below the brick-earth.

Fig. 14. Black flake with central rib and bulb at base, concave on bulbar face, with waist (or pair of notches) and signs of use along both sides and at the broad end, which is bevelled and crusted. L. 3·3 in. Found at 4 ft. from the surface of section W, between the loam and brick-earth.

Section W is certainly the best part of the pit as regards stratification, and the results obtained from it are most significant: they are confirmed by what was found in the three successive slices (X, S, A in order north to south) taken from the south end of the pit, though the evidence was here obscured by the rising floor, the Thanet Sand displacing more and more of the Pleistocene sands and gravels and almost reaching the brick-earth above. The depth below the surface has therefore less value as an indication of date, and the implements must here be referred to the various zones of material which have a recognized sequence.

Above the brick-earth have been found sharp end-scrapers that would be classed by most as neolithic, but may represent one or more horizons of the palaeolithic Cave-period. Various types have occurred below the brick-earth,

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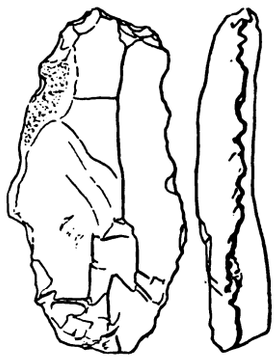


Fig. 8. End-scraper (front and side views) (½).

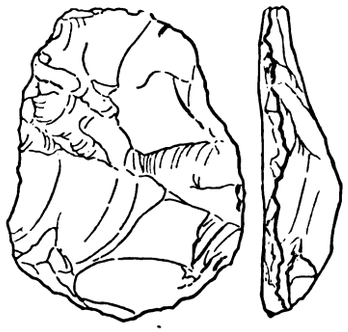


Fig. 9. Ovate hand-axe, with one flat face (½).

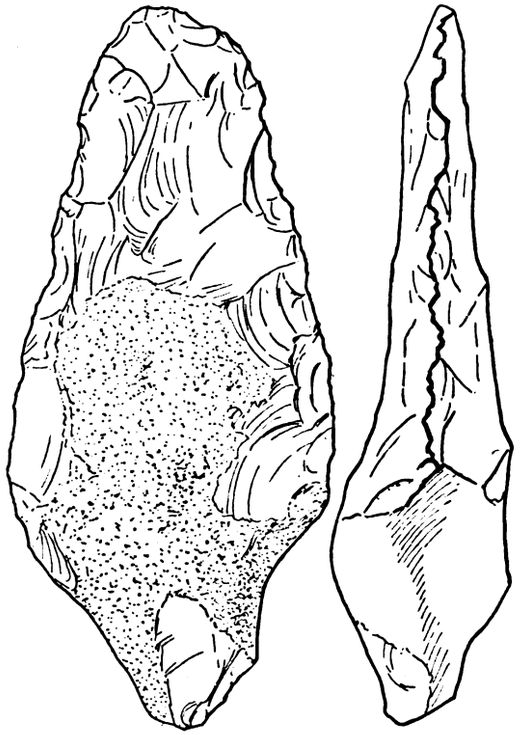


Fig. 10. Hand-axe, crusted (front and side views) (½).

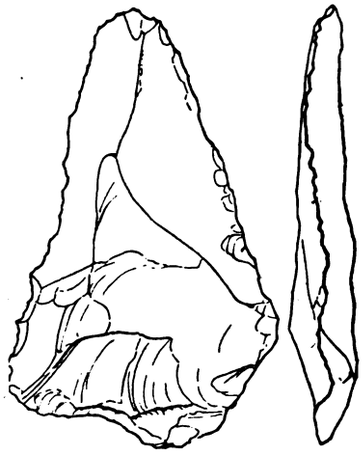


Fig. 11. Worked flake, with side view (½).

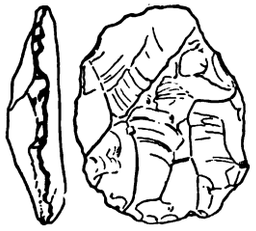


Fig. 12. Ovate hand-axe, with basil point (½).

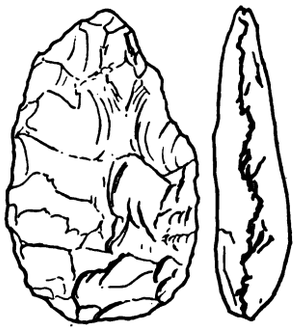


Fig. 13. Ovate hand-axe (front and side views) (½).



Fig. 14. Flake, with pair of notches (½).

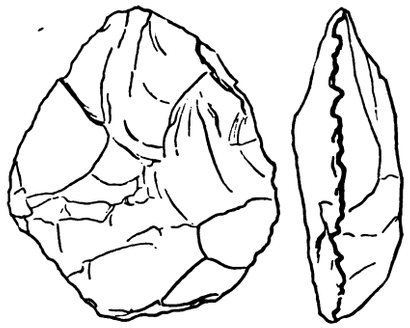


Fig. 15. Ovate hand-axe (front and side views) (½).

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but the next prolific level is shingle, producing a large number of worked flakes.

About 2–3 ft. lower, under a layer of loam, are found occasionally well-shaped specimens, usually of large size; and still deeper is the St. Acheul horizon, examples of that and also of Chelles type being sometimes found resting on the Thanet Sand slope, where it rises above the level of the black band (manganese).

Three of the figured specimens (figs. 15, 16, 17) were found on the Thanet Sand, and had perhaps been dropped on the bank of the watercourse by men of the St. Acheul period. Three others came to light in excavating on the first lift or 'bench' (fig. 23); consequently well in the gravel, though different periods seem to be represented. One that might rank as a late Chelles hand-axe (fig. 20) was probably derived, like many found above the Le Moustier zone elsewhere in the pit; and the other two (figs. 21, 22) would, apart from stratigraphical evidence, be assigned to the early Cave-period (Le Moustier or Aurignac). Among the specimens regarded as being *in situ* may be mentioned one (fig. 19) found at a depth of 17 ft. (1 ft. below the upper bench), and another (fig. 18) of early St. Acheul type, 1 ft. below the upper black band, the manganese deposit becoming a double line on the south face of the pit (fig. 23). The most prolific zone in section A was undoubtedly that through which passed the line of the first working floor or bench, say 17–22 ft. from the surface; and no less than 148 implements were found in the whole of this section.

Fig. 15. Ovate hand-axe of St. Acheul type, thickest in centre, mottled black and brown, with cutting-edge all round, even or zigzag, but not curved; the edges dulled. L. 3·4 in. Found on the Thanet Sand, at 24 ft. from the surface of section A.

Fig. 16. Sub-triangular ovate, dark brown, thick in centre, with even cutting-edge all round and the sides curved in reversed S form; slightly rolled. L. 2·3 in. Found on the Thanet Sand at base of section A.

Fig. 17. Sub-triangular ovate, black, brown, and yellow marbling, small patches of crust on both faces and in one large cavity; the sides slightly zigzag, not curved, and cutting-edge nearly all round; ferruginous deposit on one face; sharp, quite unrolled. L. 5·1 in. Found on the Thanet Sand at the base of section A.

Fig. 18. Finely shaped ovate, thickest in the middle line, brown and yellow, heavily coated with ferruginous deposit on one face; the sides slightly zigzag and not curved, the cutting-edge passing all round (except for a small lateral butt), and merely dulled. L. 6·2 in. Found 1 ft. below the upper black band of section A (about 19 ft. from surface).

Fig. 19. Narrow ovate hand-axe, brown and yellow, lustrous, cutting-edge all round, the sides zigzag and slightly curved in reversed S form; much rolled. L. 2·7 in. Found at 17 ft. from the surface, 1 ft. below the upper bench, section A.

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Fig. 16. Ovate hand-axe, with curved side (½).

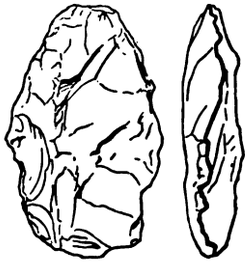


Fig. 19. Ovate hand-axe, with curved side (½).

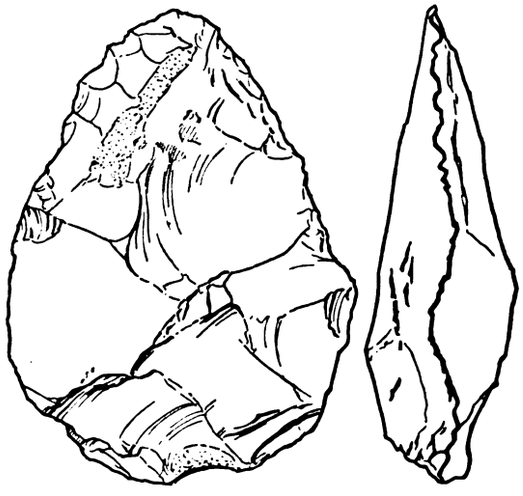


Fig. 17. Ovate hand-axe, with zigzag side (½).



Fig. 18. Ovate hand-axe, thickest at centre (½).



Fig. 20. Hand-axe, with pointed butt (½).



Fig. 21. Ridged flake, with waist (½).

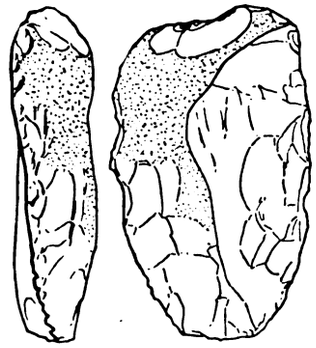


Fig. 22. End-scraper, with side view (½).

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Fig. 20. Light brown hand-axe with broad cutting-edge, and thicker pointed butt, patch of crust on the face not shown; boldly flaked on both faces, the sides rather zigzag, not curved, and parallel for 3 in.; fairly lustrous, and slightly rolled. L. 7 in. Found on the first (upper) bench of section A (10–14 ft. from surface).

Fig. 21. Black flake with central rib and patch of dark crust, bulb missing at butt, signs of use along both sides and at broad end, the waist having been produced from alternate faces; unrolled. L. 4·5 in. Found on the first (upper) bench of section A (10–14 ft. from surface).

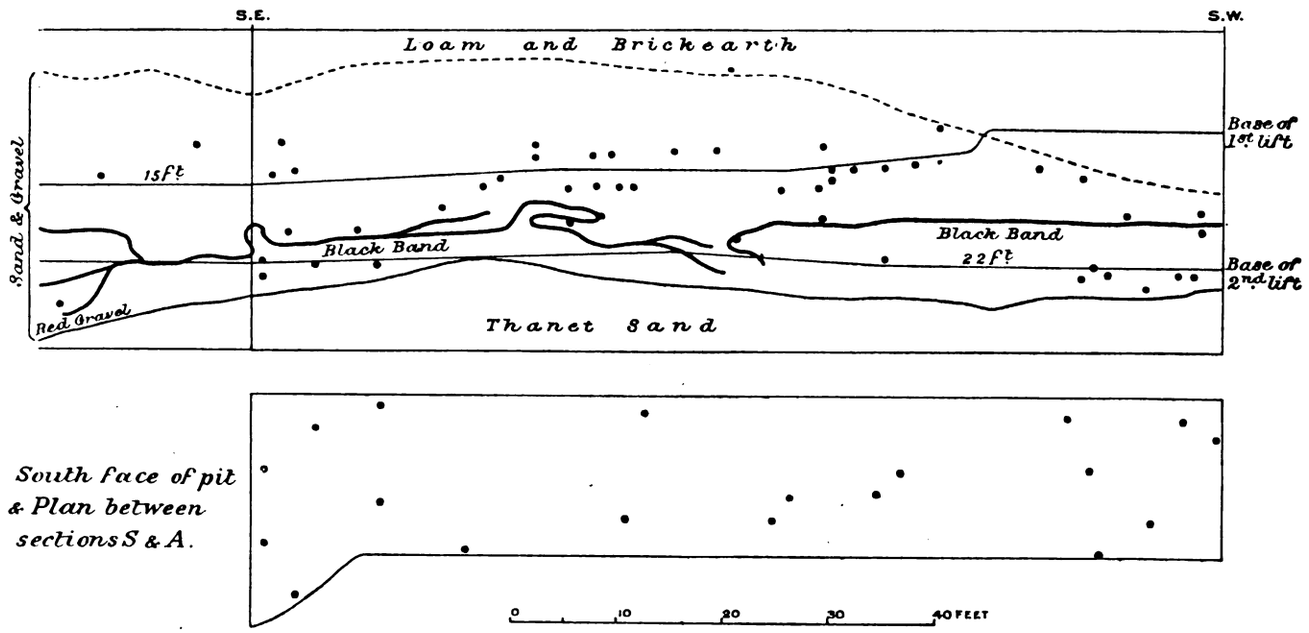


Fig. 23. Section and plan of the southern part of Homersham's west pit, Sturry, dots showing the location of implements.

Fig. 22. End-scraper (*grattoir*), bluish grey and crusted on upper face, yellowish on the plain bulbar face; bulb and flat platform at the butt, signs of use along both sides, and the end chipped roughly for scraping; curved on the left and angular on right as at High Lodge, Mildenhall, Suffolk (*Proc. Preh. Soc. E. Anglia*, iii, 376, nos. 7 and 10); rather rolled. L. 3·6 in. Found on the upper bench of section A (10–14 ft. from surface).

A representative series came from section S (fig. 23) which once formed the southern wall of the pit, running east-and-west, with the pit-sand (Thanet Sand) rising at its base towards the south with a gradient of about 1 in 3, deduced from section S and its neighbour A, which together extended 44 ft. at the surface. Section S was itself 20 ft. from north to south, and was 29 ft. deep on its north face and $24\frac{1}{2}$ on the south. In the top 12 ft. little was found but rolled and

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damaged implements or flakes of various types, apparently derived and therefore of little use for zoning purposes. Four may be mentioned as examples: a sub-triangular mottled grey hand-axe of St. Acheul type (S 4) found at 9 ft.; a thick yellow ovate with slightly curved sides (S 17) at 12 ft.; a narrow and thick ovate, roughly flaked (S 46) with one face covered with a ferruginous deposit and the other stained, at 11 ft.; and a triangular-pointed implement (S 81), probably of St. Acheul I type, black and lustrous, at 22 ft., this last being well below the other rolled specimens, and only 3 ft. above the Thanet Sand. Another heavy hand-axe of Chelles type, without its point (S 64), in rolled condition, occurred at 19 ft., and had presumably been incorporated by accident in a gravel which is clearly dated by the following nine implements selected with the above from a batch of fifty-five collected by Dr. Ince. They are all sharp-edged and evidently belong to the gravel, which is thus given its relative chronology.

At 11 ft. from the surface occurred the lower half of a large hand-axe (S 45) referable to St. Acheul I with a crusted lateral butt, the edges just dulled, and one face ferruginous. It originally measured about 8 in. in length.

One foot lower were found two perfect ovates in the same condition, with dulled edges and one face covered with ferruginous deposit; the larger (S 23) has a slight curve like a reversed **S** and is $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, and the other (S 28) is almost of *vesica piscis* form, brown all over. Both are clearly of St. Acheul period.

At 15 ft. was an ovate (S 48) much like the last in outline and of the same length (4·5 in.), but less successfully flaked along one side, and black or yellowish with small patches of manganese. Also a triangular pointed hand-axe of the same length, with brown or yellow patina (S 57).

Three must be mentioned from the 23 ft. level, as they do much to prove the age of the main gravel deposit. One (S 89) is a boldly flaked ovate with shades of yellow, the sides rather zigzag but not curved, and the date St. Acheul I. The second is sub-triangular (S 86), thickest near the butt, which had a crusted platform; the colour is brown, and the sides are zigzag but not twisted. A richer brown patina is seen on the third from this level (S 87), which is a well-made squarish ovate with basil point and cutting-edge all round, even and straight. It is 3·3 in. long, with the edges hardly dulled, and along the base of one face are patches of porcellanous 'gloss', which has not been properly explained.

The above have been selected as typical of the series, not merely as the best specimens of St. Acheul work, and their cumulative evidence of date is considerable; but mention must also be made of a sub-triangular flake (S 41), dark brown with central rib and flat platform, resembling a 'point' of Le

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Moustier date. The sides are jagged as though by heavy use, and the size (3·2 in.) is normal for that period. It was found at 14 ft. from the surface, and may therefore be taken to represent the level of Le Moustier, which has been traced elsewhere in this pit below the derived hand-axes of the upper levels.

Of Mr. Burchell's three specimens[1] of Le Moustier date from an unknown horizon in this pit, the best (fig. 24) is a brown 'point' of elongated form thickest along the middle line, with steep edge-trimming. The ridges are just dulled, and the bulb of percussion visible at the butt-end. Specimens so thoroughly typical of this period are seldom found in this country (as at High Lodge, Mildenhall, Suffolk; and north-east London). It is 3½ in. long, with a maximum

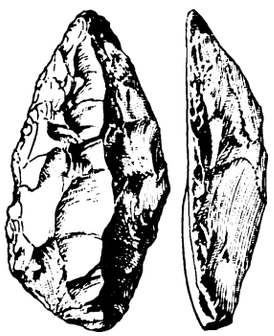


Fig. 24. Point of Le Moustier type, with side view (½).

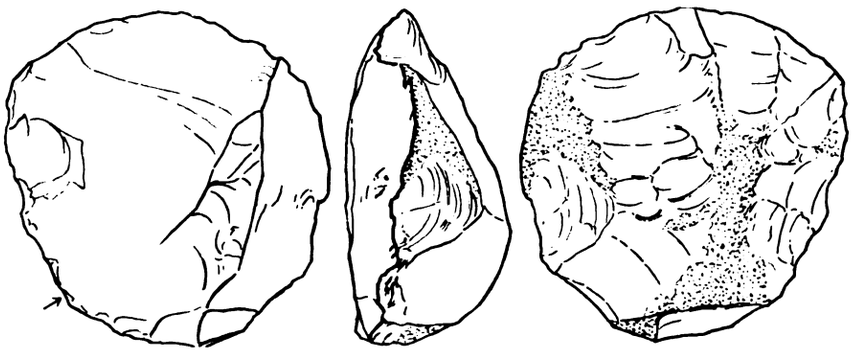


Fig. 25. Tortoise core (views of top, side, and base) (½).

breadth of 1·8 in., the base being a plain fracture. Another is a little sharper, of the same colour (shades of brown), thickest along the middle, but better worked along the left side as a side-scraper. L. 3·4 in. The third is quite different: sub-triangular, with creamy patina and buff crust on the upper face, and mottled greenish grey on the other. It comes presumably from the brick-earth, and again is better worked along the left side and shallower than the others. L. 3·5 in. The angularity of the lower part is peculiar and significant.

From section S came a prepared core of Northfleet type, which is known to date from Le Moustier times and has yet to be proved to belong to any other period. Only twelve have been noticed in this neighbourhood.

Fig. 25. Tortoise-core, black, with incipient cones and brown crust on the under (conical) face, and a ferruginous deposit on the upper face from which a flake implement has been detached; rather rolled. L. 3·7 in. Found in section S.

About 20 ft. east of the south-east angle of Homersham's west pit a new

[1] These were exhibited at the meeting; the best is here illustrated with the owner's permission.

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cutting has been made, revealing a rise to the south-east, of about 1 in 4, in the Thanet Sand (the 'pit-sand' of the neighbourhood). The loam and brick-earth correspond in the two sections, but between the latter and the Thanet Sand at the near end of section A the 'stone' is only 2 ft. thick, whereas in the new cutting there are two layers of 'stone' separated by a clay band, and below that the black band sealing in a few feet of red gravel. This rise of the Thanet Sand may be taken as the western edge of the hummock of sand that separates

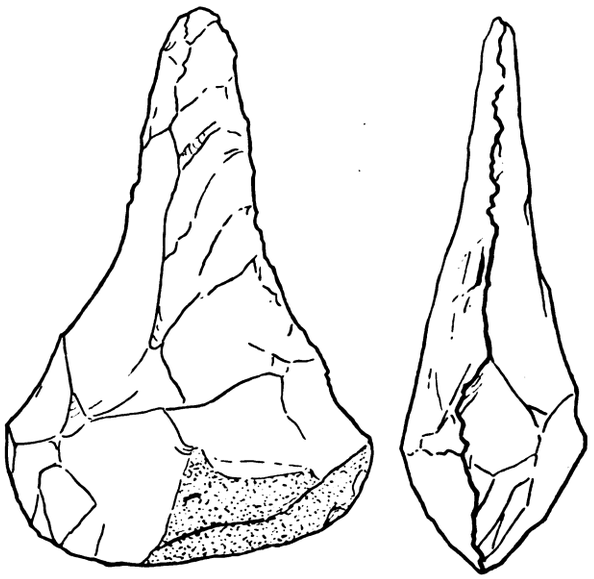


Fig. 26. Pointed hand-axe, with side view ($\frac{1}{2}$).

the two pits belonging to Messrs. Ashenden: it must have diverted the stream that once flowed under section W.

Fig. 26. A black and brown *ficron* or hand-axe with long thin point, which has almost a triangular section: the edge all round is nearly straight, and the butt is boldly flaked, retaining a patch of crust; rather rolled, and bruised in places. L. 6 in. From the upper Le Moustier layer of the new cutting at the south-eastern angle of Homersham's pit.

The following statistics show that the majority of the implements found in this new cutting belonged to the red gravel at its base:

Between the loam and brick-earth . . .	6
Between the brick-earth and clay band . .	19
Between the clay band and black band . .	24
In the red gravel at base	64
Total	113

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Homersham's east pit is separated from their west pit by only a rib of unworked gravel over which a footpath passes to Hawe Lane. It is worked out and disused except at its south end, but it is said by the workmen to have been the most prolific of all the pits in implements. A shallow trench beside the vicarage garden has also yielded many fine implements, some of them being in Dr. Ince's collection. They are ovates and hand-axes, both water-worn and with sharp edges and facets, but no conclusion could safely be drawn since their original position is not known. Some gravel was removed at the south end of this pit in June 1921 and a section was seen measuring 17 ft. of strongly current-bedded sandy gravel, the base resting in channels cut in the Thanet Sand. A few inches above the latter formation Dr. Ince found an implement lying in shingle without a sandy matrix, stained black with oxide of manganese.

A huge hummock of pure sand (now arable land) separates Homersham's pits from those worked by Messrs. Ashenden. The first of these lies a few yards nearly due north of Homewood Hall. It is dug by several gangs of workmen in different parts of the pit. Measurements were taken at each of the exposed faces. In the south-west corner a flake resembling those of the Levallois type was picked out of some sharp sand at a depth of 22 ft. from the surface and just above the Thanet sand. The section showed current-bedded gravel and sand of the normal character. On the eastern face of a recess there occurred several irregular patches of sand up to 2 ft. in length which appeared to have been forced downwards into some well-laminated brick-earth, in such a manner that the upper layers of the brick-earth were much disordered and rose up between the lumps of sand. If these sand-lumps were not frozen to solid masses at the time of the disruption of the brick-earth it is difficult to imagine how they effected this disturbance. Another recess, worked by an observant quarryman who took pains to record the exact position of the finds, exposed 15 ft. of gravel and sand without touching the Thanet beds, which are known to lie at 7 ft. below the floor of the pit. The section was marked by even-bedded bleached gravel up to 8 ft. thick, overlying 2 ft. of sand cemented at its base with oxide of manganese. Beneath this lies a bed 5 ft. thick of yellow to red gravel. A characteristic ovate implement (St. Acheul) was found in the bleached gravel about 1 ft. above the bed of sand: another small ovate with its edge forming an **S** curve lay on the top of the sand. In the manganese layer at the base a large black hand-axe resembling a *ficron* was found during our visit, and a yellow-stained Chelles hand-axe without a point had been taken out on the previous day. A few yards to the north an implement was found at a depth of 12 ft. in the manganese layer. The foreman has obtained from this pit alone twelve ovate implements, five unworn hand-axes, fourteen water-worn hand-

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axes, and one core resembling a tortoise-core; and states that all of the water-worn implements were collected beneath brick-earth in a bed of disturbed yellowish gravel.

The large pits worked by Messrs. Dadd, Neville, & Cooper in Hoade's Wood, east of Sturry, are in the same spread of gravel as that worked by Ashenden & Co. The gravel and sand, however, show signs of true-bedding over a wider area than the western pits. The northern margin of the gravel surface lies at 100 ft. and the surface of the southern margin at 75 ft. above O.D. The sections exposed at the working-faces differ slightly from each other, and may be generalized as follows:

(A) Brick-earth, almost stoneless but with occasional clumps of pebbles, and generally of a yellowish-buff colour with ochreous seams or laminae. This bed is termed the 'Callow'. It rests in hollows cut in the	6¾ ft.
(B) Bleached gravel with streaks of sand, and stains of black oxide of manganese	6¾ ft.
(C) Sharp sand, mostly of chips of flint, with some quartz grains: dug for building purposes	3 ft.
(D) Sand, cemented into friable sandstone with black oxide of manganese	¼ ft.
(E) Red gravel, ironstained coarse flint gravel. The flints are not much worn; and many large pieces of Sarsen sandstone up to 2 ft. long	11 ft.
Thanet Sand.	

The gravel consists almost exclusively of flints derived from the Chalk, but contains also a few pebbles from the Tertiary beds, and chert and ironstone from the Lower Greensand formation.

A flake with three bulbs of percussion was found at a depth of 13½ ft. from the surface in the south-west part of this pit in sand partly cemented with oxide of manganese, and at 30 yds. to the north-east of this spot a piece of elephant's tusk lay in the same seam at a depth of 13 ft. One well-formed ovate implement was picked out by a workman in this pit. Another sharp-edged ovate and a sharp Chelles hand-axe were taken out of this layer in 1923.

The tracts of gravel between the Herne Bay Road and Hoade's Court Road, although differing in details, possess a general resemblance among their constituent layers. In all there is a basal bed of gravel with a matrix of clay or loam; a bed of sand cemented with the black dioxide of manganese; a thick mass of current-bedded gravel and sand, containing at its base boulders of earlier-formed deposits and often stained with black manganese dioxide; a deposit of brick-earth of variable thickness; and finally a bed of rainwash. Most of the implements lie at one of two levels; the lower in the basal gravel and the higher level in the current-bedded sand. These tracts are remnants of

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a river channel with its centre at about 50 ft. above O.D., but decreasing in height above O.D. eastwards.

They are separated from a more extensive tract lying at 160 ft. above O.D. by a slope of sand and clay, which is well exposed in Stonerocks gravel-pit. A similar spread occurs on the south side of the valley above Fordwich, at much the same height, the deposit being now worked at Sandpit Wood. At both localities several palaeolithic implements of the Chelles type have been found, and presented by Dr. Ince to the British Museum; and as both deposits are well above the terraces of the Stour and are (or were) continuous with the great spread now covered by the Forest of Blean, the implements must be referred to the plateau, and throw more light on the high-level gravels.

A section at Highstead on the Reculver Road 4 miles N.E. of our pit, showed:

- Loam, Gravel } 6–7 ft.
- Manganese band.
- Red sticky gravel, 4–5 ft.
- Thanet Sand.

Attention was paid to the brick-pits on the south side of the Sturry Road and east of the barracks between Canterbury and Sturry. Only one pit was in work; it is known both as Gaskin's pit and the Vauxhall brick-works. The western working face showed a section of 6 to 9 ft. of stoneless brick-earth overlying from 10 to 14 ft. of current-bedded gravel and sand. These deposits rest on blue clay or 'bungum', which passes laterally into sand and belongs to the Thanet Beds; it measures about 40 ft. in thickness. The gravel consists of partly water-worn chalk-flints with a few pebbles from the Lower London Tertiary formations, but other constituents are rare, only one piece of Greensand chert and one of ironstone having been seen during our visit.

No implements have been found in this pit for several years, but Dr. Ince's collection contains two of characteristic form. These are recorded as from the base of the gravel and just above the 'bungum'.

The surface of the brick-earth slopes gently towards the river, from a height of a little over 50 ft. above O.D. down to about 35 ft. above O.D., while the surface of the clay on which the gravel rests is as much as 20 ft. lower, or slopes from 30 to 15 ft. above O.D.

On the opposite side of the river a section is seen at Edwards's brick-works (fig. 27) near Hackington, where there are 6 ft. of stoneless brick-earth with a bed of 'race' nodules at its base which separates this material from 11 ft. of more loamy and plastic brick-earth. Beneath the brick-earth there are from

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10 to 20 ft. of gravel resting on the blue clay or 'bungum'. This gravel is waterlogged. The surface of the brick-earth lies at a level of 30 ft. above O.D. on the north-west side of the pit and slopes southwards towards the river, where it lies at 20 ft. above O.D. The clay surface lies about 20 to 30 ft. beneath, or from 0 to 10 ft. below O.D. No implements have been recorded from these pits.

A large pit, called the 40 acre or St. Stephen's pit, is worked by Messrs. Cozens & Son for brick-earth and gravel, and is situated beside the railway embankment on the Whitstable branch line at Hackington. It lies about two-thirds of a mile to the west of Edwards's pit, but the beds are unlike in the two pits. The brick-earth, a reddish-yellow loam, attains a thickness of 6 ft.

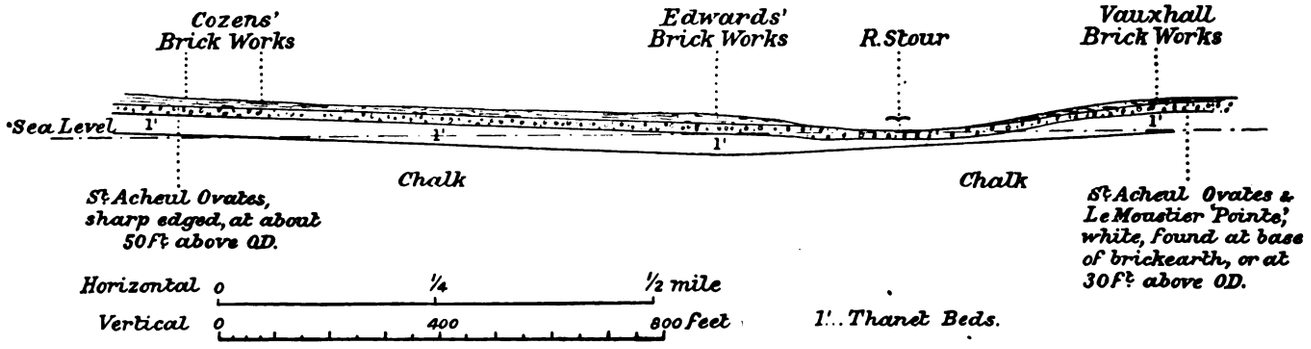


Fig. 27. Geological section across the Great Stour valley, east of Canterbury.

locally and may average some 4 ft. over the pit; it rests irregularly on coarse reddish gravel from 12 to 14 ft. thick, beneath which lies the blue clay or 'bungum'. The gravel is locally current-bedded, and consists almost entirely of partly worn flint nodules, many measuring 8 in. in length; but there are some seams of loam and streaks of sand.

The top of the brick-earth at the north-west margin of the pit lies at nearly 100 ft. above O.D., while its southern margin is just above 50 ft. O.D. The underlying clay surface slopes therefore from about 80 down to 50 ft. above O.D. Two worn and bruised hand-axes of Chelles type were found by a workman; and Dr. Ince has several sharp-edged, unabraded ovate implements of a large size (up to $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. long and 3 in. wide) which were taken from the base of the brick-earth.

There is therefore a sequence of deposits, each characterized by implements of special form, marking a succession of events. The first formed and highest above O.D. (120 ft.) are the Stonerocks and Fordwich (fig. 3) gravels with Chelles

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implements; the next, the Sturry-river deposits with base-level at 70 ft. above O.D., and containing St. Acheul and Le Moustier implements; and the Vauxhall and St. Stephen's gravels with those of Le Moustier period. The brickearth may be a deposit that was laid down contemporaneously over all the 'terraces', but appears rather to belong to the terraces on which it rests. There is probably but little difference in time between the Sturry river and the Vauxhall-St. Stephen's terrace. Whether the Sturry-river implements are truly contemporaneous with the deposits or slightly earlier is difficult to say, but they appear to belong to both categories.

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VI. *A London Merchant's House and its Owners, 1360–1614.* *By* CHARLES LETHBRIDGE KINGSFORD, *Esq., M.A., F.S.A.*

Read 17th January 1924.

STOW in his *Survey of London*[1] describes St. Dunstan in the East as 'a great parish of many rich merchants, and other occupiers of diverse trades namely salters and ironmongers'. Then turning to speak of Thames Street he writes: 'in this street on the Thames side are divers large landing places called wharves and keys, for cranage up of wares and merchandise, as also for shipping of wares from thence to be transported. These wharves and keys commonly bear the names of their owners, and are therefore changeable.' The frequent changes of name to which Stow thus alludes probably made it as difficult for him as it is for us to trace the history of any particular quay. Apart from a brief account of Wool Wharf, which in the reign of Richard II became the Custom House and has so continued to this day, Stow contented himself with recording a fifteenth-century reference to Passekes Wharf[2] and Horner's Key, and with an incidental allusion to Porter's Key. But he did not attempt to give their history, though what there was to tell of the last of them must have fallen within his own memory.[3]

Tower Street Ward, in which St. Dunstan's parish is included, extends along the Thames from the Tower to Billingsgate. About midway is the Custom House, anciently bounded on the west by Water Lane or Water Gate. Immediately to the west of Water Lane was a house and wharf which occupied the whole space between Thames Street and the river. It is with this house and wharf, most commonly called Asselyn's Wharf, that I am here concerned. To have been able to trace its history almost without a break during two centuries and a half is perhaps exceptional. To have recovered in addition the agreement under which the house was built, and a detailed description of the greater part of it as it actually existed, is a singular piece of good fortune.

[1] *Survey*, i, 135–6.

[2] See *Hustings Roll*, 105 (23), 140 (55), 179 (33).

[3] See p. 146, below.

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The first mention of Asselyn's Wharf is in 1361, when Geoffrey Kneveton of Derbyshire demised to John Ive, rector of St. Michael, Wood Street, and to Laurence Kelleshull, chaplain, all his right in 'Asselynes Warf' in the parish of St. Dunstan, and in all the tenements on the quay, which John Asselyn held for life; the property had formerly belonged to his brother Richard Kneveton, baker to the King, who had enfeoffed Ive and Kelleshull therein.[1]

In later documents the wharf is commonly described as Asselyn's (or Ashelyn's) Wharf, formerly called Pakenam's Wharf; the alternative name, which was clearly the older, first appears as Pakemannys Wharf in 1384. To whom this name was due we can only conjecture; but it may have been derived from Peter de Packenham or Pagenham, who was deputy for the king's butler in the port of London in 1332,[2] and is described as a vintner in 1346.[3] John Asselyn is equally obscure, but possibly he was a relative of Richard Asselyn, who was a prominent citizen in the early part of the reign of Edward III,[4] and a resident in St. Dunstan's in the East.[5] Nor can I give any information as to Richard Kneveton; the only person I have found who held the position of king's baker about the required date is Richard Pace in 1358.[6] In view of these obscurities it is a curious instance of legal conservatism that the ancient description of Asselyn's Wharf formerly Pakenam's Wharf should have persisted, whilst the names of later and better-known owners came into use one after another and were all in their turn forgotten.

Ive and Kelleshull transferred their interest to Simon Sudbury, bishop of London, John Cherteseye and others.[7] This must have been before 1375, when Sudbury became archbishop of Canterbury. John Cherteseye was a brother of the archbishop, with whom he shared in founding a college at Sudbury.[8] He had acquired his wealth as a draper in London, and had estates in Hertfordshire, where he served on the commission of peace.[9] He was clearly the real owner of Asselyn's Wharf, for after the death of three of his co-feoffees he made a fresh enfeoffment in 1382 to John Onyng, parson of Godmersham, William Ilberd, parson of Fulham, and John Hunte: the property is then described as lying in Thames Street between the watergate by the messuage sometime of William Cokes on the east and the tenement and quay sometime of Henry Cros on the west, and as extending from the street to the river.[10] In 1384 Cherteseye,

[1] *Hustings Roll*, 99 (23) at the Guildhall; these rolls are subsequently cited as *H. R.*

[2] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. III, ii, 338.

[3] *Letter Book F*, p. 112. There is a letter from Piers Pagenham, relating to the export of wool ap. *Ancient Correspondence*, xlii, 92.

[4] *Letter Book F*, pp. 5, 8, 48.

[5] *Cal. Coroners Rolls*, p. 245.

[6] *Letter Book G*, p. 106.

[7] *Ancient Deeds*, A. 1797.

[8] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Ric. II, i, 413.

[9] *Id.*, ii, 253.

[10] *Anc. Deeds*, A. 1797.

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now described as of the shire of Hertford, gentleman, leased Pakemannys Wharf to Richard Willysdon for the term of 100 years at a rent of 12 *l.*[1] By the lease Willysdon was required to rebuild the wharf and houses in accordance with provisions which were of sufficient interest to be specially quoted in Parker's *Domestic Architecture of the Middle Ages.*[2] I shall be able to show that the building which Willysdon covenanted to erect is in the main identical with one of which we have a fairly complete description as it actually existed eighty years later.

The history of Asselyn's Wharf during the next fifty years is somewhat complicated. John Cherteseye, by his will made in November 1396, left the rent of 12 *l.* with the reversion of Asselyn's Wharf (subject to certain conditions) to his son William for life and ultimately to the use of the Prior of 'Crycherche' or Trinity to find two priests for ever.[3] In 1407 another son John Cherteseye, who had a reversionary interest, made a demise to Henry Parker and others.[4] In 1414 Parker, as sole surviving feoffee, transferred his interest to William Sevenoke, Richard Osbarn, and others.[5] On 20th May 1432, when Sevenoke and Osbarn were the only surviving feoffees and William Cherteseye was dead, Osbarn renounced his rights to Sevenoke,[6] who by his will dated 5th July 1432 left the rent and reversion of Asselyn's Wharf to Trinity Priory.[7] This was no doubt done in performance of the elder John Cherteseye's will, and Henry Parker when sole feoffee had made a like provision.[8]

We must now go back to Willysdon, who was by trade a tallow-chandler, and a man of sufficient repute to represent his ward on the Common Council from 1376 onwards.[9] By his will dated 12th September 1398 he left his term in the tenement with wharf, solars and cellars, wherein he then dwelt in Thames Street, to be sold.[10] His widow was to have the use of it for one year, and William Sevenoke was to have the right to purchase if he desired. Sevenoke renounced his right, and Thomas Crumpton, as Willysdon's executor, thereon in 1399 sold 'Pakenames Wharf' to John Mayhew of East Greenwich, John Denever of London and others.[11] Mayhew and Denever three years later sold their interest to Richard Loxley and others.[12] Loxley, who was a grocer, was the real owner, and having obtained a release of the property from his co-feoffees left it by his will in 1419 to his wife for life and then to be sold. In March 1434

[1] *Id.*, A. 1779. See p. 155, below.
[2] ii, 183–4.
[3] *Cal. Wills Husting*, ii, 330, from *H. R.* 126 (72); it was proved in 1397.
[4] *Anc. Deeds*, A. 1717.
[5] *Id*, A. 1718.
[6] *Id.*, A. 1706.
[7] *Cal. Wills Husting*, ii. 466.
[8] *Anc. Deeds*, A. 1796, undated.
[9] *Letter Book H*, pp. 43, 239, 269, 280.
[10] *Cal. Wills Husting*, ii, 337, and *H. R.* 127 (46).
[11] *H. R.* 127 (76).
[12] *H. R.* 131 (57).

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Edmund Gwyn and John Ashwell, grocers, as Loxley's surviving executors, sold the house and wharf to Stephen Browne and John Atherle.[1]

The rent and the reversion of Asselyn's Wharf now belonged to Trinity Priory, whilst the remainder of Willysdon's term, which had fifty years to run, had come into the possession of Stephen Browne, who was the real purchaser from Loxley's executors. In 1444 Browne obtained a fresh lease from Trinity Priory of the tenement with houses, shops, solars, cellars, and wharf called Asshelynes Wharf and sometime called Pakenames Wharf, situate between the tenement of William Askham on the west and a lane called Watergate which led from Thames Street to the river on the east. This new term was for eighty years at a rent of a red rose for the first fifteen years and afterwards of 12 *l.*[2] It is possible that Browne had obtained this concession in return for improvements to be made in the house and quay.

Stephen Browne is the first owner of Asselyn's Wharf of whom it is possible to give a full account. He is said to have been a son of John Browne of Newcastle-on-Tyne, in which town he certainly had property. In his early career he seems to have been associated with William Sevenoke, to whom we have already had reference. Sevenoke is one of the earliest instances of a self-made man who rose to be a rich merchant, and was mayor of London in 1418–19. Browne, who like Sevenoke was a grocer, was himself established in business at London before 1417, was Warden of his Company in 1425, and was five times Master between 1432 and 1456. In 1429 he became alderman of Aldgate Ward, whence he changed in 1445 to Billingsgate, of which he remained alderman till 1460. He served as sheriff in 1431–2 and was twice mayor, first in 1438–9 and again ten years later. Of his first mayoralty Fuller writes thus in his *Worthies*[3]:

'In that year happened a great and general famine, caused much by unseasonable weather, but more by some huckstering husbandmen, who properly may be termed knaves in grain, insomuch that wheat was sold for three shillings a bushel (intolerable according to the standard of those times) and poor people were forced to make bread of fearn roots. But this Stephen Browne sent certain ships to Danz,[4] whose seasonable return with rye suddenly sunk grain to reasonable rates, whereby many a languishing life was preserved. He is beheld one of the first merchants who, in want of corn, showed the Londoners the way to the barn door, I mean to Spruceland, prompted by charity not covetousness to this adventure.'

The story receives confirmation from the Patent Rolls,[5] where we find that on 22nd December 1438 Stephen Browne was authorized to purchase at his own

[1] *H.R.* 162 (57).
[2] *H.R.* 172 (50).
[3] ii, 192. See also Stow, *Survey*, i, 109.
[4] i.e. Danzig.
[5] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Henry VI, iii, 232, 253, 345.

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expense 2,000 quarters of corn in Sussex, Kent, Lincolnshire, and Northampton, for the sustenance of London. Six months later he had similar authority to send into the same counties and again buy 2,000 quarters to feed the inhabitants of London and all others resorting thither. In November 1439 he again had licence to buy 1,000 quarters of grain in Kent, Sussex, Yorkshire, and Lincolnshire, and to convey it to London by land or water. Since by the last occasion Browne was no longer mayor, it is possible that the corn supply of London was part of his regular trade. His record is sufficient to show that he was a man of resource as well as a rich merchant. The esteem in which he was held is proved by the fact that he was one of the few men of his time who was chosen to serve a second term as mayor.[1] His possession of Asselyn's Wharf is the first evidence that we have of its commercial importance.

Stephen Browne died about the beginning of 1463 and was buried in St. Dunstan's Church, where he founded a chantry. By his will, dated 28th April 1462, he left his tenement and wharf called 'Asshelyns warff' formerly 'Pakenams warff' to his son John Browne, with remainder in default of heirs male to his executors for sale; out of the proceeds 20 *l.* was to be paid to Trinity Priory and the residue spent on works of charity.[2] John Browne cannot have long survived his father, for on 16th November 1463 Thomas Bledlowe was one of the sureties for the payment of 324 *l.* to the use of Rose and Agnes, daughters of John Browne, when they came of age or married.[3] Bledlowe is described in Stephen Browne's will as 'my servant', and was one of his master's executors. On 24th December 1463, together with John Tate, John Maldon, and Stephen Stychemershe, the other executors, he made an agreement with Piers Pekham, gentleman, and Agnes his wife, late the wife of John Browne, as to the rights of dower which Agnes had in the great mese called Brownes Place with all the ground, wharf and crane belonging thereto called Brownes Key.[4] The description of the part of the premises assigned to Agnes Pekham in dower furnishes us with our first information as to the character of the house and wharf. Since John Browne left no male heirs, the property should have been sold; but for some reason his father's will was not proved till February 1466. Possibly the first step towards a sale was

[1] John Michel, John Gedney, William Estfeld, and Henry Frowyk are the only other instances in the reign of Henry VI.

[2] *Cal. Wills Husting*, ii, 553, and *H. R.* 195 (48).

[3] *Letter Book L*, p. 40. In March 1464 Bledlowe held a further sum of 383*l.* on a like trust; there was another daughter Katherine, who was then dead (*id.*, p. 48). Rose Browne must have died not much later, for within the year Piers Pekham and his wife presented a petition to the bishop of Exeter as chancellor alleging that the City chamberlain refused to deliver her portion to them as administrators of her goods (*Early Chancery Proceedings*, 28/143).

[4] *H. R.* 196 (10); see pp. 156-7, below.

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taken when on 20th March 1466 the executors enfeoffed Thomas Frowyk, squire, John Warde, mercer, and John Warde, grocer, in the property with the reversion at the death of Agnes Pekham.[1] The new feoffees probably held in trust for Bledlowe. On 2nd August 1474 they transferred their estate to Thomas Wilkynson, clerk, who on 24th September following demised it to Thomas Bledlowe, Thomas Frowyk, John Warde, grocer, and John Clerk, John Stoke, Thomas Northlond, and Robert Bangyll, all of them grocers.[2] Agnes Pekham was probably dead before this. There may have been some friction between her second husband and Stephen Browne's executors, for on 10th November 1469 Piers Pekham was committed by the Court of Aldermen to Newgate for opprobrious words uttered to John Tate, and was only released after he had made submission and paid a fine of 20 *l.*[3]

It is probable that Thomas Bledlowe, as so often happened in default of heirs, succeeded his master in his business, and took over the house and wharf where it had been conducted. Of his commercial career we have little more than the bare facts. He was sheriff in 1472-3, alderman of Farringdon Without from 1472 to 1474, and of Dowgate from 1474 to 1478. He was master of the Grocers' Company in 1472–3 and again in 1477–8. Bledlowe was probably concerned in finance as well as in ordinary trade. In 1464, in association with John Ryvers, a skinner, he became executor of the widow of William Dere. Dere, who was alderman of Dowgate Ward, was probably a goldsmith and was engaged in what we should call banking but was then deemed usury. After his wife's death the executors were troubled by persons who alleged that Dere had obtained money from them usuriously, and claimed restitution under a direction in Dere's will.[4] At an inquisition held at the Guildhall in April 1468 it was found that in 1457 Dere had been possessed of pearls, plate, and goods to the value of 2,000 *l.*, besides 8,600 *l.* in money contained in six sealed bags, upon which the king appears to have had some claim. Dere likewise had in his charge for safe keeping for the king's use, jewels and plate to the value of 3,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, besides jewels worth 1,000*l.* and a silver vase worth 100*l.* which had belonged to Henry, Duke of Exeter, and jewels and plate which had belonged to Henry, Duke of Somerset, to the value of 1,000*l.*; the Dukes of Exeter and Somerset having been attainted, their rights had passed to the Crown. All this property, valued at over 16,000*l.* (a huge sum for those days), had come into the hands of Bledlowe and Ryvers, who on 10th July 1468 received a pardon for all accounts and actions concerning the premises together with a grant of all the jewels, goods, and money late of William Dere.[5] The

[1] *H.R.* 196 (11).
[2] *H.R.* 204 (4) and (6).
[3] *Journal* 7, ff. 204, 205; *Letter Book L*, p. 89.
[4] *Early Chancery Proceedings*, 26/196 and 31/527.
[5] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. IV, ii, 120-21.

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exact nature of Bledlowe's transactions with the king is not clear, but though he may have been acting only as executor, it is reasonable to suppose that he was himself interested in important financial business.

Thomas Bledlowe died in May 1478, and like Browne was buried in St. Dunstan's church. By his will,[1] dated on 11th May and proved on 30th May, he left the great messuage wherein he dwelt with all the appurtenances, called Browne's Key, to his son Thomas, but his widow was to have parcels of the house in dower, the provision being in almost identical terms with that made for Agnes Pekham fifteen years before. Bledlowe had considerable property besides Browne's Key. To his eldest son Thomas he left his brewhouse called the Great Bell in Barbican, with lands and tenements in Cornhill, in Southwark, and in Kent. To his second son, John, he left his great mese with teintries and garden in St. Olave, Southwark, late of John, lord Wenlock. To Richard, the third son, he left lands at St. Albans and at Bury St. Edmunds. Henry, the fourth son, was to succeed his mother in the tenement called Traynell's in Cornhill and in lands at Chickwell in Essex; he was also next in tail to the lands bequeathed to Richard. The executor of the will was John Clerk, the king's apothecary.

All Thomas Bledlowe's sons were under age at their father's death, after which Clerk and others gave a bond to secure 675*l.* to their use.[2] Thomas the eldest was apparently of age in 1491 when he is described as 'gentleman'.[3] In 1500 he quitclaimed his right to five tenements in St. Dunstan in the East to Robert Hodson and Andrew Moreys;[4] but whether these included the house and wharf is not clear. His daughter Elizabeth was second wife of Lord Williams of Thame. Richard Bledlowe died before 1495.[5] Henry, who was a citizen and draper of London, died in 1502, when his mother was still alive.[6]

I have not discovered who had the commercial occupation of Browne's Key after 1478, nor when the lease passed out of the possession of Thomas Bledlowe the younger. But previously to 1505 it was acquired by Sir John Cutte, who was then under-treasurer of England; for on 20th February of that year Cutte obtained a fresh lease for ninety-eight years from Trinity Priory, of the 'great tenement with shops and wharf called Ashelyngs warffe formerly Pakenames warffe and then Crychurche warffe'.[7] Cutte naturally did not want the wharf for his own use. Probably he let it, perhaps to Roger Halle, a grocer, to whom with others on 16th July 1517 he demised 'all that great messuage,

[1] *P. C. C.* 33 Wattys.
[2] *Letter Book L*, p. 103.
[3] *Id.*, p. 281.
[4] *H. R.* 226 (1).
[5] *Letter Book L*, p. 295.
[6] *P. C. C.* 17 Blamyr.
[7] *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, xvi, 503 (15)

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wharf, crane, and key lately called Bledlowe's Key'.[1] Roger Halle died in the same year,[2] and subsequently the lease seems to have been acquired by Nicholas Gybson, another grocer, and the wharf then came to be known as Gybson's Key.

At the Dissolution the reversion of the property and the rent reserved fell of course to the Crown, and on 9th January 1541 were granted to Avice Gybson, widow and executrix of Nicholas Gybson. Avice Gybson very soon afterwards married Sir Anthony Knyvet, who on 14th July had licence to alienate the property to William Gonson, Edward Water, and Henry Horne.[3] The next owner was John Heth, cooper, of whom we know no more than that on 20th January 1555 he sold to Christopher Draper, ironmonger, for 840*l.* 'all that his great tenement with houses, shoppes, cellers, sollers and wharfe called Ashelinges wharfe sometyme called Pakeman wharf and after called Chrychurche wharf and now called Gibsons Key'.[4] It is worth noting that the wharf, which had for over a century been occupied by grocers, was now passing to other trades. However, the owners had probably always been men engaged in commerce in a wide sense, and in June 1559 Gibson's Key was one of the wharves appointed as general lading and discharging places for all kinds of merchandise.[5]

Christopher Draper, who was son of John Draper of Melton Mowbray in Leicestershire, was already in business on a large scale before he acquired Asselyn's Wharf. In the reign of Edward VI he had supplied hawsers, cables, pitch, and tar in great quantities for the use of the King's Navy.[6] This gives us an idea of the character of his trade, but though he was certainly a merchant of importance there seems to be no further record of his commercial career. He was alderman of Cordwainer Street Ward for twenty-four years from 1556, was sheriff in 1559–60, Lord Mayor in 1566–67, and knighted on 16th February 1567. In his first year of office as alderman Henry Machyn relates as something noteworthy that on 13th January he sent a bell-man about in his ward with a bell at every lane end and at the ward end to give warning of fire and candle-light, and to help the poor and pray for the dead.[7] Draper kept his mayoralty in his house in St. Dunstan's. On 5th February 1566 it was ordered by the Court of Aldermen that Mr. Alderman Draper be permitted 'to make and set out an arche of brike out of his owne house unto the Cyties

[1] *H. R.* 238 (13). The demise was 'to the use of Roger Halle'. One of Halle's co-feoffees was Thomas More.

[2] Will ap. *P. C. C.* 33 Holder.

[3] *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, xvi, 503 (15) and 1056 (59).

[4] *H. R.* 247 (91).

[5] Letters Patent ap. Strype, *Survey*, Book II, p. 49.

[6] *Acts of Privy Council*, ii, 168, iv, 18.

[7] *Diary*, p. 123.

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grounde and sewer lyeing bitwene his own house in Saint Dunstan's paryshe in the east, and the house of William Bulley, fyshemonger, set and beyenge there xiij fote or thereabout in lengthe, nyne inches in bredth, for the byldynge and settynge up of parcell of a Chymney and oven of his, which he is forced newly to byld to serve his torne withall when he shall come to the honorable offyce of mayre of this Cytie'.[1] Draper was as great in his Company as in the City, and was master no less than eight times between 1557 and 1580. In his first year Machyn relates how at the two-year mind of good Master Lewyn,[2] ironmonger, master alderman Draper had the first place, and afterwards at the Hall all had a cake and bun apiece and wine enough for all comers.[3] This is a bit of Machyn's small beer, but Draper was clearly a notable man, of whose career it is strange that I have been able to discover no more.

Draper died, aged seventy, on 8th May 1580, and was buried in St. Dunstan's church.[4] At the Inquisition it was found that he had been seised of a large messuage called Asheling Wharf, or Gibson's Key, which on 1st March 1571 he had given to William Webbe, salter, Stephen Woodroffe, salter, Wolston Dixie, skinner, and Lawrence Grene, cutler, on trust for himself for life and after his wife's death for his daughters Bennet, Bridget, and Agnes. Gibson's Key was stated to be held of the queen by the service of $\frac{1}{20}$ of a knight's fee and a yearly rent of 25*s*., and to be of the clear annual value of 8*l*.[5]

Webbe, Woodroffe, and Dixie were Draper's sons-in-law. Webbe was Lord Mayor in 1591–2, and Dixie in 1585–6, and both were knighted. Woodroffe was son of David Woodroffe, sheriff in 1554, and brother of Sir Nicholas Woodroffe, Lord Mayor in 1579.[6] Stephen Woodroffe died on 30th November 1576, and his widow Bridget married as her second husband Sir Henry Billingsley, who was Lord Mayor in 1596–7 and the first translator of Euclid into English. Bridget Billingsley died on 28th September 1588, leaving a son Christopher Woodroffe, then aged twenty, who was heir to one-third of Asselyn's Wharf.[7] Dixie died in 1594 without children, and Agnes his widow, who died in 1600, left her third part of Draper's Key or Gibson's Key to her 'cousin Robert Draper the apprentice'.[8] Webbe, who had married Bennet Draper, Christopher's eldest daughter, was his father-in-law's executor. As soon as Christopher Woodroffe came of age Webbe purchased his third share

[1] *Repertory* 16, f. 15. Draper was to pay 4*d*. rent. Since the kitchen was vaulted underneath, its chimney was naturally carried on an arch.

[2] Thomas Lewen, alderman of Walbrook.

[3] *Diary*, p. 141.

[4] See Strype, *Survey*, ii, p. 44, for an account of his tomb and the inscription.

[5] *London Inquisitions post mortem*, iii, 36.

[6] *Ibid.* ii, 13.

[7] *Id.*, iii, 146.

[8] *Id.*, iii, 186, 270.

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in the wharf, then described as Gibson's Key *alias* Draper's Key late in the occupation of Christopher Draper and now of William Wiggin, and in the messuages thereto belonging in the several tenures of John Burkett and Robert Nunne, salters.[1] On 8th January 1592 Webbe also acquired the share of his only son Christopher, who died three days later leaving as his heir a boy two years old.[2] Later on William Webbe probably also acquired the remaining third. At his death in 1599 he left all his manors and lands to his wife for life, with remainder to his grandson. There is a touch of pathos in his dying request to his wife 'to be good grandmother to our boy and to bringe him up in learninge and in the feare of God'.[3] The boy grew up, and on 21st July 1614, as Sir William Webbe of Thornton Bridge, sold for 1,000*l.* to Barnard Hide of Little Ilford, Essex, 'all that great messuage and tenement and the wharff and key thereto adjoining, commonly called Gibson's Key, sometime in the occupation of Christopher Draper and William Wickens, and the two messuages to the same great messuage adjoining now or late in the occupation of Robert Burkett and Robert Nunn'.[4]

This is as far as I have been able to trace the history of Asselyn's Wharf. Draper seems to have been the last owner to live in the house, and probably it was divided up into several tenements. The garden and quay seem also to have been built over, for in Visscher's View of 1616 and in Hollar's View of 1647 the warehouses apparently come to the waterside, where Wyngaerde had shown an open space with a quay and crane. None of the old names survived, for though we find a Wigging's Key, which recalls Draper's successor William Wiggin or Wickens, it was a good bit farther west than Asselyn's Wharf. In Hollar's *Exact Surveigh* in 1667 the whole site of what had been Asselyn's Wharf seems to be occupied by Porter's Key, as it is also in Ogilby's Map a few years later. Stow had mentioned Porter's Key as coming next to Water Lane on the West. It was a recent construction, for when in 1629 one John Leman sold his wharf or parcell of ground with the crane thereupon in the parish of St. Dunstan in the East, sometimes called Greeneburies Key and now called Porter's Key, it was stated to have been lately encroached out of the river of Thames by John Porter, citizen and fishmonger of London, deceased.[5] Since Leman had acquired it of Porter's executor, it does not seem probable that the encroachment can have been made before the early part of the reign of Elizabeth. The

[1] *H. R.* 269 (78).

[2] *Id.*, 272 (5), and *Lond. Inq. p. m.*, iii, 172.

[3] *P. C. C.* 62 Kidd. Webbe left a piece of plate to his dear friend and brother Sir Henry Billingsley. His sister Lucy was mother of Archbishop Laud.

[4] *H. R.* 291 (34).

[5] *H. R.* 307 (2). A John Porter, grocer, of St. Augustine's by Paul's Gate made a nuncupative will in 1601 (*P. C. C.* 28 Bolein). I have not been able to trace the will of John Porter, fishmonger.

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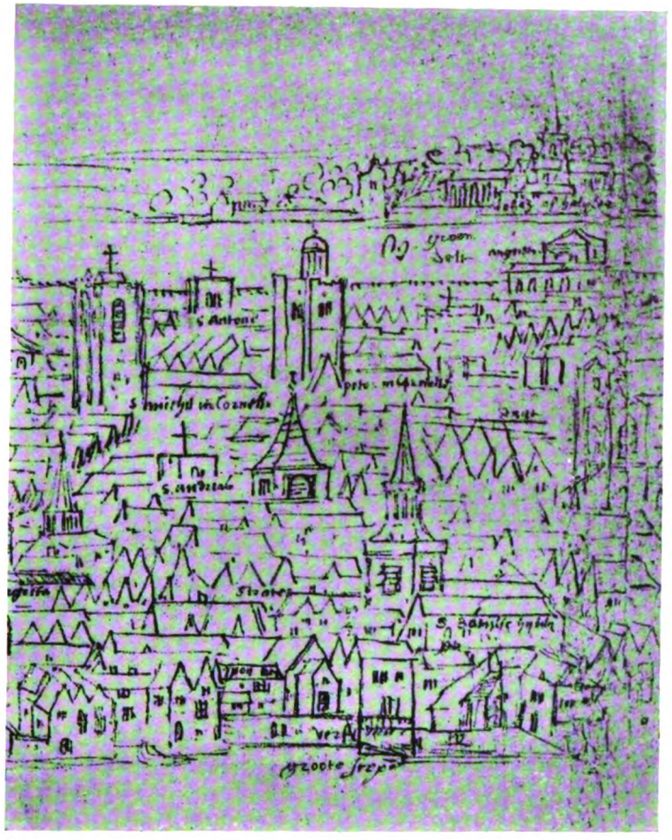


Fig. 1



Fig. 2

The Quays to the west of the Custom House: Fig. 1 from Wyngaerde, *c.* 1550; Fig. 2 from Hollar, 1647

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original Porter's Key was but a small affair, 44 ft. in length and 33 ft. in breadth. It is curious that the name of the later and lesser quay should have displaced that of the more ancient and important one. The site of Porter's Key and of Asselyn's Wharf is now absorbed in the Custom House.

The intrusion of Porter's Key has somewhat obscured the topography, and this is therefore the best point at which to deal with the position of Asselyn's Wharf. In early deeds the eastern boundary is always given as Water Lane, which I assume to mean the best-known lane of that name running down to the Thames on the west side of the Custom House.[1] Here therefore we have a definite point. But the western boundary is more uncertain. In 1382 it was given as the tenement and quay of Henry Cros. Afterwards it was usually described as the tenement of William Askham, but in the will of Stephen Browne as the tenement of Thomas Botiller sometime of William Askham.[2] Askham was a well-known citizen and fishmonger, who died in 1415. The point where Askham's Place and Asselyn's Wharf met can only be fixed conjecturally. It would, however, seem probable that in Stephen Browne's time Asselyn's Wharf had a frontage to Thames Street of about 130 ft., which corresponds roughly with the space occupied much later by Porter's Key.

The history of the quays on the Thames below Bridge is so complicated by their frequent changes of ownership and name that to have traced one of them for over 250 years is not without value. But the real interest of Asselyn's Wharf consists in the fact that we have a specification (if it may so be called) of the building which Willysdon contracted to set up, and a fairly complete account of the building as it actually existed eighty years later.

The resemblance between Willysdon's specification and the description of the house in Thomas Bledlowe's will was so striking that I felt sure they must relate to the same building before I had been able to establish their identity. Richard Willysdon[3] in 1384 bargained within ten years to pull down all the buildings then on the site and to rebuild with new timber using nothing of the old. The front against the high street (Thames Street) and for 40 ft. inward was to be of three stories, which were to be 12, 10, and 7 ft. in height respectively. Within he was to build above stage a chief dwelling-place, that is to wit a Hall, 40 ft. in length and 24 ft. in breadth, with a suitable parlour, kitchen, and buttery. On the rest of the site there were to be chambers and houses for merchandise, the latter being in part provided for by a condition that the Hall,

[1] This seems most probable. But the name was apparently applied also to other lanes leading from Thames Street to the river. Thus there was a Water Lane farther *west* than Askham's Place (*H. R.* 140 (34) and 142 (32)); but this was clearly different from the lane on the *east* of Browne's Place.

[2] See *Ancient Deeds*, A. 1797, and *H. R.* 172 (50).

[3] See p. 155, below.

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parlour, kitchen, buttery, and chambers were to be cellared underneath the ground to a depth of 7 ft.[1] We are informed that the Hall and other rooms were to be built above stage, and, as we shall see, the Hall when actually erected was approached from the Court by nine steps;[2] thus we get a total height for the undercroft of the hall of about 12 ft.[3] This corresponds with the height prescribed for the lowest storey towards the street, and that storey, as we subsequently learn, was vaulted and partly below the ground level.[4] Minor requirements were that the timbers should be of heart of oak only, with divisions, garnishing, and covering as sufficiently belong to such building. From this it appears that the house was a timbered structure resting on a vaulted undercroft of stone.

On the river side the wharf was to be enlarged towards the Thames 80 ft., and was to be constructed of Maidstone stone. I imagine the meaning to be that there was to be a clear space of 80 ft. between the river and the buildings. When in 1236 a wharf was built for the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's at Broken Wharf, it was ordered that every post on the whole breadth towards the Thames should be firmly joined to another, in accordance with the construction called in English 'Nedlyng'. The posts were to be 12 ft. in length from the foundation to the top of the wharf, with sufficient quays after the model of the wharf of John of Oxenford.[5] Since this appears to have been considered the best construction at the time, we may perhaps assume that the erection of a stone wharf was a comparatively recent innovation in the fourteenth century.

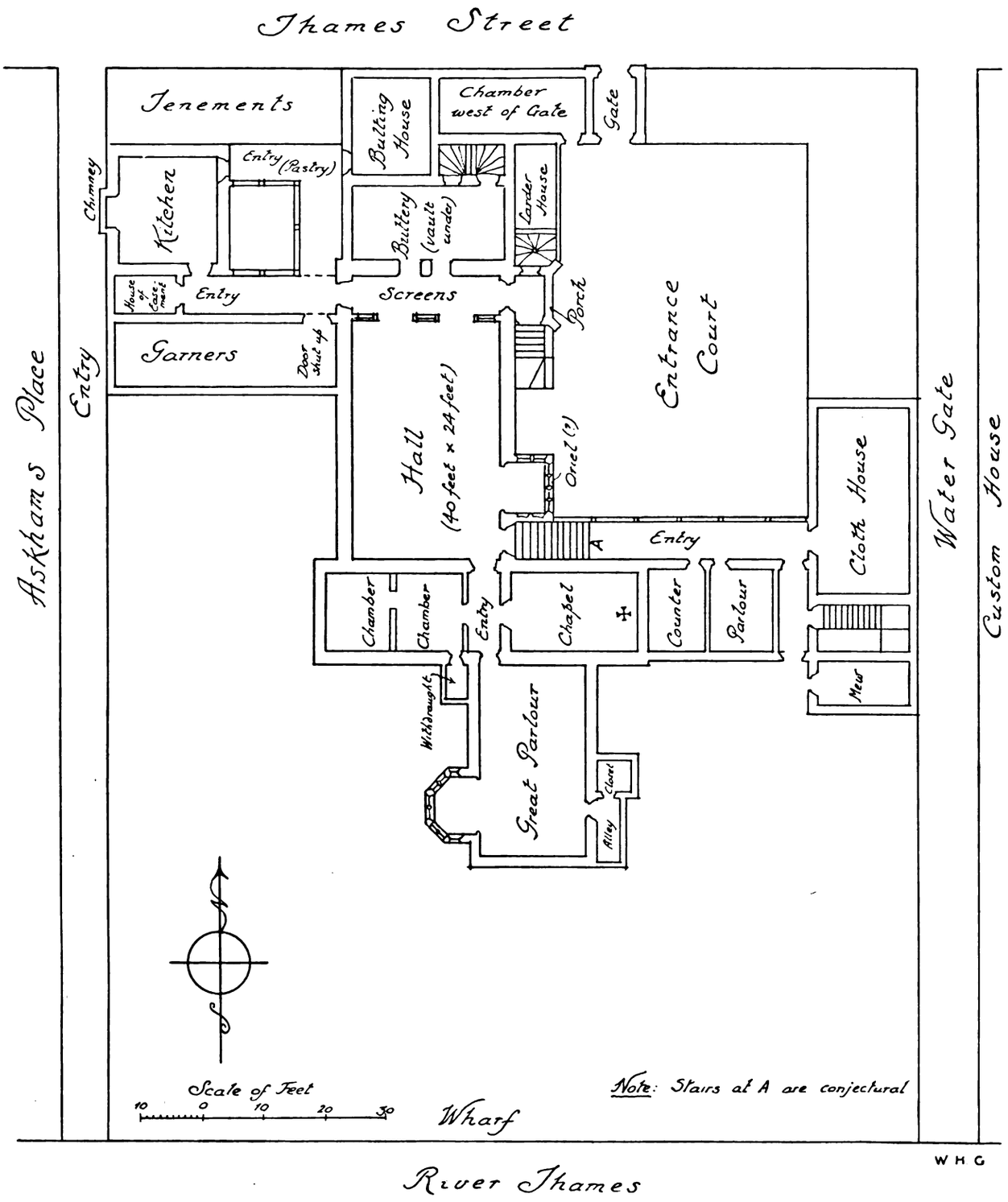
Willysdon's specification is of course only slight. But the building seems to have followed the usual plan in which the street frontage was occupied by subordinate tenements with a gate-house giving access to an inner Court, round which were grouped the Hall and other buildings. The Hall we may assume from the character of the site would have run north and south, with the parlour at its south end looking over the river. Thus the three principal dimensions given would have been on the same line with a combined length of 160 ft.; but since some allowance must be made for the parlour, we get a total

[1] See p. 155. [2] See p. 156.

[3] This was about the height of the undercroft at Crosby Hall. [4] See p. 150.

[5] *Royal Comm. on Hist. MSS.*, 9th Report, Appendix I, p. 18. It was provided: 'quod unaquequ postis per totam latitudinem predicte placee contra Thamisiam sit firmiter conjuncta cum alia et quod sit longitudinis a firmamento terre usque ad summitatem wharfi duodecim pedum, que quidem constructio vocatur Anglice "Nedlyng", cum bonis kaiis et sufficientibus ad hoc pertinentibus ad modum Wharfi Johannis de Oxenford.' This was presumably Paul's Wharf, which was, however, somewhat farther west than Broken Wharf. In 1430 the Dean and Chapter obtained a lease of an adjacent deserted wharf which belonged to the City, with a view to the wharves being rebuilt. *Letter Book K*, p. 120.

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Browne's Place in 1463.

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of about 180 ft., which agrees sufficiently well with the distance from Thames Street to the river. There is mention of a cartway, which was perhaps a passage on the west side of the site to give access to the wharf.

The documents providing for the dowers of Agnes Pekham and Anneys Bledlowe were, as has been stated, in almost identical terms. The rooms assigned begin with a garret over the Great Gate and the tenements on the west side of it. Underneath the east part of this garret was a chamber which adjoined the Bulting-house, from which an entry called a Pastry led westwards to the kitchen. The kitchen was apparently on the west side of a yard, the south side of which was occupied by the Garners. We know that in Sir Christopher Draper's time the kitchen chimney was in the west wall, abutting on what was then a public passage.[1] At the north end of the Hall was the Buttery over a vaulted cellar, with a stair leading down to it. Near the Gate there was another door to the vault. Thus we see that all this part of the building was vaulted, and get the three stories of Willysdon's specification, viz. the vault 12 ft. high, the chamber, and the garrets. Part of the vaulted basement towards the street was let out in tenements, whilst the arch of the gateway must have reached to the top of the second floor.

The Hall had a porch at its east door, to which there was access by nine steps; it will be remembered that in Willysdon's specification it was provided that the Hall was to be above stage, and as I then pointed out we thus get a height for the undercroft of about 12 ft. From the south end of the Hall a passage led past two chambers and a withdraught to the Great Parlour, from the bay-window of which there was a pleasant prospect over the garden and wharf with its seat to the river and the green hills beyond. Thus the Hall would have formed the west side of the Court, on the south side of which were the Chapel, a counting-house, and another parlour, to which there was access by a passage leading from the south end of the Hall. At the east end of this passage was the Cloth-House door, where another passage led south to the wharf, and to a staircase going up to three garrets over the second parlour and the passages. Beside this staircase there was a little mew to keep poultry in. The Cloth-House must have formed part of the east side of the Court. Of the buildings north of the Cloth-House and east of the Great Gate we have no description. Besides the three garrets just mentioned there were three other garrets over the Great Parlour and adjoining chambers. There was also an upper Chamber over the Buttery. Otherwise we have no mention of rooms on an upper floor. There is no evidence whether the Cloth-House and the adjoining buildings on the south of the Court had undercrofts or not.

[1] See pp. 144–5.

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If there was no undercroft in this part there must have been a small flight of steps leading up to the Hall at the end of the passage from the Cloth-House.[1] If there was an undercroft, then there must have been steps from the wharf outside the door of the entry to the Cloth-House. The former alternative is perhaps preferable, since in that case there would have been a passage on the level from the wharf to the Court and Cloth-House. Among minor features to which we have reference are the bay-windows, probably in the Hall and Great Parlour. On the wharf there were a crane, a sege (or seat), and a water-house.

Of the general character of the house it was not difficult to form a good idea from the description in the deeds of 1463 and 1478. But for the working out of the plan in detail I am indebted to our Fellow Mr. W. H. Godfrey. Some points are necessarily conjectural, and it must be remembered that we have no dimensions other than the rather elementary ones contained in Willysdon's specification. But the result has, I think, given us in its broad features a correct and probably unique example of the ground plan of a London merchant's house in the fifteenth century. The arrangement of the rooms as described in 1463 taken with the dimensions given by Willysdon practically governs the size of the Court, which would have been about 60 ft. by 40 ft.; this as it happens is the approximate size of the Fore Court at Crosby Hall. It has been assumed that on the east the buildings extended to Water Lane. In Willysdon's lease there is mention of the cartway, and in 1463 there is reference to the entry leading from the king's highway called Thames Street to the wharf. In 1566 we know that on the west side of Draper's house there was a public passage on which he was allowed to encroach for the enlargement of his kitchen chimney. I conjecture that this passage was the same as the ancient cartway or entry. The plan as drawn gives a frontage to Thames Street of about 130 ft.; it may possibly have been a little more, it cannot well have been less. The depth of the site, as already explained, has been taken as about 180 ft. The description of the house in 1463 suggests a somewhat more spacious building than is indicated in Willysdon's specification. It is possible that Stephen Browne had enlarged and improved the house. The Great Parlour may very well have been an addition projecting on to the original wharf, which was to be 80 ft. deep.

Browne's Place will compare not unfavourably with such famous houses as The Coldharbour, Pountney's Inn, or Crosby Hall, though it was not like them on too sumptuous a scale to remain a merchant's dwelling-place. It was perhaps of somewhat exceptional size and importance, though for its main features parallels can be found in such information as we possess about other

[1] Stairs are shown conjecturally at this point on the plan. Owing to the fall of the ground more than nine steps would be required here.

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merchants' houses. The courtyard plan was usual even in smaller houses, and in the larger ones at all events the street frontage with the exception of the gate house was commonly occupied by subordinate tenements. Thus in the fourteenth century William de Farryngdon had a great hostel in St. Sepulchre with ten shops in an alley near the gate.[1] The Green Gate near Leadenhall is described in 1391 as a tenement with nine shops in Cornhill, and Philip Malpas, who owned it sixty years later, describes it as his great place in Lime Street and Cornhill.[2] Probably it had entries in both streets leading to one or more interior courts. The Cornhill frontage was fairly extensive, but except for the gate house was apparently occupied by shops. The site of the Green Gate forms part of the area lately acquired for the new buildings of Lloyds. Like Browne's Place the Green Gate was always a merchant's house, and at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign was the residence of Christopher Draper's friend Daniel Woodroffe. The arrangement of the house round a courtyard with entries from two sides is well illustrated by The Pope's Head, which extended right through from Lombard Street to Cornhill and had gates both north and south; the entries and Court survived till quite recently in Pope's Head Alley. The Pope's Head had been the residence of Gregory Rokesley in the reign of Edward I. Afterwards it became the London house of the Florentine merchants, the Bardi. On their fall it was granted to William de la Pole, and thus became the Inn of the Earls of Suffolk. Then it reverted to its use as a merchant's house, and after division part became a tavern.[3] Another instance of a house running through from one street to another is furnished by the capital mansion of Sir John Brugge, who was mayor in 1521. He describes it as 'my mancyon place which of late I have new rebuylded' and now dwell in in the parish of St. Nicholas Acon in Candlewick Street. It was no doubt the 'hedd-house' in St. Nicholas Lane with tenements in St. Clement's Lane, which with the solars and garden ground thereto belonging he left to his son Giles; Brugge mentions also the Hall, the parlour, the gylte chamber, and his own chamber.[4] The description indicates that it extended from Nicholas Lane to St. Clement's Lane. Since it was in Candlewick Street Ward it must have been on the east side of Nicholas Lane towards the south end. A much smaller place was the Swan on the Hope in Friday Street, which in 1454 belonged to William Elsham; but since it included two tenements on the south side of the great gate of the Inn, we may conclude that it was of a courtyard type. The Swan backed east on the tenement of Sir John Burford, knight, and

[1] *L. T. R.* (Foreign Accounts) 22 Richard II. Farryngdon's date was of course much earlier.
[2] See *London Topographical Record*, x, pp. 131–3.
[3] *Ibid.*, xi. 70–73.
[4] *P. C. C.* 21 Jankyn.

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was bounded north by the tenement of William Worcester, presumably the Annalist.[1]

In such houses as these just described the Hall would usually have occupied one side of the Court. Browne's Place is one of the few instances in which we know the dimensions (40 ft. by 24 ft.). The Hall at Crosby Place was much larger (50 ft. by 27 ft.), and that at Bacon House very much smaller (28 ft. by 17 ft.). Crosby Place was of course exceptional, and even at Browne's Place the Hall was probably of more than average size. The Hall at Browne's Place seems to have been a timbered building on a stone vaulted base;[2] the undercroft for use as a store was a usual feature, of which we have well-known instances in the undercrofts of Gisors Hall and Pountney's Inn.[3] In some London houses, no doubt for economy of space, the Hall may have had rooms over it,[4] but at Browne's Place the Hall, as was more usual, had probably an open roof. The Parlour would of course have been at the far end of the Hall, where it would have had its windows towards a small garden. Gardens within the City must have usually been very small; that at Bacon House was in its extreme dimensions only 69 ft. by 44 ft., and the riverside garden at the Coldharbour was perhaps not much more than double this size.[5] Probably few Parlours would have had such a pleasant outlook as the Great Parlour at Browne's Place.

The Chapel at Browne's Place was perhaps of some architectural pretension; there does not seem to have been any building over it, and there is mention of the leads above the Chapel. Chapels were not uncommon in the larger houses of London merchants. In 1418 Richard Elton, a draper of St. Swithun's parish, left that church the vestments of the chapel in his mansion, with his missal, chalice, silver paxbrede, corporas and silver bell, together with a relic of a piece of the Cross set in gold with divers stones and pearls.[6] In 1430 William Estfeld had licence to build a halpace for a chapel outside his house near the Guildhall.[7] Sir William Taylor, who was mayor in 1468–69 and died in 1483, bequeathed to a cousin the ornaments of the chapel at his dwelling-place in Aldermary parish, namely mass-book, chalice, vestment embroidered with his arms, the front, counterfront, and curtains of the altar, the 'founte with the ympnes therin', and a primer covered with velvet.[8]

[1] Will ap. *Commissary of London*, Sharp, f. 143.

[2] This resembles Gisors Hall, which Parker (*Domestic Architecture*, ii, 186) conjectured to have been built of timber with ends of stone, with an entrance by a flight of steps.

[3] See illustrations in *London Topographical Record*, x, 128, and *Archaeologia*, lvii, Plate xxxiv.

[4] As was the case at the Coldharbour in 1486.

[5] *Archaeologia*, lxxi, pp. 23, 27, 33. The garden at the Steelyard was about 200 feet long, but very narrow.

[6] *P. C. C.* 43 Moone.

[7] *Letter Book L*, p. 108.

[8] *P. C. C.* 10 Logge. The font may have been of lead with an image to spout the water. Other

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Of minor descriptions of merchants' houses, one of the best that I have found is that of Robert Byfeld, who in 1481 directed by his will that his widow should have her dwelling in his mansion on the west side of the upper part of Water Lane,[1] and appointed for her separate use 'my chief chamber called the Great Chamber against the garden, and the withdraught and Chapell Chamber thereto adjoining, with her easement in the Hall, parlour, botrye, kitchen, and celer, and in the garden for herbes therein to be had and taken as well to walk there for her consolation and pleasure at all times'.[2] This suggests a house not dissimilar in its general plan to Browne's Place; the Great Chamber overlooking the garden would have been at the west end of the Hall, and the Chapel in close proximity, whilst the kitchen and offices would, as at Browne's Place, have been towards the street.

Though for various details parallels can thus be found, in no other instance, so far as I am aware, have we so complete a picture of the London merchant's house that was both his dwelling and his place of business as that afforded by Browne's Place. The house itself was on a scale proportionate to the Hall, which was of no mean size. In the cellars beneath the Hall and principal rooms there was ample storage for merchandise. In addition there were the Garners and the Cloth-House, both, as it would appear, considerable buildings. The Garners remind us that Stephen Browne was a great corn-dealer, and the Cloth-House suggests that he was engaged in various forms of trade. Both Garners and Cloth-House were conveniently placed for the wharf, which was for the time spacious. The 'Counter' had easy access both to the wharf and the Cloth-House, and we may perhaps conjecture that the adjoining parlour formed Browne's own office.

Even a partial restoration of the plan of any London merchant's house in the fifteenth century would be of interest. It is a fortunate chance that we should have so complete an account of a house which was clearly of exceptional importance. The long list of its owners and occupants includes some noteworthy names, and even in its last days the house was of sufficient dignity for Sir Christopher Draper to keep his mayoralty therein.

instances are those of Sir Edmund Mulso, who in 1458 left the furniture of his chapel to St. Michael Paternoster (*P. C. C.* 24 Stokton), of Sir Thomas Cooke, who was mayor in 1462, and makes mention of his chapel in his will in 1478 (*P. C. C.* 36 Wattys), and of Thomas Bodley, who in 1491 bequeathed his mass-book and the apparel of his altar (*P. C. C.* 27 Dogett). This last may have been a portable altar. The bequest by Dame Alice Steward in 1456 of a silver cross, two silver candlesticks, two silver cruets, a silver gilt bell, silver paxbrede, and vestment of blue velvet to the high altar at St. Leonard Eastcheap probably represents the furniture of her private altar or chapel (*P. C. C.* 24 Stokton). At a much earlier date in 1300 there is mention of the chapel of Henry le Galeys or Waleys, the famous mayor of Edward I's time (*Calendar of Mayor's Court Rolls*, p. 82).

[1] It was in St. Dunstan's parish.

[2] *P. C. C.* 5 Logge.

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APPENDIX

1. RICHARD WILLYSDON'S LEASE, 1384.

THIS comes from *Ancient Deeds*, A. 1779 at the Public Record Office. It is a Memorandum drawn up some time in the early part of the fifteenth century giving an abstract in English of the original lease made on 30th April 1384, which was probably in Latin.

'Memorandum that John Chirteseye of the Schyr of Hertford, Gentilman, made astat bi dede endentid vnto Richard Willysdon and to Anneys hys wyf of all hys wharff callyd Pakemannys wharf with all the land and tenementys and portenances in the parisch of Seynt Dunstonys in the Este in London: And to holde vnto the seyd Richard Willysdon and Anneys hys wyf to ther eyrys and ther assynes ffrom the date of seyd Endentur vnto the ende of C. 3er, the wych date of the seyd Endentur was in the feste of seynt Archenwolde the 3er of Kyng Ric. the ijde the vijth: Beryng vnto the seyd John Chirtheseye, his eyres and to his assynes xij*li.* of lawfull money duryng the seyd terme: Also beryng to Seynt Mari Overey and to socage all the charge that to thechm 3erli of the seyd soyle bylongyth: Also beryng almaner of certeyn and casuell charges, as a3en holy chyrch and to the Kyng that ys or schall long vnto the seyd land and tenement duryng the seyd terme. Also Ric. Wyllysdon shall vp on hys owne proper costes wythyn x 3er next folowyng affter the date of the seyde Endentur enlarge, strecchyng in the Themes ward, the seyd wharfe iiij^{xx} fote of assise and wall all only of Maydenston stone: Also the seyd Ric. Wyllesdon schall w^{t}yn the terme of the seyd x 3er to take doun all maner of hosyng at the tyme of the seyd lese beryng vp on all the seyd soyl, and byld all the soyle all only wyth new tymbre, puttyng to nothyng of the olde tymbre: And that to be performyd yn the forme after wrytten: That ys to wytten: All the ffrounte of the seyde soyle a3enst the hye Strete and xl fote ynward of Storyes of heygh, the fyrst story of xij fote of heygh, te ij of x fote, te thyrd of vij fote, propossonyd of sufficient tymbre, all only of herte of oke, as sufficientyly longyth to sych maner of Byldyng, wyth all maner of dividyng, garnyssyng and coueryng that schuld long to the seyd Bildyng. Also the seyd Ric. Wyllesdon schall withynne the seyd terme of x 3er do byld vpon the seyd soyle inwarde a chef dwellyng place above stage, that ys to wyte a hall of xl fote of lengyth and xxiiij fote of brede, a parlour, kychyn and boterye as to sych a hall schulde long. And the remenaunt of the soyle, accept the Cartway and the seyd wharf of iiij^{xx} fote, to do byld chambrys and hovses for the merchaundyse sufficiently, forseyng that as well undyr the seyd hall, parlour and kechyn, botery and all the seyd Chambre be selered vndirnethe the grunde vij fote in heygh, and all the seyd Byldyng to be donn be the seyd John Chirtheseye (*sic*) or hys assign. And 3if caas be that the seyd byldyng or any part therof be not holly performyd in the maner aforeseyd by the ende of the seyde x 3er, then schall hit be lefull vnto the seyd John Chirtheseye, hys executours and hys assygnes and to the seyd soyle w^{t} all portenaunces to reentre, and the seyd Ric. Wyllysdon, his executours and hys assignes, holli to put owte for euermore, thys Endenture no3th w^{t}standyng. Also in the same Endentur a clause of destresse, 3yf the Rent be by hynde a moneth of eny vsual day of payment: and 3yf that be bi hynde iij monethys to reentre &c.: Also 3yf dew Reparacion be no3th don w^{t} lefull warnyng had be seyd lessour or his assygnes, w^{t}yn xl dayes after warnyng to holly reentre &c.'

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2. THE DOWER FOR AGNES PEKHAM, 1463.

As explained above, the terms of the deed by which, on 20th Dec. 1463, Stephen Browne's executors made provision of dower for his daughter-in-law are almost identical with those of Thomas Bledlowe's will assigning part of the house to his widow. As the former is the more ancient and contains a little more than the latter it is given here, with the addition of some variants from the Will (referred to as B.). The Deed is contained in *Hustings Roll*, 196 (10) at the Guildhall. Thomas Bledlowe's Will is in *P. C. C.* 33 Wattys; the record of Probate refers to an Inventory, which may possibly still exist.

'This Indenture made betwene John Tate, Alderman and Citezein and mercer of the Cite of London, John Maldon, grocer, Steven Stychemersshe, mercer, and Thomas Bledlowe, grocer, Citezeins of the same Citee, executours of the testement of Steven Brown, late Citezein and Grocer and Alderman of the said Citee on that one partie, and Piers Pekham, gentilman, and Agnes his Wyf, late the wyf of John Brown son and heir of the said Steven Brown, on that other partie, Witnesseth: that where the said Agnes is endowable amonge other londes and tenementes of all that grete mese late called Brownes place with all the Grounde, Wharff and Crane adioynyng and belongyng therto, called Brownes Key, with all the grounde called the entre ledyng from the Kynges hygh wey called Thamystrete vnto the said Wharff, with the appurtenauntes, sette and lyeng in the parissh of Seint Dunstanes in the Est of London: of whiche mees, Wharff, Crane and grounde the said John Tate, John Maldon, Steven Stychemersshe and Thomas Bledlowe by the agrement and assent of the said Piers and Agnes haue assigned vnto the said Piers and Agnes as for her dower and in allowaunce of alle her dower to her belongyng of the said Mees, Wharff, Crane and grounde with thappurtenauntes, all such parcels therof as ensue:[1] that is to seye the grete Garet or colehouse sett ouir the grete gate towards Thamystrete and ouir ij Tenauntries by the same strete side sette on the west syde of the same grete gate: Also a Chambre vndirnethe the Est partie of the same garet, and a Bultynghous adioynyng to the same Chambre: Also an entre called a pastre house, ledyng Estwardes from a Kechyn of the said Mees to the same Bultynghouse, and from the same Bultynghouse ——[2] fote southwardes towards the Garners there vnto a dore ther now shut vp: Also the same Kechyn with an Entree ledyng from the same Kechyn to the Halle of the said mees, with an hous of Easement sette in the West side of the same entre: Also a Seler vawted, atte Northende of the same Halle, with a Shedde withoute the Este dore of the same Celer called a larderhouse, adioynyng to the same Celer, strecchyng northwardes to the dore of the vaute ther next to the sayd gate: Also the Botery ouir the seid Celer with the steir ledyng from the same Botery doune to the same Celer: Also the same Halle with the Porche at the Est dore of the same Halle and the ledes ouir the same Porche and a steire with ix steppys ledyng to the same Porche: Also a Chambre atte the Northende of the same Halle ouir the saide Botery with a steir ledyng therto: Also an Entre ledyng from the south ende of the same Halle southwardes vnto a grete Parlour and the same Grete Parlour: And also a Closett with a litell Aley therby to draw water in, sett at the south ende of the same grete Parlour: Also ij Chambres and a withdraught on the west side of the same entre ledyng to the saide Parlour, sett betwix the saide Halle and the same Parlour, with iij Chambres otherwise called Garettes sett ouir the same ij Chambres, withdraught and Grete Parlour: Also a Chapell sett on the Est side of the same Entre with the ledes ouir the same Chapell: Also anothir Entre ledyng from the south ende of the same Halle Estwardes vnto a house called the Cloth-house, with a

[1] The first part is, of course, peculiar to the Deed.

[2] Blank in both originals.

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Closett called a Countir sett on the south side of the same entre, with the ledes ouir the same closett: Also a Parlour sett on the south side of the same entre: Also the same Cloth-house: Also an other entre ledyng from the dore of the same Cloth-hous southwardes vnto a steir ledyng vp vnto iij garettes ouir the same ij Entres and Parlour, with the same steir and iij garettes: And also the ledes ouir alle the Baywyndowes with all othir manner ledes aboue any of the saide housyng and garettes aboue assigned: Also a litell Mewe for pultry, sette on the south side of the same steir with the ledes ouir the same Mewe: Also a grete seler vnder the seid Halle with a little house adioynyng therto on the est side of the same grete Celer:[1] Also a little hous vnder the steir wherby the goyng vp is in to the Halle: Also the thridde partie of all the grounde called the Wharff and Crane, and the thridde part of a Sege sette vpon the seid Wharff, and the thridde part of an house called a Waterhouse, sette vpon the same grounde and wharff, with the thridde parte of all maner Wharffage, Cranage and other proffites whiche shall come, grow or be taken of the same grounde called the Wharff and Crane or by encheson of them or any of them:[2] To have and to hold all the said garettes, Chambres, entrees and othir premisses vnto the seid Piers and Agnes assigned as is aboueseid vnto the same Piers and Agnes as the dower of the same Agnes, and in allowaunce of the same of alle the seid grete Mese, Wharff, Crane and grounde called the Entre ledyng to the same Wharff, with the appurtenauntes, whiche the seid Piers and Agnes now occupieth. In witness wherof &c.'

Discussion.

Lord Crawford had been fascinated by the story of successful merchants connected with the riverside property, and admired the industry and ingenuity of the author in piecing the scraps of evidence together. The transaction involving 1,000 quarters of wheat from three counties was an unusual one, as the quantity was sufficient to feed 30,000 people for a month; special permission must have been required and no doubt granted on public grounds. He noticed that the residential side of the building was more important than the commercial, and thought that access to the business part from the wharf was anything but convenient. Water Lane was a poor thoroughfare, but might have been wider in those days. The house was certainly distinguished and laid out on a noble scale, with good southern parlour; but London houses of the period cannot have been pleasant to live in, however attractive outside. Anything of the fifteenth century made a distinct appeal, and in every craft but book production that century surpassed the twentieth. His only regret was that Mr. Kingsford had not been able to find more about the furniture and domestic life in the house; and he hoped that side of the subject would be taken up on another occasion.

Mr. Clapham remarked that the house contained a private chapel of some importance, and such accommodation was rather uncommon in any but episcopal houses. A merchant's house in medieval London might be compared with existing halls of the Livery companies, only two of which ever had chapels on the premises—the Mercers and Merchant Taylors. In

[1] B. *omits this clause.*

[2] B. *omits the whole of this clause and concludes as follows:*

'Togidre with fre entre and issue, goyng and comyng, passage and repassage from Thamys strete afore saide, by and thurgh the saide grete gate and grounds theire vnto all the saide parcelles and every of thaim, and from thens doon to the wharf and watirside their att all tymes, with her resonable easment of the same. The saide Anneys my wife alwey bering and duly supportyng the necessary reparacions of all the parcelles aforesaide while she shalle so haue and holde thaim.'

If Anneys willed to leave the said parcels she was to have 20 marks a year out of the messuage, key, and wharf.

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the case of a private house the permission of the Diocesan was no doubt necessary: was any grant of a licence recorded?

Mr. JOHNSON argued that private chapels could not have been rare between 1260 and 1400, as a fair number of licences for portable altars was on record. Similar grants could probably be found in the Bishop's registers.

Mr. QUARRELL noticed a resemblance in plan between the house described by Mr. Kingsford and the largest sets of offices on the south side of Thames Street. Modern buildings had been erected much on the same lines as those destroyed in the Great Fire; and in one case the only difference was that the staircase was on the north instead of the south side of the building.

Mr. KINGSFORD agreed in reply as to the permanence of plans, old buildings being often found stamped on the lay-out of later ones. It was unfortunate that where the contents of houses had been recorded, the plan was often missing, and vice versa. Four instances of a chapel in a private house were referred to in his paper, and he had come across others. Licences for altars were not difficult to obtain if the applicant could make himself appear of importance; in the fifteenth century one applicant claimed that he was Lord of Lyons Inn. The importation of corn was during the famine of 1439, when Stephen Browne was mayor for the first time, and undertook to supply the citizens: on one occasion he obtained supplies from Surrey, Yorks., and Lincs., both by land and sea. Browne was by craft a grocer, but had both a granary and a cloth house. The plan showed only the first floor, and practically all of it was built over vaults, so that there was abundance of storage space.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Giuseppi) congratulated the author on finding so much material relating to the site, which had a connected history of 250 years; and if there was any more to find, it would soon be brought to light. It was a pleasure to return the Society's thanks for a paper of unusual interest to Londoners.

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VII.—*When did the Beaker-folk arrive?*

By V. Gordon Childe, *Esq., B.Litt.*

Read 27th March 1924.

The publication of the first volume of Sir Arthur Evans' *Palace of Minos* marks the beginning of a new era in the prehistory, not only of the Aegean, but of Europe as a whole. In the light of the new material there published and the precise dating of the old, it becomes possible to invest with an absolute value the relative chronology established for parts of central Europe as a result of the patient labours of Professor Vassits of Belgrade, the late Notary Palliardi of Moravské Budejovice, Dr. Seger of Breslau, and other workers during the last ten years. Thus chronology, the indispensable pre-condition for drawing historical conclusions from archaeological material, is on its way to finding a sure footing. The present paper represents an attempt to apply these results to our own country by giving precision to the date of the arrival of the Beaker-folk.

I must indeed confess that points of contact between Britain and the Aegean have not been materially augmented. But the case is different with central Europe, and connexions between that area and the British Isles are multiplying every day. Now during the late Stone and early Bronze Ages central Europe—that is the area between the Alpine zone on the west and the Carpathian ranges and central Russian forests on the east—may be divided into two main archaeological provinces, (i) a Danubian, extending from Serbia and Bosnia right up into Germany to a line running roughly from Glogau in Silesia through Magdeburg and Brunswick to Cologne, and (ii) a Nordic, embracing most of the territory lying to the north of that line, north Germany, Holland, and Scandinavia (fig. 1). Britain belongs mainly to the latter, but it is only in the Danubian province that early direct connexions with the Aegean are clearly traceable. It is therefore necessary to correlate the periods of culture distinguished for the Nordic province with those newly established for the Danube lands. As the latter are not yet familiar to English readers, it may be convenient to summarize them here.

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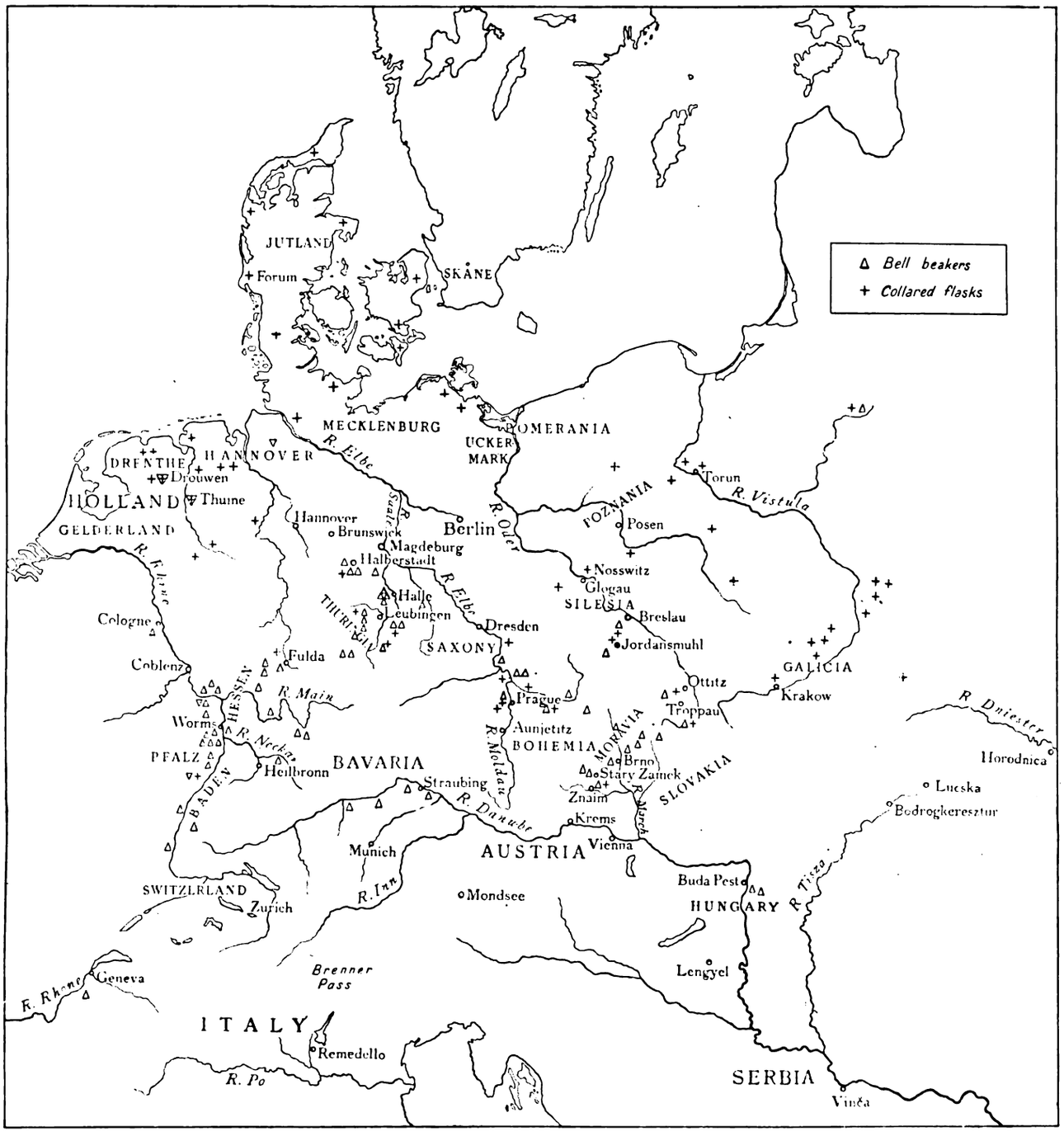


Fig. 1. Map of central Europe showing the principal prehistoric sites.

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The Sequence of Cultures in the Danubian Province.

For three areas in province i, Serbia (Vinča) (1),[1] Moravia (2), and Silesia (3), stratigraphical observations have established an almost identical sequence of neolithic and chalcolithic cultures. Czech archaeologists are agreed on

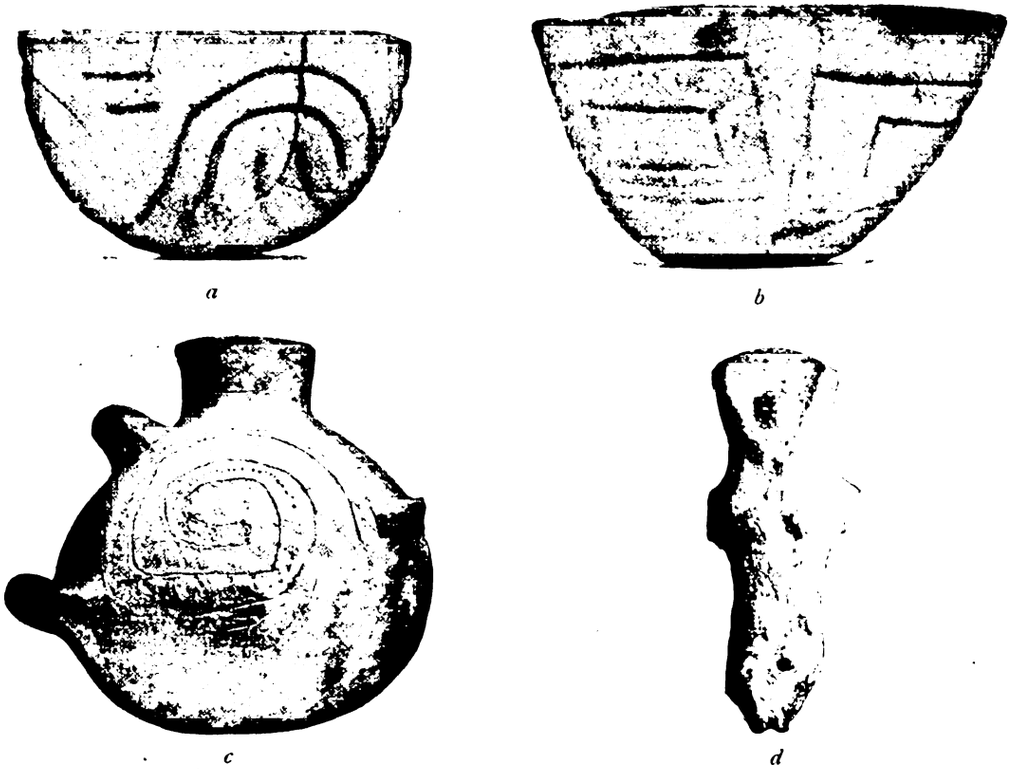


Fig. 2. Danubian I a ; *a* and *b* ($\frac{3}{5}$), Moravia (after Palliardi) ; *c* ($\frac{1}{5}$) Thuringia (after *S. T. J.*) ; *d* ($\frac{3}{4}$) Vinča (after Vassits, *B. S. A.* xiv).

a similar sequence for Bohemia,[2] and there is now some direct evidence that it holds good also for the Saale-Elbe region.[3]

Danubian I is characterized by grey pottery ornamented with incised designs of spirals and meanders, female figurines (fig. 2), shoe-last celts sometimes vertically bored, disc-shaped mace-heads, and ornaments of *Spondylos* shell (fig. 3). In Moravia and Bohemia this period can with the help of the pottery be further subdivided into an older phase with gourd-vases and curvilinear

[1] For an explanation of these numbers see List of Abbreviations at the end of this paper.
[2] *W. P. Z.*, i, pp. 24 f. (E. Šimek ; A. Stocký, *La Bohême à l'âge de la pierre*, 1924).
[3] Niklasson in *Mannus*, xi–xii, pp. 322 ff., *ibid.*, 1922, p. 54.

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decoration, and a later with rather angular forms ornamented with rectilinear patterns of broken lines of short, shallow strokes (Hinkelstein style) (fig. 4). Both these styles are also known in Silesia, Saxony, and on the Rhine, but in the last area they occur in the reverse chronological order,[1] a fact which suggests that the Danubian culture reached the Rhineland at a relatively late absolute date.

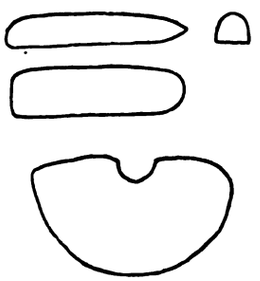


Fig. 3. Danubian I; shoe-last celt and disc-shaped mace-head (broken) (after Palliardi). ($\frac{1}{3}$)

Danubian II is marked by black or grey pottery of the shapes shown in fig. 5, either plain or decorated with small knobs. In the more southerly part of the province—Serbia, Hungary, and Moravia—we find in addition a sort of painting with crusted designs in red, white, and/or yellow colours, applied after the burning and polishing of the vase. The associated finds include, in addition to shoe-last celts, small triangular celts often of jadeite, and heart-shaped perforated axes, clay figurines of superior technique, and clay ladles with socketed handles (fig. 5 *e*). Hungarian obsidian occurs at many sites of this culture, but Palliardi's



Fig. 4. Danubian I b pottery, Silesia (after Seger). ($\frac{1}{3}$)

observations in Moravia indicate that obsidian belonged to its older phase only. The occurrence of this volcanic glass shows that this culture came from Hungary, where it is represented by the cemeteries of Lengyel[2] and Bodrogkeresztur, and perhaps also of Lucska.[3] In Silesia the older phase with obsidian is represented at Ottitz, the later by the celebrated settlement and graves of Jordansmühl. In Bohemia and Saxony this culture is associated with cremated interments, elsewhere with contracted skeletons in earth-graves.

[1] Köhl in *Mannus*, iv, p. 61; cf. the ingenious explanation offered by Schliz, *P. Z.*, ii, pp. 142 ff.
[2] Wosinsky, *Das prähistorische Schanzwerk von Lengyel.*
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 216. Pulszky, *Die Kupferzeit in Ungarn*, pp. 34 f. Cf. *W. P. Z.* x, p. 6.

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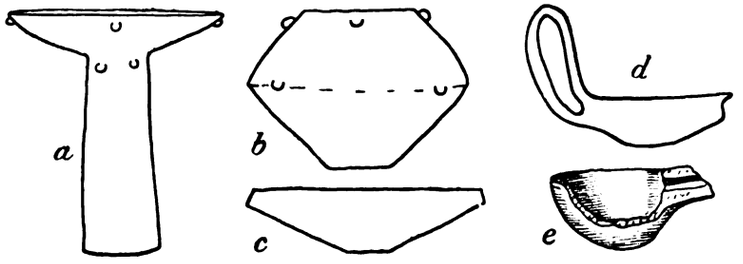


Fig. 5. Danubian II pottery, Lengyel, Hungary (after Wosinsky). (*a* and *c* $\frac{1}{12}$; *b* and *d* $\frac{1}{8}$; *e* $\frac{1}{3}$)



Fig. 6. Marschwitz pottery, Silesia (after Seger). (*a* $\frac{1}{4}$; *b-e* $\frac{1}{3}$)

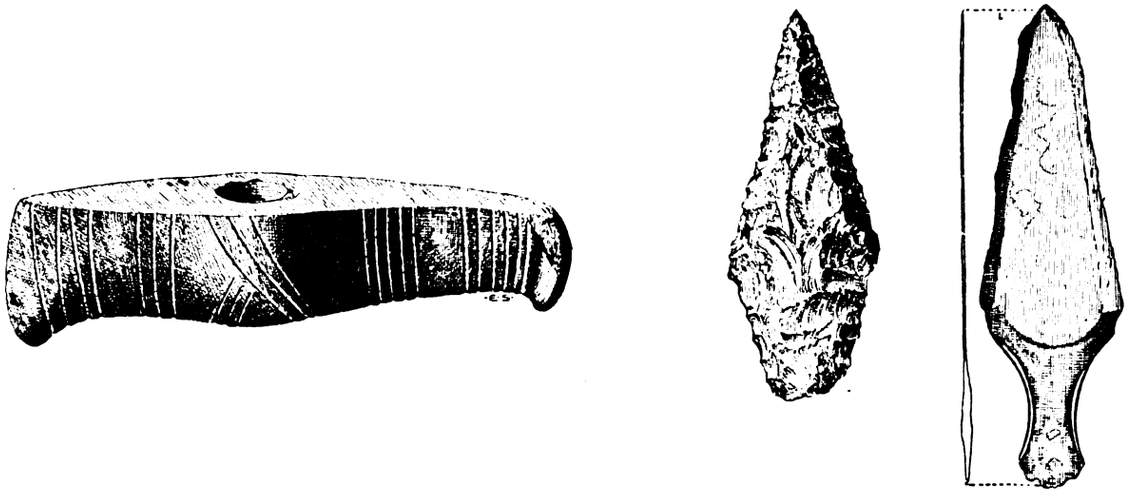


Fig. 7. Danubian III c; battle-axe and flint dagger from Marschwitz graves, Silesia; copper dagger of West European type from bell-beaker grave, Bohemia (after Seger and Schránil). ($\frac{1}{2}$)

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With the end of Danubian II the unity of the province breaks up. Foreign elements intrude into Moravia, represented first by the so-called 'Nordic' pottery (fig. 9), with perhaps an admixture of Alpine types, and then by corded ware (fig. 12); but the arrival of the Iberian bell-beaker (fig. 11) once more restores unity to that part of the province lying to the north of the Danube. These vessels are found almost exclusively in flat-graves, and are often accompanied by the Ciempozuelos dagger and bracers. North of the Brunswick-Magdeburg line such graves are not found. Since the beakers are relatively rare and occur only in isolated graves, not in extensive necropoleis, the invaders who brought

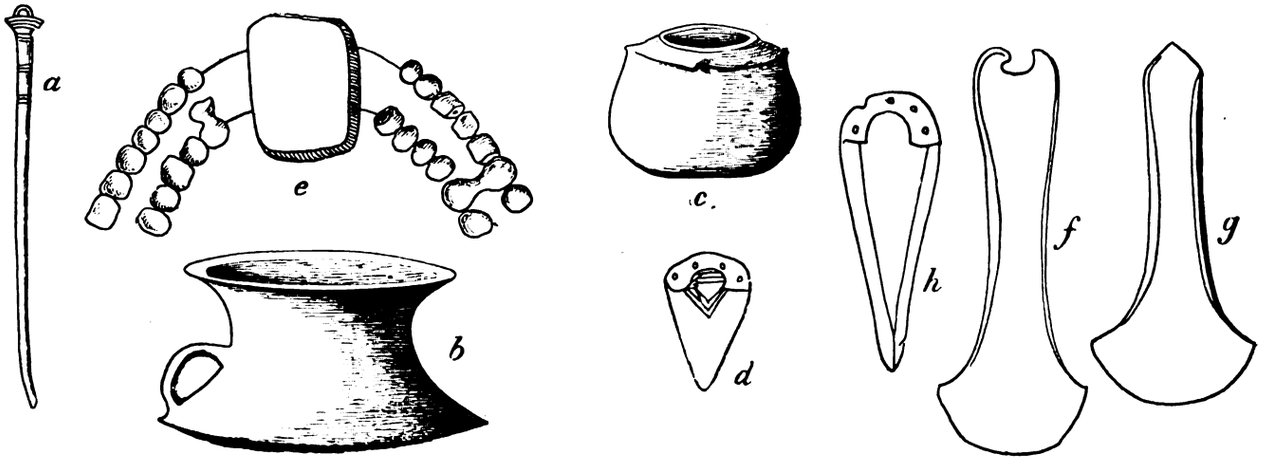


Fig. 8. Aunjetitz types, Bohemia; *a-e* from graves; *f-h* from depots (after Richly and Schránil). (*a* and *e* $\frac{1}{4}$; *b* $\frac{2}{9}$; *c*, *d*, *f-h* $\frac{1}{5}$)

them must have been few and their passage would not require any long interval of time. Accordingly the bell-beaker culture may be regarded as synchronous throughout its area of diffusion within the province. Contemporary with it in Silesia is the so-called Marschwitz culture, signalized by pottery of the types of fig. 6. This ware also is found with contracted skeletons in flat-graves which contain besides flint daggers, perhaps imitating the metal weapons of the bell-beaker folk, bracers, stone battle-axes of the Silesian type with semicircular section and overhanging butt-end (fig. 7), and simple ornaments of poor bronze wire. At Nosswitz graves of this type were found over the hut-foundations of the 'Nordic' settlement of Danubian III a, showing that the latter had been long abandoned before the Marschwitz culture arrived (3, p. 82). The Marschwitz culture with typical axes is found in the tumuli of northern Moravia,[1] while the same pottery is found in Bohemia,[2] Saxony, and Bavaria.[3]

[1] (II), pp. 153 ff.

[2] e.g. at Male Čičovice. Pič, *Starožitnosti*, i, pl. x, 7-9; Lobositz, *Mannus*, i, p. 194, fig. 8; Gross Czernosek, *J.f. A.* i, p. 185, fig. 1.

[3] e.g. Straubing, *P.Z.*, iv, p. 64, fig. 18 *c*. Cf. *W.P.Z.* v, pp. 52 ff.

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The Marschwitz culture under the influence of that of the bell-beaker passes almost insensibly into the Aunjetitz culture,[1] which marks the beginning of the Bronze Age proper in central Europe. On passing from the Neolithic to the Bronze-Age cases in the museums of Breslau, Prague, or Halle one finds the same ceramic forms, only slightly matured. But new trade routes have brought in fresh metal types (fig. 8). The beginning of the Bronze Age, therefore, again brings a clear synchronism running right across the northern part of the Danubian area. The results so far reached may be tabulated as follows, making allowance for the retardation, for which there is some actual evidence, due to the gradual spread of the older Danubian cultures northward to Bohemia, Silesia, Saxony, and the Rhineland.

Period		Serbia	Moravia	Silesia
I	a	Bothros strata at Vinča	Spiral-meander ware	
	b		Hinkelstein type	Spiral-meander ware (Nosswitz I)
II	a	Matt-painted wares	Lengyel ware (painted)	Lengyel ware (Ottitz)
	b	Obsidian	Later painted ware	Graves of Jordansmühl (Nosswitz II)
III	a		Nordic wares	
	b		Corded ware	——
	c		Bell-beaker and Marschwitz culture	Bell-beaker and Marschwitz culture
IV			Aunjetitz culture	Aunjetitz culture

Relation of the Danubian and Nordic Provinces.

In the Nordic province the sequence of later Stone-age forms has been long established, at least for Scandinavia. The division into Dolmen, Passage-grave, and Stone-cist periods is now so familiar that I need only add that this typology is not applicable to central and eastern Germany, where, according to the latest views of Professor Kossinna,[2] already foreshadowed by Schumann fifteen years previously,[3] the subterranean cist evolved directly out of the true dolmen. The correlation of the above divisions of the Nordic Stone Age with the sequence established for the Danube is rendered difficult by the existence of the cultural frontier already mentioned along the Brunswick-Magdeburg line. But naturally that was not an impassable barrier.

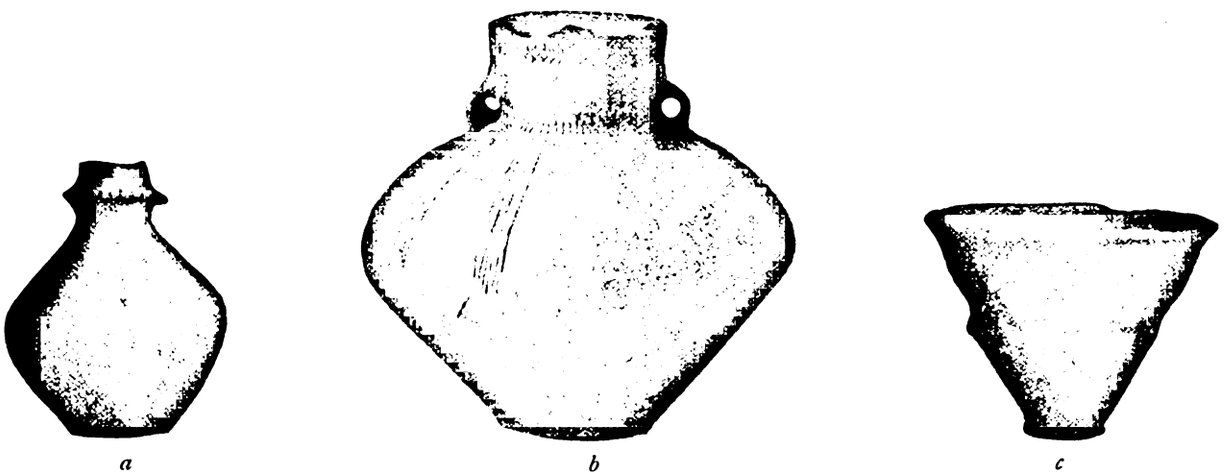
[1] So called from the great cemetery of the period on the Moldau, south of Prague.

[2] *Mannus*, xiii, p. 150.

[3] *Die Steinzeitgräber der Uckermark*, pp. 90 and 94.

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Among the graves of Jordansmühl in Silesia one, no. 28, is distinguished by being enclosed in a border of small boulders, exactly like a 'separate grave' in Jutland. It contained, in addition to local ware, pottery of 'Nordic' type—a collared flask and a funnel-necked beaker (fig. 9)—together with two amber rings. The contemporary settlement also yielded Nordic pottery and 'spindle-



a *b* *c*

Fig. 9. Nordic pottery; *a*, collared flask, Jordansmühl ($\frac{1}{3}$); *b*, amphora, Nosswitz ($\frac{1}{4}$); *c*, funnel-necked beaker, Jordansmühl ($\frac{2}{3}$) (after Seger).

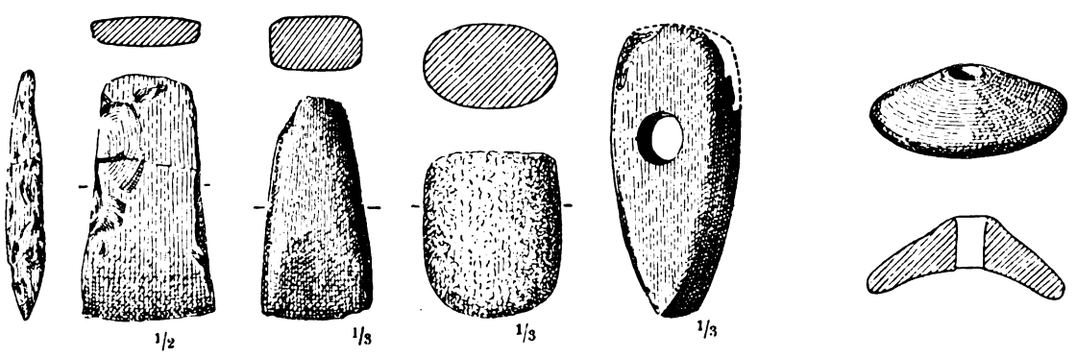


Fig. 10. Nordic implements and whorls, Silesia (after Seger).

whorls', and a few flint celts of rectangular section (fig. 10). Similar material was also found in hut-foundations at Nosswitz which overlay and had disturbed older dwellings containing Danubian I ware. Now, collared-flasks, funnel-necked beakers, and amphorae like those from the settlements in Silesia, belong to the dolmen period in Denmark. Do the finds from Jordansmühl, then, allow us to equate the last phase of Danubian II with the Scandinavian dolmen period?

The answer to that question will evidently depend on our view of the relation of the eastern group of Nordic vases shown on our map to those of Jutland (the group on the North Sea coast is admittedly later than the Danish, being

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derived from passage-graves). Now the dolmen tomb itself no doubt reached Scandinavia from the west, but the antecedents of our Nordic dolmen pottery cannot be found in that direction. Indeed, the true dolmens of Brittany yielded no ceramic remains at all. On the other hand, Director Friis Johanssen has recently discovered at Forum in Jutland[1] a collared flask and Nordic amphora, together with a thin-butted celt of banded flint in a 'separate grave' just like grave 28 at Jordansmühl. Since the 'separate grave' culture of Jutland is always regarded as intrusive and distinct from the megalithic, the discovery of such a grave from the dolmen period suggests that the association of dolmens with collared flasks and kindred types is a secondary phenomenon in the north. In that case we should have to seek south-eastern influences to explain the ceramic group under discussion; for the development of the old shell-mound vases as illustrated by the Swedish dwelling-place pottery never led to such advanced types. Additional evidence of influence from this side is perhaps furnished by the polygonal battle-axes of stone found with collared flasks on the Upper Vistula and also in Danish dolmens.[2] In that case, the influence to which the 'Nordic' vases are due would have reached Silesia at least as early as Denmark.

Professor Kossinna, on the other hand, explains the distribution of the collared flasks, funnel-necked beakers, and Nordic amphorae by an expansion of population from Denmark at the end of the dolmen epoch. He assumes that the responsible people travelled through West Prussia and Poznania, though he now admits that the 'Nordic' culture was introduced into the Saale-Elbe region (Rössen) from the east.[3] This hypothesis, apart from the complication introduced by the discovery of 'separate graves' from the dolmen period (Professor Kossinna ignored the distinction), involves a cumbersome detour along the Vistula to the Oder. It seems simpler to assume an immediate centre on the Upper Vistula, whence the pottery in question (and the polygonal battle-axes) spread both to Denmark and Silesia. The existence still farther south-east of a non-ceramic prototype for the collared flask may be revealed by a silver flask with a gold ring on the neck from the Copper Age *kurgan* of Maikop on the Kuban.[4] Conversely, as we go westward the context of the collared flasks seems to get later and later, till in Hesse they appear in a late stone cist and in the Palatinate in a settlement with zoned beakers. Hence I now prefer to regard even the later phase of Danubian II as contemporary with the dolmen period in Denmark.

[1] *Aarbøger*, 1917, pp. 131 ff.

[2] Demetrykiewicz, *Przedhistoriczna Ceramika z polksiçzycowemi Uchami w Polsce*, fig. 11; *Mannus*, ii, p. 63, fig. 8; Sophus Müller in *M. S. A. N.*, 1914–15, p. 62.

[3] *Mannus*, xiii, pp. 143 ff. and map. Cf. *Die Indogermanen*, 1921.

[4] *Imp. Arch. Kommissiya, Otchet* za 1897, fig. 21; (14) fig. 61.

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But the oldest passage-graves must go back very nearly to the beginning of period III in the Danubian province. Among the oldest elements in them may be reckoned the socketed clay ladles, evidently derived from the Danubian II type.[1] But these great collective tombs continued in use for many years, some containing as many as 100 skeletons. It is not therefore surprising that their furniture comprises objects of much later date—not only zoned beakers, but, at least in Denmark, even bone pins which unmistakably imitate the characteristic Aunjetitz pin of bronze (fig. 8 *a*).[2] This shows that the passage-grave epoch lasts into our period IV. On the other hand, the splendid flint daggers with well-shaped hilts, found only in the stone cists,[3] imitate the bronze-hilted 'Italian' daggers appearing first in late Aunjetitz deposits.

British Synchronisms.

From the foregoing discussion of the relation between the Nordic and Danubian periods we at once obtain certain limits for the position of Britain within the latter system. Mr. Reginald Smith's fruitful studies indicate a partial synchronism between our neolithic long-barrows and the dolmens and earliest passage-graves of Scandinavia.[4] I need only cite the thin-butted celt from Uley, a type rarely found in continental passage-graves,[5] but typical for the dolmens, and the zigzag maggot ornament on a neolithic bowl which the same author has compared with late dolmen or early passage-grave designs in Danish pottery. On the other hand, double-bladed battle-axes of stone closely allied to Scandinavian passage-grave types are here found in round-barrows belonging to our first, and extending into our second, Bronze Age.[6] Again, the jet bead from a barrow containing burnt bones on Normanton Down reproduces exactly the well-known axe-shaped amber bead common in the early passage-graves.[7] Finally, the flint daggers found in some British round-barrows can be referred to the later passage-graves, while the types charac-

[1] *M. S. A. N., loc. cit.*, fig. 61 (Denmark), *P. Z.*, v, p. 442, no. 229 (Drouwen near Drenthe, Holland, an example from Hanover is in the Provincial Museum there). Cf. fig. 5 *e*.

[2] *Nordiske Fortidsminder*, ii, p. 81, fig. 49, (4) fig. 285; cf. Lissauer in *Z. f. E.*, 1907, p. 71. Such objects can be clearly distinguished from those due to a re-using of the tombs in the post-megalithic period.

[3] *M. S. A. N.*, 1908-9, pp. 267 f. and *Nordiske Fortidsminder*, i, pp. 171-3.

[4] *Prehistoric Society of East Anglia, Proc.*, iii, pp. 16 ff.

[5] There were two in the above-mentioned tomb at Drouwen.

[6] Cf. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 24, and Montelius (4) and (6), p. 115 and figs. 56, 60. I am quite unable to accept the interesting theory of Nils Åberg, which seems to make our battle-axes the prototype from which all the series, including those from Troy, developed. His typology seems vitiated by the fact that neither end of his series can be independently dated. Cf. *Man*, xxiv, 51.

[7] Cf. Montelius (4), fig. 38, and Devizes Museum Catalogue, fig. 145 *a*.

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teristic of the cists are not met with here.[1] Hence, even if we suppose that some of these types—e.g. the axes—persisted here rather longer than on the other side of the North Sea, I think we must regard not only our first Bronze Age but also the earlier part of Bronze II as parallel to the later passage-grave epoch in Scandinavia. Hence we obtain a limit whose usefulness—and accuracy—will appear in the sequel.

But the answer to the special question which gives the title to this paper



Katscher Kr. Leobschütz. $^3/_{10}$

Fig. 11. Bell-beaker and associated vases, Silesia (after Seger).

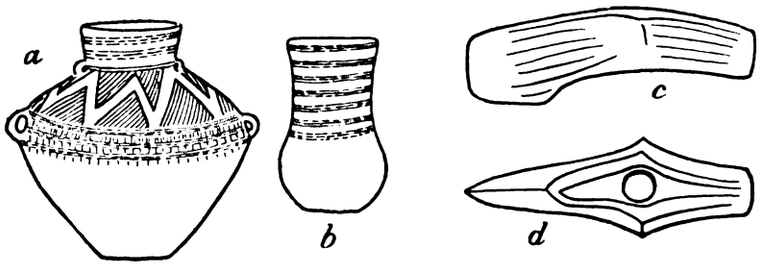


Fig. 12. Corded ware and faceted battle-axe, Thuringia (*a* $^1/_{10}$; *b* $^1/_8$; *c–d* $^1/_4$).

will naturally depend upon the position of the bell-beaker in our scheme. The British beakers, brought by the brachycephalic invaders to our shores, represent a cross between the bell-beaker of Iberic origin and the central European corded beaker (figs. 11 and 12). The true bell-beaker is relatively shallow, with rounded profile, made of fine dark-faced clay, slipped and polished, and covered all over with a rich decoration of fine incised or cog-wheel lines often filled with a white incrustation. The pure corded beaker, on the other hand, is taller, coarser, and decorated, on the neck only, with horizontal cord-impressions or herring-bone bands. The British beaker preserves the taller form, the coarser technique, and some of the actual elements of the design of the corded beaker as Åberg and Leeds[2] have recently pointed out, but the ornament is applied in the style of the bell-beaker to the whole surface of the vase. They correspond

[1] Reginald Smith in *Proceedings*, xxxii, pp. 6 ff.

[2] Åberg (8), p. 177; Leeds, *Antiq. Journal*, 1922, pp. 333 ff.

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accordingly to what is called on the Continent the zoned beaker. This type seems to have been evolved on the Rhine and came thence, fully formed as Crawford says, to these islands, spreading also to Scandinavia and Mecklenburg.[1] The culture of our invaders betrays the same composite origin as their pottery. The bell-beakers in central Europe and also in central Spain[2] are found almost exclusively in flat-graves; corded ware always under tumuli in pit-graves or stone cists. Our invaders therefore owe the barrow-building habit to the central European element. On the other hand, the bracer belongs to the bell-beaker folk. Conversely, the latter were generally short headed,[3] the makers of corded ware markedly dolichocephalic of 'Nordic' type, and it is no doubt to admixture with these that our brachycephals owe those Nordic skeletal peculiarities recognized by anthropologists.[4] Hence archaeological and anthropological data agree in deriving the Beaker-folk of Britain froma hybrid group that came immediately from the Rhineland.

Corded ware is the one element of their culture that cannot be exactly dated. In Jutland similar pottery goes back to the beginning of the passage-grave period in the older separate graves,[5] while to the south-west it is found in barrows with multiple interments at a lower level than bell-beakers[6] or zoned beakers.[7] The bell-beaker, however, has been shown to be characteristic of our period III c. Though there is no reason for assuming a long interval of time between its appearance on the Rhine and on the Oder, it would be slightly earlier on the more western river whether (on its journey from Spain) it travelled via north Italy and the Brenner or along the Rhone-Rhine route.[8] Hence the invasion of Britain is limited on one side by period III c. On the other hand, our previous comparisons between the furniture of our round-barrows and that of the passage-graves forbids us to put that event late in that period. The same conclusion may be reached from direct synchronisms, based on exchange of goods, between our second Bronze Age and the mature phase of the Aunjetitz period in central Europe. The rich graves of that epoch in the Saale-Elbe region, now important both for its salt deposits and its command of an amber trade route, show evidence of commercial relations with Britain. The Chief-

[1] (4) fig. 243; *Nord. Fortidsminder*, ii, p. 117, fig. 81; Beltz, *Vorgesch. Altertümer Mecklenburg-Schwerins*, fig. 153.

[2] (8) p. 120; cf. Schliz in *Z. f. E.*, 1906.

[3] Schliz, *P. Z.* iv, pp. 58 ff.; *W. P. Z.* vi, p. 44; *Boll. de Real. Acad. de la Historia* (Madrid), lxxi, pp. 22 ff.

[4] *J. R. A. I.*, 1915, p. 13.

[5] *L'Anthropologie*, 1910, p. 32.

[6] e. g. near Fulda; cf. Vonderau in *Fuldaer Geschichtsverein*, Schriften, vi.

[7] e. g. at Uddelermeer, Gelderland, *P. Z.* iv, pp. 370 f.

[8] (8) p. 170; (14) p. 186.

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tain's grave near Helmsdorf contained, with typical Aunjetitz pins of gold, an English celt of rich bronze.[1] Likewise the asymmetrical halberd from the Leubingen barrow[2] of the same epoch connects on with Irish types assigned by Montelius to Bronze II here.[3] Again, English celts of Bronze II were associated in a depot at Fjälkinge, south Sweden, with an Italian celt of a type like fig. 8 *f*, which recurs in mature Aunjetitz deposits in Bohemia.[4] Lord Abercromby[5] has noted that pins assigned to Bronze I on the Continent belong here to Bronze II; the hollow-headed pin indeed occurs not only in mature Aunjetitz deposits in Bohemia, but also in one case with the very last interment in a very late Danish passage-grave (almost a cist[6]). I would in all deference submit that this proves an overlapping between the long period called Bronze I in central Europe and our Bronze II rather than a delay in the arrival of such types here.

The results obtained in the previous section may then be tabulated as follows:

Period	Silesia		Scandinavia	Great Britain
II			Dolmens	
III a	Graves of Jordansmühl	Passage-graves		
III b, c	Marschwitz and bell-beaker cultures		Zoned-beakers, imported	Beakers Bronze I
IV	Aunjetitz culture		Aunjetitz imports Stone cists	Bronze II

We are now in a position to give absolute dates to the British material if we can establish synchronisms between the corresponding Danubian periods and the cultures of the south.

The Absolute Dating of Danubian II.

I believe we may in the first place establish direct contact between the Aegean and the Danube during period II. To that period, as we have seen, belongs a Hungarian culture associated in Moravia, at Lengyel, and at Vinča with crusted pottery. I have been able personally to compare the Moravian

[1] Its British origin is, in the opinion of Dr. Grössler, confirmed by the analysis revealing no perceptible nickel content as contrasted with early bronzes made from Austro-Hungarian copper. *S. T. J.* vi, p. 58 and pl. II, 8.

[2] *S. T. J.* v, pl. II, 1. [3] (6) p. 114. [4] Cf. (6) figs. 201-2 and (7), pl. VI, 3.

[5] (10) II, p. 63. [6] *M. S. A. N.*, 1916-17, p. 229.

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ware with sherds from the middle strata at Vinča, and found them practically indistinguishable. The bulk of the Lengyel pottery is identical with that from Moravia and Vinča. But the latter has been identified by Wace with the crusted ware Γ1γ which occurs at the beginning of the third period in Thessaly contemporaneously with the first importations of Early Helladic lustre ware (Urfirnis).[1] That gives Early Minoan III as the general context for the appearance of Danubian II ware in Thessaly. Conversely, some high-handled cups belonging to this period at Lengyel[2] find exact parallels in the oldest pottery of Troy II—both of course imitating metal forms. Further, the clay stamps or pintaderas found during period II in Moravia[3] may be compared with similar objects from Troy II and the button-seals of E. M. III Crete and Sixth Dynasty Egypt. Now since the Danubian II culture originated in Hungary and moved northward into Silesia some allowance must be made for a retardation in its arrival there; but that would probably be counterbalanced to some extent by its southerly movement to reach Vinča and Thessaly. We shall then still be justified in placing the graves of Jordansmühl within the limits of E. M. III, or round about 2200 B.C. on the chronology adopted by Evans.[4]

A study of the metal forms of the Danubian province, which must be regarded as older than Aunjetitz, will give some support to this conclusion. Metal was probably known in Serbia and also in Transylvania as early as period I, while with Danubian II we have copper ornaments from Lengyel, Streliče in Moravia, and Jordansmühl. Unfortunately, while depots and stray finds of copper objects typologically older than Aunjetitz exhibit many points of contact with Aegean metal products anterior to M. M. III, few of the former can be connected with a definite phase of the Danubian cultures. I will therefore confine my attention to one leading type. The *Axe-adze* yields a well-dated typological series in the Aegean. Sir Arthur Evans kindly informs me that the simplest type, A, can be traced back to E. M. II. The example illustrated (fig. 13 *a*) from Chamaizi is actually M. M. I b. Somewhere about the end of that period a new type, B (fig. 13 *c*), appears.[5] Finally, type D with tubular shaft-hole comes from Hissarlik (fig. 13 *e*), where Professor Hubert Schmidt has shown it must be assigned to a late phase of the second City—say M. M. II b.[6]

[1] Cf. Wace and Thompson, *P. T.*, p. 146, and Childe, in *J. H. S.* xxxv, p. 201 and *P. Z.* iii, p. 127.

[2] Wosinsky (12), pl. VII, 11, etc.; fig. 5 *d* here.

[3] (2) p. 10; cf. also *Pravek*, 1911, pl. XI, 17.

[4] I follow Sir Arthur Evans in adopting Meyer's dating for the twelfth and earlier dynasties because it harmonizes so much better than any longer chronology with the Aegean evidence.

[5] *P. K.*, pl. XXV, F.

[6] *P. Z.* iv, pp. 22 f. But this Asiatic specimen may be unconnected with the European types B and C.

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Type B seems peculiar to the Aegean,[1] but type A in its very simplest form is not uncommon in Hungary (fig. 13 *b*). From this a new type, C, with rudimentary shaft-tube (fig. 13 *d*) is developed—according to Pulszky owing to the manner in which the shaft-hole was punched through the red-hot metal. From Hungary this type extends into Bosnia, Serbia, and Galicia, and northward through Moravia and Bohemia as far as the province of Saxony.[2] I know no example from the Aegean, but it is perhaps presupposed in the Trojan type D. From this we may infer that the evolution of the Hungarian type C is not only older than the end

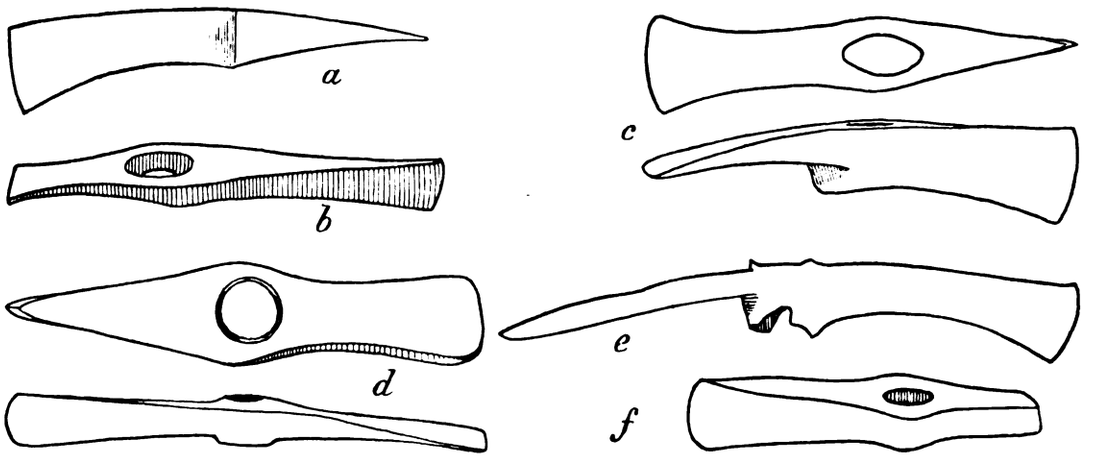


Fig. 13. Copper axe-adzes (⅓); *a*, *b*, and *f*, type A; *c*, type B; *d*, type C; *e*, type D.

of M. M. II (type D), but also antedates the evolution of the M. M. I b type, B. Hence type A in Hungary can hardly have outlived the Early Minoan Age.[1] Now an example of type A, more primitive typologically than that from Chamaizi, found near the settlement of Jordansmühl,[3] can only be explained as belonging to the Danubian people who settled there, and thus offers welcome confirmation of the date proposed above. It may further be noted that the primitive axe-hammer (fig. 13 *f*) from a grave at Lucska, Danubian II, evidently belongs to the same early family. It may have provided the prototype for certain groups of Scandinavian stone axes of the passage-grave epoch.[4] Hence we may place the close of period II round about 2100 B.C., and the beginning of the Nordic passage-graves not much later.

[1] The origin of these implements may have to be sought in or near Mesopotamia, but that will not affect the validity of the typology proposed for central Europe—including the Aegean. Cf. *Otchet* za 1897, fig. 35; (14) pp. 146–9.

[2] *S. T. J.* x, pl. x, 1; cf. also (7) p. 27.

[3] *S. V.* iii, p. 51, fig. 2.

[4] Knut Stjerna, *Före Hällkisttiden*, p. 108.

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The Absolute Chronology of Bronze I.

Towards the beginning of the Bronze Age proper in central Europe, immediate relations with the Aegean seem to have suffered a partial interruption, perhaps because amber now, like the Hyperborean gifts of classical times, began to move down shorter trade routes terminating in the Adriatic. This shift is reflected in the appearance of forms such as the round-heeled triangular dagger with semicircular rivet-plate, whose history belongs to western Europe (fig. 8 *d* and *h*). Such daggers began to make their appearance even during period III c.[1] One was found with a bell-beaker at Couš in Bohemia, while amber appears in that country and in Moravia for the first time with this type of vase. The bell-beaker itself occurs in northern Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia, presumably reaching those lands direct from Spain. But its context in those regions is still too uncertain to give even an approximate limit for period III c, even if we were justified in assuming a synchronism between the appearances of the Iberic culture on both sides of the Alpine barrier.[3] Similarly, the southern type of pin—that with the head bent over and twisted round the shaft—recently discovered with a Marschwitz burial at Velka Ves in Bohemia,[4] enjoyed too long a currency to provide an exact criterion of date; for in Egypt it goes back to the earliest dynasties.[5] This pin may indeed indicate that the lords of Troy II were still importing their tin from Bohemia and that our period III c partly coincides with the last structural phase of that city, especially as one of the stone battle-axes from Hissarlik approximates closely to the type of fig. 7.[6] But had Troy still been importing tin from Bohemia when that country had established a regular trade in amber with Denmark, i.e. in period IV, the precious gum would surely have reached the lords of Hissarlik. Now none has been found with the rich bronzes of the great 'treasures'. That looks as if Troy had fallen before the beginning of period IV. Period III c would then go back to the nineteenth century, assuming that Troy II fell about 1800 B.C. But unfortunately the latter date lacks precision.

[1] e. g. at Hedesheim on the Rhine, with a zoned beaker in a grave closely adjacent to a true bell-beaker interment, *Mainzer Zeitschrift*, 1913, p. 52.

[2] (7) p. 100. I am indebted for this information to a letter from Dr. Schránil of Prague.

[3] But compare the remarks of Professor H. Schmidt in *P. Z.* i, p. 130. I much regret that I can accept neither his view as to the close temporal relation between the Villafrati beakers and the Sicanian period represented by Stentinello ware nor his inference from the similarity in technique of the latter to Cretan neolithic fabrics that the two ceramic groups are roughly contemporary, nor yet the date of 2500 B.C. proposed for Siculan I on the strength of the well-known worked bone plate found somewhere among the ruins of Troy II.

[4] (7) p. 91 and fig. 5, 3.

[5] Cf. *Naqada and Ballas*, p. 48, and pl. LXV, 19.

[6] *Man*, xxiv, 51; (14) pp. 63, 190 f.

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But if the dating of period III c is regrettably vague, period IV may be almost precisely delimited. The principal arguments to that end are as follows:

(1) An arm-ring with the ends flattened and bent back (fig. 14, 2-3)—a type typical of Aunjetitz deposits, and occurring in the earliest Bronze Age interments of Transylvania, and in Bronze I 2 in Italy [1]—was found, apparently as an import, in a deposit of the Twelfth or Thirteenth Dynasty at Kahun.[2] This implies

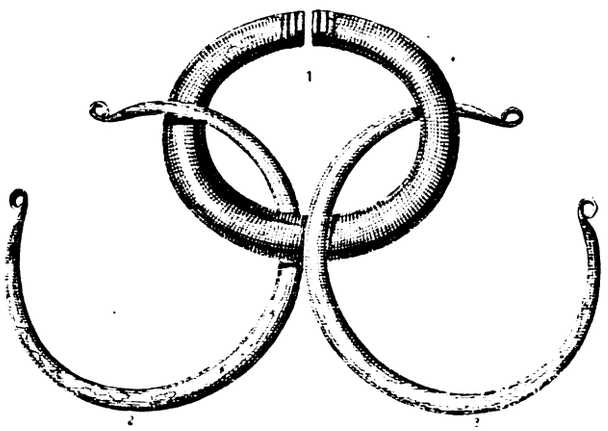


Fig. 14. Aunjetitz arm-rings, Luštěnice, Bohemia (after Schránil). (⅓)

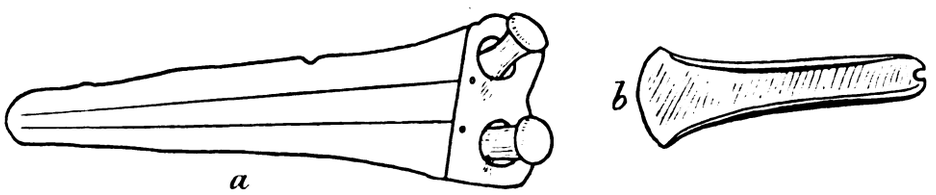


Fig. 15. Halberd (⅓) and celt (⅔) from Montemerano, Italy.

that the Aunjetitz culture may go back to the beginning of the eighteenth century and cannot be later than the middle of the seventeenth.

(2) Professor Hubert Schmidt has shown that the spiral pendants from shaft-grave III at Mycenae are typologically later than relatively advanced Aunjetitz forms.[3] Since this grave is L. M. I, this phase of the Aunjetitz culture must go back to the beginning of the sixteenth century.

(3) Mature Aunjetitz depots contain daggers and other objects imported from Italy assigned to Bronze I, there. In particular, an Italian celt from the depot of Sobochleby (fig. 8 *f*) is of the same type as one from the depot of Montemerano, which also yielded the only Italian halberd (fig. 15) actually found in association with other objects.[4] The latter is precisely dated within the limits

[1] (5) pl. 2, 9; (7) pl. III, 2.
[2] *Illahun, Kahun*, and *Gurob*, pl. XIII, 18.
[3] *Z. f. E.*, 1904, pp. 615 ff.
[4] (5) p. 22, and pls. VI, 12, and VII, 12.

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1650–1550 B.C. by a weapon of the same family, but more developed type, found in shaft-grave VI—one of the oldest at Mycenae.[1]

(4) Similar asymmetrical halberds have been found in an Aunjetitz grave near Krems in Lower Austria,[2] and in the Leubingen barrow mentioned above. Both these halberds, from mature Aunjetitz deposits, are of more primitive form than the weapon from Mycenae. The type with bronze shaft must be later, but it is associated with late Aunjetitz forms in the depot of Dieskau near Halle and elsewhere.[3]

(5) A rather later date is suggested by a cup with a handle of the Vaphio type coming almost certainly from one of the Aunjetitz graves of Nienhagen near Halberstadt.[4] This is evidently a clay copy of a metal cup imported from the Aegean. The form goes back in Crete to M. M. III, when it was already being imitated in stone,[5] but Sir Arthur Evans tells me that it reached the acme of its popularity in L. M. I a. The Saxon copy is not therefore likely to be later than the latter half of the sixteenth century.

On these grounds I find it reasonable to place the beginning of the Aunjetitz period about 1750 B.C.,[6] and its mature phase from 1600 B.C. onwards. Towards the solution of the problem of the title, we have now the approximate date for the beginning of Bronze II here. But the reason of the apparently rather irrelevant discussion of the date of Jordansmühl and the passage-graves will now be plain; for those dates provide limits between which the invasion of Britain must lie. Now the synchronisms previously established show that the Scandinavian passage-grave epoch would lie between 2200 B.C. and 1600 B.C., while period III in Silesia would last from 2200 B.C. to 1750 B.C. In the Danube it is clear from the stratification at Nosswitz that the bell-beaker belongs to the latter half of this interval. Similarly, the evidences of contact between Great Britain and Scandinavia do not point to a synchronism between the oldest phase of the passage-graves and our round-barrows. Hence, it is unlikely that the irruption of the Beaker-folk should be placed much before 1900 B.C.[7]

Now, in Britain, the central land route and the western sea route between the Aegean and the north intersect. And so we are enabled to check the

[1] This weapon was first recognized by Professor Hubert Schmidt, but I am indebted to Sir Arthur Evans for a drawing of it.

[2] I should like to thank Dr. A. Mahr, of Vienna, for information as to this new find.

[3] *S. T. J.* iv, pp. 3 ff. and pl. II, 7.

[4] *Ibid.*, x, pl. x, 5.

[5] *Palace*, fig. 183 *b*; cf. Seager, *Mochlos*, p. 62, fig. 31, XII f.

[6] I use these figures in the sense of Montelius, to denote the middle of the century in question.

[7] With the fullest recognition of the great contributions Lord Abercromby has made to our knowledge of the Beaker period, I cannot accept as conclusive his estimate of 450 years for its duration, especially in view of the possibility suggested by Mr. A. G. Wright that the invaders may have landed at more than one point on our coasts.

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results based on the influence of the former by the traffic of the latter route. The most valuable evidence of that traffic is at present provided by the segmented beads of vitreous paste found in round-barrows of our second Bronze Age. Whether these beads are of local manufacture or no, they certainly derive from Egyptian or perhaps Minoan prototypes. Egypt presents parallels dating from the early years of the Eighteenth Dynasty.[1] But in Crete they go back to the M.M. III b period.[2] Now, since we find a 'reflex' of 'intercourse with the Iberic west' in the halberd from shaft-grave VI just about the same time, is it unreasonable to suppose that the beads in question had reached our shores by 1550 B.C.? The passage of an article of commerce does not require many years. Thus the evidence of imports by the western route gives independent confirmation of the date proposed for Bronze II and hence confirms our whole chronology. We may conclude our survey with the following table:

Period	B.C.	Crete	Danubian Province: Southern	Danubian Province: Silesia	Nordic Province	Britain
I	2500	E.M. II	Danubian I Lower Vinča	?		
	2400		Danubian II Lengyel and	Danubian I (Nosswitz I)		
II		E.M. III	Middle Vinča	Danubian II (Ottitz)		
	2200			Jordansmühl	Dolmens	
a		M.M. I	Nordic ware	Graves		
III b	2000		Corded ware	—	Passage	Beakers arrive
c		M.M. II	Bell-beakers and Marschwitz	Bell-beakers and Marschwitz		Bronze I
			Early	Early		
	1700	M.M. III	Aunjetitz	Aunjetitz	Graves	
IV			Mature	Mature		Bronze II
	1500	L.M. I a	Aunjetitz	Aunjetitz	Stone cists	

Abbreviations.

(1) Vassits in *P. Z.* ii, pp. 26 ff.
(2) Palliardi, *Die relative Chronologie der jüngeren Steinzeit in Mähren* (reprinted from *W. P. Z.* i.
(3) Seger, *Die keramischen Stilarten der jüngeren Steinzeit Schlesiens* (in *S. V.* vii, 1916).

[1] *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, i, pp. 18 ff.

[2] Evans, *op. cit.*, pp. 492 ff., and especially note 5 on p. 492. The star-shaped bead cited by Sir Arthur Evans in 1908 is less serviceable since it now appears that 1380 B. C. is not an upper limit for the type in Egypt, that its Egyptian origin at all is questionable, and that its attribution to Bronze II is problematical; cf. (10), ii, pp. 68 and 73, where they belong to periods IV and V.

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(4) Montelius, *Chronologie der ältesten Bronzezeit* (reprinted from *A.f.A.*, 1899-1900).
(5) „ *Die vorklassische Chronologie Italiens.*
(6) „ *Archaeologia*, lxi, pp. 97-162.
(7) Schránil, *Studie o vzniku kultury bronzove v Čechach.*
(8) Åberg, *La civilisation énéolithique dans la péninsule ibérique.*
(9) Jira in *Mannus*, iii.
(10) Abercromby, *Bronze Age Pottery.*
(11) Cervinka, *Moravské Starožitnosti.*
(12) Wosinsky, *Das prähistorische Schanzwerk von Lengyel.*
(13) Niklasson in *Mannus*, xi-xii.
(14) V. Gordon Childe, *The Dawn of European Civilization* (in the press).
A.f.A. Archiv für Anthropologie (*Neue Folge*).
Antiq. J. Antiquaries Journal.
B.R.G.K. Bericht der römisch-germanischen Kommission.
J.f.A. Jahrbuch für Altertumskunde (Vienna).
M.S.A.N. Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires du Nord (Copenhagen).
P.K. Palaikastro—Supplementary Volume of the British School at Athens.
P.Z. Prähistorische Zeitschrift.
S.T.J. Jahrbuch für die Vorgeschichte der sächsisch-thüringischen Länder (Halle).
S.V. Schlesiens Vorzeit in Bild und Schrift, Neue Folge (Breslau).
V.A.T. Götze, Höfer, and Zschiesche, *Die vorgeschichtlichen Altertümer Thüringens.*
W.P.Z. Wiener Prähistorische Zeitschrift.
Z.f.E. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.

Supplementary Note to the Danubian I and II Cultures.

References.

Danubian I.	Vinča	Moravia	Silesia	Saxony	Rhine
Spiral-meander ware	(1) p. 29, pl. 14 a-c	(2) figs. 3, 4, 8, 9	(3) figs. 32-51	*P.Z.* iv, p. 376, v, p. 280	*Wormser Festgabe*, pls. VII and VIII
Figurines	p. 27 and pl. 9 a	Unpublished	fig. 52	*P.Z.* i, p. 401	Not found
Disc-shape mace-heads	—	(2) fig. 10 a	—	*V.A.T.*, pl. v, 182	*P.Z.* v, p. 410.
Spondylos shell	p. 28, pl. 10 b	(11) p. 20	—	*V.A.T.*, p. xix; *P.Z.* iv, p. 376.	*Wormser Festgabe*, *P.Z.* ix, p. 54.

Danubian II.	Vinča	Lengyel	Moravia	Silesia	Bohemia	Saxony
Pedestalled bowls	(1) pl. 11 a	(12) pl. XIII, 73	(9) p. 225, figs. 1, 6	(3) figs. 1, 2, 6	(9) p. 251, fig. 16	(13) fig. 13
Socketed ladles	—	„ pl. XII, 62	(11) fig. 37	—	„ p. 247	—
Obsidian	„ p. 28	„ p. 43	(2) p. 9	*A.f.A.* vi, p. 136	—	—
Jadeite	—	„ pl. XXIX, 223	„ p. 9	(3) p. 85	—	—

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DISCUSSION.

Mr. LEEDS welcomed a lucid and learned exposition of an intricate subject. One point on which he joined issue was the introduction of the beaker from Spain. The view adopted had been put forward by Bosch Gimpera, Åberg, and Hubert Schmidt, but he could see no real evidence for it. Italian examples were no doubt derived from Spain, but how could the beaker cross the Alpine barrier? The culture was introduced into Britain by a distinct people, but who were the brachycephals who passed from Spain into central Europe? Gimpera said they were descended from elements on the Tagus, but their persistence was doubtful. The truth was that the beaker evolved among the dolichocephals of Spain; and short-headed 'prospectors', as Mr. Peake called them, came into Spain from central Europe in search of metals, their traces being found in the latest dolmens near the Pyrenees. An important point to notice was that there were no Spanish beakers in Britain, though all but two he had seen in Brittany were of Spanish type.

Dr. HALL said that no such chronological scheme had been produced for many years, and it well brought out the connexion between the three great areas—northern and central Europe, and the Mediterranean countries; but he was not prepared to criticize it without further examination. It was important to determine what relations Britain had with central Europe, and how much was borrowed from Crete and Egypt. Comprehensive papers such as that read by Mr. Childe were of distinct value, especially for those who were principally concerned with the eastern Mediterranean.

Mr. REGINALD SMITH felt it refreshing to look abroad and link up prehistoric Britain with the Continent and the great cultures farther south. The appearance in Britain of the beaker, to the exclusion of ribbon-ware, was in itself a confirmation of the sequence suggested. Possibly further information could be derived from the button with V-boring, which normally accompanied the beaker and bracer. It was surprising to hear of dolmen ware in one of the single graves of Jutland, but Danish archaeologists could be trusted in all branches of excavation. The flint celt mentioned from Uley long-barrow was in the museum of Guy's Hospital with a skull from the chamber, but according to Mr. Crawford could not be relied on as coming from the barrow; it might have been incorporated during the construction of the barrow, or belong to an intrusive burial outside the chamber. The date 2200–1600 B.C. given for Scandinavian passage-graves seemed too late for British long-barrows, and that particular culture was probably later in Scandinavia than in Britain. He had noticed nothing revolutionary in the paper, but thought the original title rather misleading as the Beaker people were not in the Bronze Age on their arrival, and the invasion was therefore neolithic or at latest aeneolithic.

Mr. PEAKE congratulated the author on his thesis, which contracted the late Professor Montelius's dating, but went perhaps too far in the other direction. The stages of culture seemed to follow one another too quickly in the scheme proposed. With regard to the unusual discovery in Denmark, he had always understood that the single-grave culture appeared there before the end of the Dolmen period. Unless the beakers of Spain and central Europe were of different origin, the pattern or idea of the beaker must have passed from one region to the other. A movement from Spain had been assumed, but not at present proved; and it was not known whether the carriers were round or long-headed. It was unlikely that round-headed people brought the beaker from long-headed Spain. It was important to have the latest results put before the Society, as the literature concerning south-eastern Europe was a sealed book to most of the Fellows.

Mr. CRAWFORD had expected to hear about the invasion at the other end of the Bronze

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Age as the original title of the paper was the Date of the Bronze Age Invasion. Spain was the crux of Mr. Childe's scheme; and though there was every reason to think the people of central Europe were connected with the peninsula, it was difficult to imagine an invasion from Spain in that direction, as the Pyrenees were unfavourable to mass-movements. Reference had been made to neolithic pottery in Britain: while pottery of the long-barrows resembled that of northern Europe, the megalithic monuments corresponded to those of Brittany and France. The 'maggot' pattern occurred also on certain vessels in Finland and Russia, and suggested some connexion with that part of Europe. There was no evidence that the Uley celt was found in the chambered barrow, and it could therefore be discarded. He hoped that competent archaeologists would take up excavation in the neighbourhood of Vinča, as the mounds were plentiful and stratified, and might reveal the origin of Achaean culture. It would be interesting to hear Mr. Childe's own opinion of Cretan chronology.

Mr. CHILDE replied that long ago Sir Arthur Evans traced the form and decoration of the Spanish bell-beaker to baskets of esparto grass, and Spain was the only area where that type was produced in abundance. Everywhere else it was evidently intrusive. The only measured skull he knew of was from Ciempozuelos near Madrid, and that had the exceptionally broad index of 84. Mr. Peake's east-to-west theory was certainly attractive: the zoned beaker imitated the bell type, and both beaker and bracer were characteristic of western Europe. The beaker-burials in central Europe belonged only to a small group of settlers. He recognized the single-grave culture as going back to the Dolmen period, and agreed that the passage-graves of Britain corresponded to the older phase of the Scandinavian. He thought the beaker people who invaded Britain were at least acquainted with copper, and it was usual to include the beaker in the Bronze Age, as in Lord Abercromby's book. The maggot-pattern pottery might correspond to that of the early passage-graves in Denmark. There was certainly a fine field for excavators in Serbia and Hungary, and some recent work in the latter country had given excellent results. For the chronology of Crete he followed Sir Arthur Evans unconditionally.

The CHAIRMAN (Rev. E. E. Dorling) said it was satisfactory to have a paper which gave rise to such a full discussion; and the Fellows would wish their thanks to be returned to Mr. Childe for his first contribution to the Society's publications.

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VIII.—*Elizabethan Sheldon Tapestries.* *By* JOHN HUMPHREYS, *Esq., M.A., F.S.A.*

Read 3rd April 1924.

FOR many centuries, though a good many tapestries were woven in France, Flanders was the chief centre of the industry, and supplied the various European countries with tapestries and hangings of a similar character. Cloths of Arras were in demand for English country houses, and large purchases were made from time to time by the richer nobles. It was, however, at the beginning of the sixteenth century that tapestries came increasingly into demand and favour in England, as is evident by the fine collection made by Cardinal Wolsey for Hampton Court, and that of King Henry VIII for his own palaces. The inventory taken after his death records over 2,000 specimens, while a writer states that 'one ship from the Continent carried no less than one thousand tapestries for the King of England'. Agents were employed in Flanders to secure the finest specimens as they were woven.

In many of the smaller English mansions at the beginning of the sixteenth century, since the price of these expensive hangings was prohibitive, substitutes for them in the shape of painted cloths were used, and in wills and inventories of the period they are frequently mentioned. For instance, Lady Hastings by her will in 1503 bequeaths several such pieces of 'lynen paynted, as now hang in the chappell'. A French visitor to England in 1558 wrote: 'The English make a great use of Tapestries, and of painted linens which are well done, and on which are magnificent roses, embellished with fleur-de-lis, and lions, for you can enter but few houses where you do not find these tapestries.'[1] Harrison's description of England in 1573 states: 'In the days of Elizabeth, the walls of our houses on the inner sides are either hanged with tapestry, arras work, painted cloths wherein either divers histories, or herbs, beasts, knots, and such like are stained.'[2]

[1] Perrin's *Description of the Kingdom of England and Scotland.*
[2] Morgan, *Readings in English Social History*, p. 256.

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William More, who was prior of Worcester from 1518 till the beginning of 1536, kept a journal in manuscript, in which were entered the receipts and payments connected with his office of prior and also for his manor houses of Crowle, Battenhall, and Grimley. This was printed in 1914 by the Worcestershire Historical Society, and it contains much that is of general interest in connexion with the furniture and fittings of a country gentleman's house in early Tudor times. The entries relating to the wall-hangings are of peculiar value, and refer to his three manor houses distant only a few miles from Worcester. In the furnishing of Battenhall in the spring of 1519 there are several notes in reference to the wall-hangings: 'Item for lynnen cloth for borders to ye lyttal parlor withyn ye lyttal hall and ye parlor at Batnall, 12*s.* 0*d.*; item of ye paynting of ye same to Thomas Paynter 3*s.* 4*d.*' In 1521 are further notices: 'Item payd for Liii ells of lynnen cloths called saltwyche to hang two chambers at batnall, 19*s.* 10*d.*; item to John for paynting of ye same, 25*s.* 0*d.*' There are numerous similar entries for the furnishing of Grimley and Crowle manor houses. The appearance of the hangings is described in the inventories Prior William More caused to be made on 1st May, 1532: 'Crowle Lords Chamber. In primis in the Lords Chamber hanged with sais, grene, and red, the border peynted ii. steyned paynes. The Guest Chamber. Item the chamber hanged with peynted clothes, with nests, byrds, folorii.' Shakespeare makes Falstaff use hangings as an illustration, when he refers to his wretched troops (in *Henry IV*), saying, 'They are as ragged as Lazarus in the painted cloth'. And in *Love's Labour's Lost* we find the words: 'You will be scraped out of the painted cloth for this.' In 1523, Cardinal Wolsey bought many pieces of painted cloths, counterfeit and real arras, from the bishop of Durham.[1]

Few examples of painted cloths now remain, the earliest in the Victoria and Albert Museum not being older than the end of the seventeenth century. They evidently perished rapidly, but continued in use until the end of the seventeenth century or even later.

It is to William Sheldon of Beoley, a rich Worcestershire squire, that we are indebted for the introduction of tapestry-making into England, on a large scale, in the middle of the sixteenth century, for his was the first tapestry factory, so far as we know, though single panels may have been made by immigrant workmen or natives taught abroad.

'The Sheldons of Beoley have long been of considerable note and consequence in this county (Worcester). The family originated at Sheldon in Warwickshire,

[1] W. G. Thompson, *Tapestry Weaving in England*, p. 29.

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being resident there in Edward III's reign, and a descendant, settled at Abberton, in the county of Worcester, temp. Henry VI, whose son Ralph married the heiress of Ruding, a family of great antiquity in this county, who brought many valuable estates into the family including land in Beoley. Subsequently the manor of Beoley was purchased in the reign of Edward IV and William Sheldon succeeded to the Estates on the death of his father in 1546.'[1]

At the dissolution of the monasteries he was the trusted informant of Thomas Cromwell in the suppression of Pershore Abbey, and acquired many large properties in consequence, and at the sale of 'the contents of Bordesley Abbey he made several large purchases of stuff'. He was receiver for the king of all the monastic estates in the county of Warwick in 1546–7, a position of great responsibility. He married Mary the daughter of William Willington, a wealthy wool merchant and large landholder of Barcheston in south Warwickshire, at whose death Sheldon added considerably to his possessions.

William Sheldon was one of the two members of parliament elected for Worcestershire in 1547, 1554, and 1555. In Thomas Habington's *Survey of Worcestershire*, written in the early part of the seventeenth century, is the following reference to Beoley: 'Wheare William Sheldon in our age for wysdome, estate, and authority, in our county equalled most of the gentlemen of England; whose son Ralph Sheldon desearved for hys singular partes of mynd, which flowed from hys tongue and penne a pre-eminent dignity.' 'This William Sheldon first introduced the working of tapestry into England at Barcheston, having at his own expense brought workmen from Flanders and employed them in weaving maps of the different counties of England, and other curious pieces, several of which are still in being at Weston.'[2]

In 1545 William Sheldon purchased the manor of Weston in south Warwickshire, and obtained a licence to impark 300 acres of ground, to be called Weston Park for ever, and built a large mansion there. He also bought Skiltes, an estate only a few miles from Beoley, where he made another park, in which the great mansion of Beoley is shown enclosed on the tapestry map of Warwickshire.

William Sheldon, having conceived the idea of introducing tapestry-making into England, sent a Mr. Richard Hicks to Flanders to learn the art of weaving and the manufacture of arras. Richard Hicks had much success, and returned to England bringing some Flemish weavers with him, who were settled at Barcheston, and established with looms for the making of tapestry.

[1] Nash, *History of Worcestershire*, i, 64.

[2] Nash, *op. cit.* There is an illustration of it in Thomas's edition of Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, vol. i, p. 582.

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The manor of Barcheston was bequeathed by William Willington to his cousin William Barnes of Talton, and remained in the hands of Barnes until his death on 8th May, 1561, when it was acquired, probably by purchase, by William Sheldon of Beoley.[1] The date is of importance, since it helps to fix the beginning of tapestry weaving at Barcheston, under the auspices of William Sheldon and Richard Hicks.

In Richard Hicks, Sheldon secured the right man, and by his will, made in January 1569-70, shows his high opinion of Hicks, declaring 'Richard Hickes to be the only author and beginner of this art within this realm'; in a codicil dated 28th September, 1570, Sheldon states that he has 'established [Hicks] in the mansion house at Barcheston, with the myll, orchards, and gardens and pastures, without paying any rent in money, chiefly in respect of the mayntenance of making tapestry, arras, &c., and where also the said Richard Heeks and I are agreed that certayn money shall be yerely disbursed and laid out by me and my heyres towards the making the said tapestry, and for that his trade will be greatly beneficiall to this Commonwelth to trade youth in, and a means to secure great somes of money within this Realme, and considering that I do thyncke my said well beloved sonne Rauf will have the same consideration to the Commonwelthe as I now have or more, I do will and devyse that my sonne Rauf do permit and suffer the said Richard Heeks to have and enjoye the said howse and all other things specifyed in the said wrytings made betwene me and the said Richard Heeks', and in conclusion he hopes that 'Richard Heeks will contyneue the exercysing of the same trade to so good a purpose as he hath begun'. To another son, William, he bequeathed various furniture at Beoley 'except the hangings of Tapestrye and Arras which I do will shall remain at Beoley from heyre to heyre'. Tapestry weaving must then have been in existence at Barcheston for some years before William Sheldon's death in December 1570, as is evident from this disposition in his will.

The reputation of the Barcheston factory was widely established early in Elizabeth's reign, as in the Black Book of Warwick there is a record dated 27th November, 1571, which reports that John Fisher was sent by the town of Warwick to solicit an interview with Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, at the royal palace of Greenwich concerning the poverty of Warwick, and supplicating his help, to which the earl replied: 'I marvaile you do not devise some ways amongst you, to have some speciall trade to kepe your poore on woork as such as Sheldon of Beolye wch my thinkith, should not only be very profittable, but also a meanes to kepe your poore from Idelnes.'[2]

[1] 'William Willington of Barcheston', from the *Evesham Journal*, 1924, by Mr. Rees Price, F.S.A.

[2] *Black Book of Warwick*, p. 48, ed. by Thomas Kemp.

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Evidence is given in the book of John Fisher, town clerk of Warwick, by Nicholas Goodman, who says that he is a weaver and arras maker, but hath not wrought of long. He was probably employed at Barcheston.[1]

The lease of all the tolls and customs, fairs and market dues held in Bishops Castell, co. Salop, were devised by William Sheldon to his grandson, Edmund Plowden, son of Edmund Plowden and Katherine Sheldon (the testator's daughter), at the age of twenty-four, but meanwhile these tolls were to be for the use of the tapestry-makers of Barcheston and Bardisley (Baddesley Clinton).

The latter place was the home of his sister Mary, wife of George Ferrers



Fig. 1. Barcheston Manor House, Warwickshire.

of Baddesley Clinton, but we hear nothing further of looms there after the death of William Sheldon. He also specifies that money shall be 'Lent freely, from tyme to tyme uppon good suerties to such person and personnes as shall occupye and use the arte of making of Tapestrys and Arras, or either of them within the Countye of Worcester, and Warr. and in the cities of Worcester and Coventree [to] William Dowler now servant to Richard Heeks the onely auter and begynner of this Arte within this Realme'.

Barcheston manor house near Shipston-on-Stour, where the celebrated tapestry was made, is still standing as a farm-house (fig. 1). It is situated in a thinly populated country, approached by gated roads with broad grass strips on either side.

A large room in the basement was probably the original hall; the stone transomed windows remain. The passage and a large bedroom upstairs are lined with beautiful linen-pattern oak panelling. The present hall is modern, but remains of buildings exist which might have been used for the industry.

Richard Hicks lived in the parsonage adjoining, and was evidently a great

[1] *Book of John Fisher, Town Clerk, Warwick*, pp. 176, 177, ed. by Thomas Kemp.

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friend of the parson, William Lane. He died the last of October, and was buried the second of November 1621, aged ninety-seven or thereabouts.

There is an interesting entry in the Barcheston register of the burial of Peter, a Dutchman, servant to Richard Hicks, 17th July, 1590, doubtless one of his original Flemish weavers.

After William Sheldon's death in 1570 the trust to carry on the looms was faithfully carried out by his son Ralph, as is evidenced by tapestries of later date, showing that the Barcheston looms were working into the middle of the seventeenth century, many being made under the direction of Francis Hicks, son of Richard Hicks, who supervised the industry after the death of his father.[1]

Only two contemporary notices of the purchase of tapestries from Barcheston have so far come to light.

In the recently discovered manuscript account book of Robert Caldwell, the steward of Grafton Manor, near Bromsgrove, written in 1567–8, describing the building and furnishing of Mr. John Talbot's mansion, are the following entries[2]:

> 'Decr xix 1568—Pd to Rychard Hyke for the ful payment of hys hole money for hangings made for Mr Talbot of hys armes, and a covering of the same work for the new plor xlv*s*. Pd also to hym for xxxvii elles, Flemmyshe of Bankett in peisinge of Hangings for the chamber over the buttereye at ii*s* iiii*d*, the elle iiii*li* vi*s* iiii*d*. Decr. ix 1568—Pd. for Edward Yatte charge rydinge to Barstone (Barcheston) with hangings.'

We read in the building account book of Bess of Hardwycke, countess of Shrewsbury, 1592: 'Paid Mr Sheldon's man for seventeen armses to set upon hangings xxx*s*. iiii*d*., and also ten shillings to hang tapestries.'

The author is indebted to Mr. D. T. B. Wood, of the British Museum, and to Mr. E. A. B. Barnard for interesting and valuable information relating to Richard Hicks and his son Francis in connexion with the Great Wardrobe, extracted from the Great Wardrobe accounts, showing the intimate association of the Barcheston weavers with the royal repairing staff for a very considerable period.

Richard Hicks first occurs among the arras workers in the repairing shop of the Great Wardrobe in 1584. He appears first in the list, followed by Francis Hicks, his son. In a year or two Francis Hicks is the first name and Richard Hicks appears only in a separate account at the foot as supplying materials. Francis Hicks's name occurs up to 1603–4. It would appear that Richard Hicks, who is first heard of in 1560 in the country, came to London to the Great Wardrobe and after a year or two left his son Francis in charge.

[1] Francis Hicks was of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford.

[2] Humphreys, 'The Elizabethan Estate book of Grafton Manor', in *Trans. Birmingham Arch. Soc.* xliv, 7.

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The Lord Chamberlain's accounts of the payments to the arras makers, for the repair of the tapestries and carpets in the Royal Wardrobe, from 1558 to 1614, showed that the weavers were only receiving 1*s.* per day for many years, and it was not until about 1613 that this wage was raised to 16*d.* per day.

In 1584–5 Richard Hicks is paid for crewel 'whele yarn' (strong coarse yarn) threads of various colours and pack thread the sum of £33. His name remains on the list of weavers until 1587–8, when it finally disappears; but as late as 1605–6 Richard Hicks is still paid his account for supplies for repairs. Does this mean that the weavers from Barcheston were transferred to London towards the end of the century?



Fig. 2. William Sheldon's Monument, Beoley church.

The will of Richard Hicks gives the names of four witnesses. Two of them, William Diston and Thomas Dowler, occur in the wardrobe lists, which shows how close the connexion between the two staffs must have been.

Ralph Sheldon was aged thirty-three at his father's death in 1570, and married Anne, daughter of Sir Robert Throckmorton, Knt., of Coughton in Warwickshire. He was the builder of the chapel in Beoley church, which contains the fine monuments to the Sheldon family. These include one to his own memory, with full-length figures of himself and his wife (fig. 2); he died 30th March, 1613. He built a new mansion at Weston, in the parish of Long Compton, and added to the already enormous Sheldon estates by the purchase of the manor of Steeple Barton in the county of Oxford, and in his lifetime the Sheldon family attained the summit of their greatness in wealth, vast possessions, and aristocratic connexions, by marriage with the leading noble families of the Midlands.

Although the Sheldons had benefited so much from the sale of monastic lands and the contents of the abbeys, they were still professed Roman Catholics in Elizabeth's reign, and in the State Papers Domestic of Elizabeth and James I are numerous records of Ralph Sheldon, and the endeavours to implicate him in the political troubles of the Essex rebellion, Gunpowder Plot, and other schemes which proved disastrous to so many of his relatives and friends in Worcestershire and Warwickshire.

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The house at Beoley was burnt down in the Civil War by the cavaliers 'lest the enemy should make a lodgement there', an Edward Sheldon being one of the garrison of Worcester, whose name appears among the gentlemen of the county of Worcester forming the garrison when it surrendered in July 1646, after vainly holding the city for King Charles I.

The Barcheston factory was evidently still going strongly in the beginning of the seventeenth century, as is evident from the series of tapestries of the 'Seasons' at Hatfield House[1]—which possess all the feeling and decorative skill, and arrangement of flowers and pictures of the countryside, so characteristic of the Sheldon weavers—which are now considered to have been woven at Barcheston in 1611.

It would be interesting to know the number of weavers engaged at Barcheston and the amount of their production annually, since it would enable us to make a rough calculation of their output. Col. Howard informed the writer, on the authority of M. Alfred Darcel, late administrator of the Gobelins factory, that a high warp worker at the factory only produced four-fifths of a square metre (rather less than a square yard) in a year of 300 working days. Each square metre costs the state a little over 2,000 francs for the workmanship alone. On the occasion of his visit to the factory thirty to forty years ago, Col. Howard learnt that each worker made about 1 sq. metre in the year. An authority states that the cost of weaving to-day is from £9 to £12 per square foot, or from £80 to £108 per square yard.

Modern tapestry is generally woven with very few warps to the inch compared with Sheldon's, in which the warp threads number seventeen or eighteen to the inch, though finer work is also done.[2] Modern weavers are expected to turn out one square foot a week, and the cost price of the tapestry is based on this estimate, but on fine work they would turn out much less, probably not half.

According to this estimate the narrow strip or valance at Stone House, which is only a little more than two square yards, must have taken nearly three years to weave. I am also informed that the Marquess of Bute is having a great tapestry woven which will measure 58·5 square yards—six weavers are employed on it, and it will take them about ten years to complete.

This gives an average per weaver of about one square yard a year.

The Sheldon industry existed from about 1561 to 1647, say eighty-six years. If weavers worked continually for 300 days, on the basis of the information we possess, they would be turning out finished work at the rate of something

[1] W. G. Thomson, *Tapestry Weaving in England*, p. 59.

[2] About £8 to £15 a square foot (according to subject and fineness) is charged in London to-day.

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like one square yard a year. An outside average might perhaps be two square yards; if so, the total tapestries woven by (say) twenty weavers in eighty-six years would cover 3,440 sq. yards. What proportion of this 3,440 yards is it probable has survived for 300 years or more? Would 1,000 yards have survived? If the weaver worked at the Gobelins rate the total output would only be 1,720 sq. yards.

Among the Worcester manuscripts in the Birmingham reference library is one marked 167897 which is of interest, showing that the Barcheston weavers were employed at the beginning of the seventeenth century, 26th March, 3 Jac. I (1605).

> 'Agreement between Rauff Sheldon of Beoley esq., and Thomas Hoerd of London, esq., Article 3.
>
> 'Item whereas the said Thomas Hoerd doth demand of the said Rauff Sheldon, the sum of three score and odd pounds, over and above the above-mentioned sum of four and twenty thousand pounds by him supposed to be due unto him as part of arrearages of certain "rents charge" and also the delivery of "certain Hangings of Tapestrie" for the furniture of two chambers, and one bed throughlie furnished, etc.'

Sheldon Tapestry Maps.

The great house at Weston was pulled down about the end of the eighteenth century, and the maps which were then hanging at Weston were sold in 1781 to Horace Walpole. Horace Walpole writes under date of 12th September, 1781, when he purchased for the sum of thirty guineas the maps then hanging in the gallery at Mr. Sheldon's house at Weston, in Long Compton: 'I have made some purchases of Mr Sheldon's very cheap indeed.' Gough the antiquary states that 'Three large maps near 80 feet square in Tapestry by Francis and Richard Hicks, cover two sides of a gallery. Walpole subsequently presented them to Lord Harcourt, who built a tower at Nuneham, in 1783, to receive that magnificent mark of the friendship of Mr Walpole.'

The tapestry maps are so clearly explained in the description of English tapestries in the hand-book of the Victoria and Albert Museum that it is unnecessary to enter into further details. They were probably made from the cartoons of Christopher Saxton's *Surveys of the Counties of England*, which were published as an atlas in 1579.[1]

They show the hills, rivers, and streams, each town and hamlet, with the churches, parks, and, in some instances, the roads; and suggest a personal

[1] *Handbook of English Sixteenth-Century Tapestries*, Victoria and Albert Museum; *Tapestry Portfolio*, iii, 1915; *Catalogue of Tapestries*, 1924.

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knowledge of the country by the designer of each map, for usually the churches are correctly represented, with or without a spire (pl. XXXVII).

Twenty-five years later the three maps came into the possession of Edward Venables Vernon Harcourt, archbishop of York, who presented them to the York Philosophical Society in 1827, where they have been up to the present time. Besides these there are two others in the Bodleian Library, and two map fragments recently came to light, once the property of Henry Birkbeck, Esq., of Westacre High House, Swaffham, Norfolk, and afterwards of Sir Philip Sassoon. The maps were brought together for the first time since their separation at the end of the eighteenth century, and exhibited in the great gallery of the Victoria and Albert Museum in the spring of the year 1914.

The Bodleian maps are: 1. Worcestershire and parts of the adjacent counties. 2. Oxfordshire and Berks., with parts of Middlesex, Surrey, Gloucester, and Northampton.

York maps: 1. Worcestershire and parts of surrounding counties. 2. Berks., Oxford, parts of Middlesex, Surrey, Gloucester, Northampton, and Worcester. 3. Warwickshire and parts of the surrounding counties.

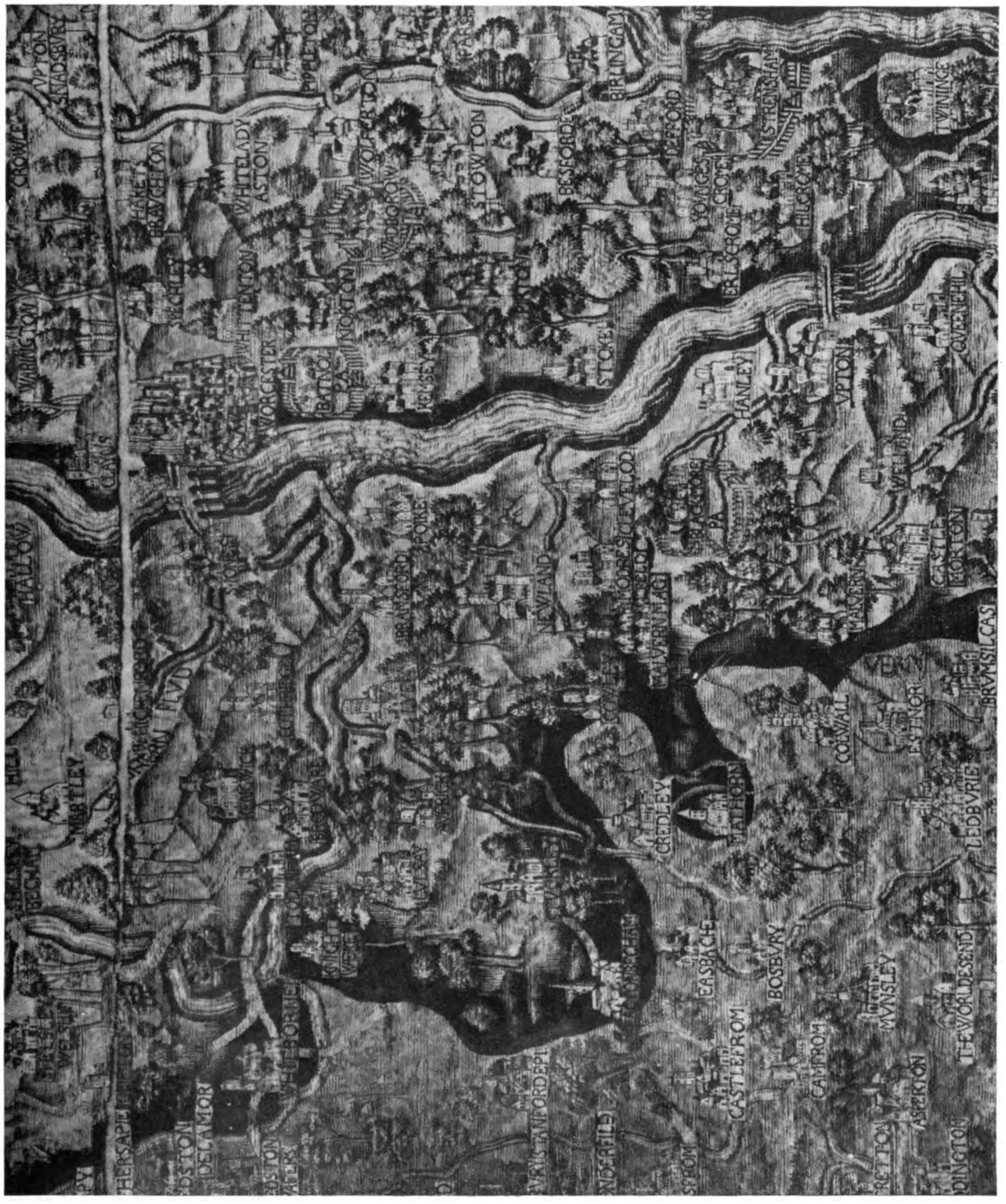
Birkbeck fragments: Two fragments which belonged to one map, which included Gloucestershire and parts of Somerset, Wilts., and Monmouth. The Sheldon maps in the Bodleian Library were bequeathed by the antiquary Gough, who purchased them at Walpole's sale at Strawberry Hill; they passed into the possession of the Bodleian in 1809. He states that he bought the larger fragments for £1 1*s*. Several maps are of great size, one measuring 25 ft. long and 13 ft. high, and they are worked with coloured wools, one map of Warwickshire containing the date 1588. The maps show the midland counties of England, including Worcestershire, Warwickshire, Oxfordshire, and Berkshire, with parts of Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Cambridgeshire, Bedfordshire, and Hertfordshire; nearly all Middlesex, Surrey, Buckinghamshire, and Northamptonshire. The two map fragments bought at auction by Sir P. Sassoon are now in the possession of Viscount Ednam. The Keeper of the Textile Department, Mr. A. F. Kendrick, most kindly gave me much of the above information and every opportunity for studying the maps.

The tapestries from the Sheldon looms were partly intended for beautifying William Sheldon's mansions, and especially the house at Beoley, and that would account for their size and grand proportions.

The Chastleton Tapestries.

It seemed strange, considering the long period that the Barcheston factory was working, that no illustrations of decorative hangings had been preserved, and it occurred to Col. Henry Howard, F.S.A., and the author that probably by

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South-western portion of the Elizabethan Tapestry Map of Worcestershire

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1925

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Fig. 1. Small Sheldon Tapestry (no. 1), from Chastleton, 1919

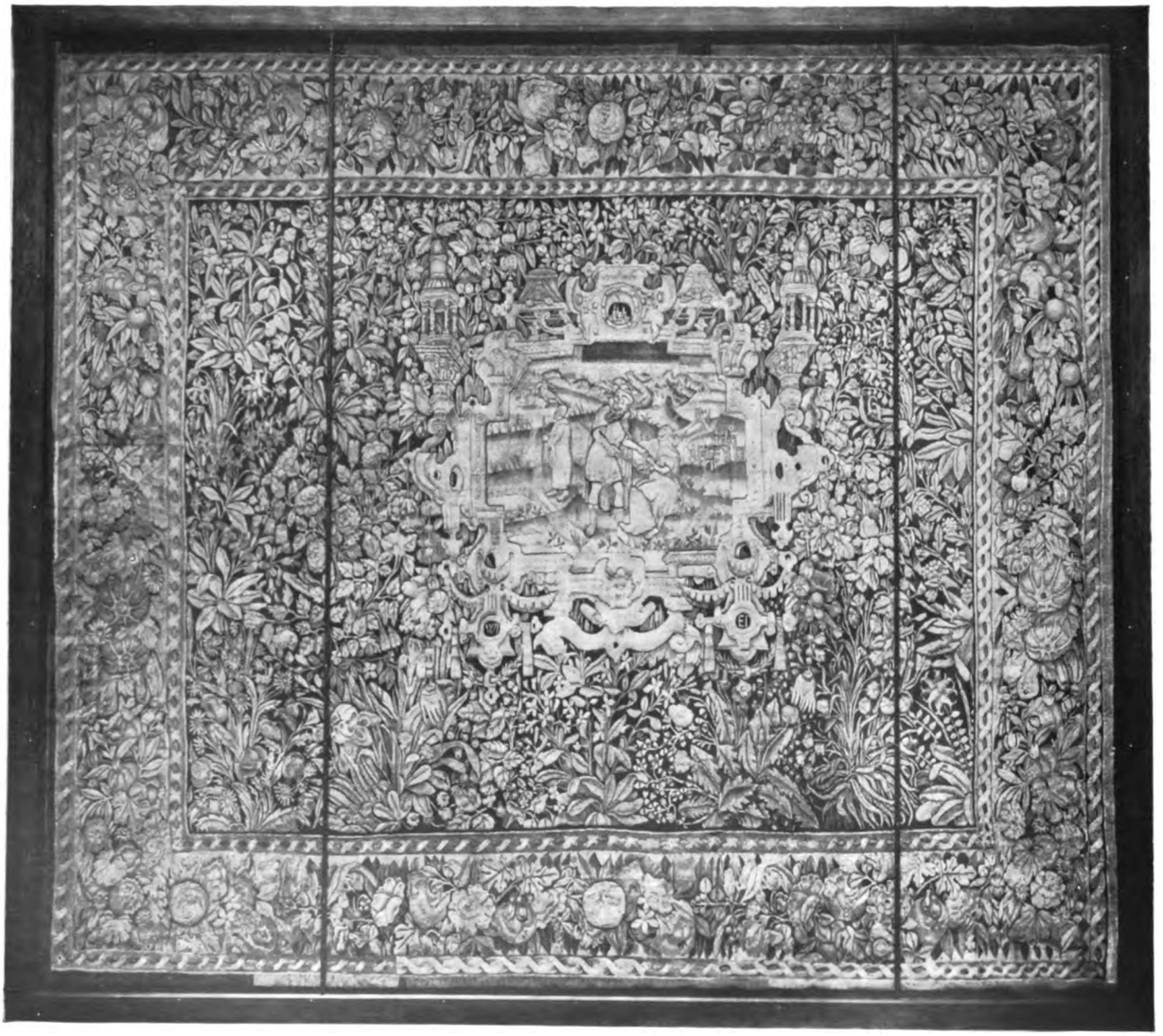


Fig. 2. The Chastleton Judah Tapestry in the Birmingham Art Gallery

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working on genealogical lines and visiting the great houses in the Midlands connected with the Sheldons, which are still existing, decorative specimens might be found. The quest was pursued for three years without result, until September 1919, when Chastleton House, near Moreton in Marsh, the property of Mrs. Whitmore Jones, was visited.

An inventory taken 14th May 1633, describing the contents of Chastleton House at the time, after the death of the builder, Mr. Walter Jones, had been consulted, and one bedroom was described as *Mr. Sheldon's Chamber*, in which at the present day is a fine marble mantelpiece, a carved shield with the Sheldon arms, with those of Ruding, and the sheldrake crest. The inventory records among the furniture in this room 'Three peeces of arras hangings xx. li' and in the great gallery 'fower large quarter mapps'.

The reading of this inventory stimulated the searchers, who realized that if still in existence they must be the work of the Barcheston looms. Ralph Sheldon was evidently the personal friend of the new lord of Chastleton; his residence at Weston Park was only a dozen miles distant, and the Barcheston factory less than ten miles off. It was only natural that the new hangings for the great house would be bought there.

After the examination of the state rooms without result, the butler's bedroom was entered, and lining the walls were discovered five neglected pieces of tapestry, but of beautiful design, which turned out to be the long-sought treasures. There was no mistaking the workmanship, which bore such a strong resemblance to the tapestry maps, and the opinion was confirmed by a critical examination when the date 1595 was found on one hanging. Chastleton is one of the finest Jacobean mansions in the country; the estate was formerly owned by Robert Catesby, the prime conspirator in the Gunpowder Plot. In 1602 he sold the estate to Walter Jones, a woollen merchant of Witney, for £4,000, to pay a fine of £3,000 levied upon him for his share in the Essex Rebellion. A grant of arms was made to Walter Jones in 1602, in which he is described as 'Walter Jones of the city of Worcester born at Whittney in coun. Oxford'. He was one of the two members of parliament for the city of Worcester in 1584, 1586–8, and 1593.

In 1603 Walter Jones pulled down the old house and began building the present stately structure, which was completed in 1614. The full-length pictures of himself and his wife hang in the hall in Chastleton. Walter Jones married Eleanor Pope, maid of honour to Queen Elizabeth; her father was the queen's jeweller. In 1632 Walter Jones died, and was succeeded by his son Henry, who married Anne, daughter of Sir Edmund Fettiplace of Bruern Abbey. Evidently the tapestries were originally designed for Walter Jones's house at Witney nineteen years before he came to live at Chastleton, and had been brought to the mansion at Chastleton when the family moved to the new home in

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1614. When they were adapted to their later environment, one piece extending across the entrance doorway was mutilated to admit of the opening of the door, and another cut in halves to fit it over the mantelpiece. Four of the tapestries represent scenes from the thirty-eighth chapter of Genesis, descriptive of incidents in the life of Judah and his visit to his shepherds at Timnath in company with Hirah the Adullamite. They show the open country, the roads, buildings and castles, and flocks of sheep, and on one panel is the representation of the interior of a bedroom, with bed-hangings and furniture of Elizabethan times.

Each picture occupies the centre of the hanging framed in a Renaissance design, with a woven description, such as 'When Parese gave the Goldene Appel'. The lettering closely resembles that on the tapestry maps. Below the central scenes hang medallions, one on either side, with the letters on four of them W. I. and E. I., representing the initials of Walter and Eleanor Jones. On the fifth tapestry, showing the Judgement of Paris, the lettering on either side is H. I., the initials of the son Henry Jones. The pictures in the centre of each occupy but a small portion of the surface: the double twisted frame, with the background and wide border, contains elaborate representations in various natural colours of roses, lilies, bluebells, dandelions, daisies, wall-flowers, cyclamen, strawberries, apples, pears, pomegranates, and other fruit exquisitely worked in coloured wools. The background is of a dark burnt umber colour.

The panels measure 10 ft. 10 in. by 10 ft. 10 in.; 10 ft. 7 in. by 12 ft.; 10 ft. 7 in. by 7 ft. 6 in.; 6 ft. 9 in. by 8 ft. 5 in.

The tapestries were subsequently sold at Sotheby's—one example, that of Paris and the Golden Apple, was purchased by the Victoria and Albert Museum recently.

Besides these larger panels, other small decorative pieces, beautifully designed and in good condition, were found, and they are believed to be the work of Sheldon weavers.

No. 1 is a small panel, measuring 36 in. by 25 in., containing in the centre a female figure seated, holding a basket of fruit on her knee, while another basket is filled to overflowing with fruit of various kinds; the border is made up of flowers and fruit. Along the top of the panel is the following inscription, *Sensorium gustatus est nervus supra linguam. Expansus ad quem sapor pervenit ductus a saliva* (pl. XXXVIII, fig. 1).

No. 2. In the centre of this panel a griffin stands on the edge of a cliff overlooking the sea, and is surrounded with a design of flowers and fruit, canopies, figures, and astrolabes, the latter resembling those in the border of the Drayton House tapestries. The panel measures 44 in. by 26 in. (pl. XXXIX, fig. 2).

No. 3. This small tapestry, measuring 42 in. by 30 in., contains in the centre a large coat of arms of Walter Jones of Chastleton and his wife Eleanor, and is

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Fig. 1. Small Sheldon Tapestry (no. 3), from Chastleton, 1919



Fig. 2. Small decorative Barcheston panel (no. 2), found at Chastleton in 1919

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Fig. 1. Sixteenth-century English Tapestry Cushion-cover



Fig. 2. Prodigal Son, sixteenth-century Tapestry

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surrounded by a design of Tudor roses and pomegranates on a blue ground, with a border of flowers and fruit (pl. XXXIX, fig. 1).

All three pieces are in fine condition—they also were sold at Sotheby's sale on 12th November 1920. No. 2 is now in the possession of Lady Barber, Culham Court, Henley-on-Thames. No. 3 was bought by the late Col. Mulliner of Rugby, and after his death was acquired by Col. Henry Howard, of Stone House, Worcestershire.

During the year 1924 one of the Chastleton tapestries was purchased and presented to the Art Gallery, Birmingham, by the Feeney Trustees; it is a beautiful example with all the characteristics of the early Barcheston decorative pieces, a small central picture of a scene from the life of Judah, surrounded by a wealth of exquisite flowers and fruit, hyacinths in bud and flower, and lilies of the valley, mallow, primrose, cyclamen, convolvulus, strawberry, pinks, stocks, gillyflowers, poppies, pansies, lilies, roses, and a dandelion plant in the right-hand corner, characteristic of the Barcheston panels at Chastleton. The broad outer border represents apples, melons, plums, pears, pomegranates, quinces, cherries, peas in pod, together with marguerites, narcissi, roses, and poppies. A twisted barber's pole design encloses the inner picture, and also surrounds the outer frame (pl. XXXVIII, fig. 2).

Wollas Hall Panel.

An interesting small tapestry cushion-cover was discovered at Kemerton, near Tewkesbury, by Mr. Clifford Smith, and described in *Proceedings*, xxvi, 236. The piece measures 1 ft. 7 in. by 1 ft. $6\frac{1}{4}$ in. (pl. XL, fig. 1).

The centre of the panel is occupied by a shield with the arms of Sacheverell; quarterly of six, and surrounding it, forming the background, are the usual garden flowers, borage, stock, lily of the valley, daffodil, marigold, pansy, primrose, Solomon's seal, carnation, cornflower, and cuckoo flower—a bird stands on either side of the shield. The border is composed of six lion masks, and two female busts, with a figure on either side, likewise various fruits and flowers. A burst pomegranate shows the seeds inside, as in the Chastleton tapestry.

This cushion-cover originally belonged to Wollas Hall on Bredon Hill, Worcestershire, formerly the home of the Hanford family. It is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.[1]

Prodigal Son Panels.

In the Victoria and Albert Museum are six small panels, illustrative of scenes from the life of 'The Prodigal Son', each enclosed in a wide border ornamented with foliage, flowers, and fruit, with a seated figure at each bottom

[1] See *Catalogue of Tapestries*, 1924, pl. II.

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corner in a wheeled car and lion masks, interspersed. The spaces are filled by narcissus, columbine, carnation, periwinkle, wild rose, foxglove, convolvulus flowers, and strawberries, elderberries, and peas (pl. XL, fig. 2). Other panels were woven from the same cartoons, for Col. Howard possesses a copy of the panel showing the prodigal son being driven away by his late boon companions, when all his money had been spent. Two others are in the Glynn Vivian Art Gallery, Swansea.

Sudeley Castle Tapestries.

Col. Henry Howard and Mr. A. F. Kendrick and the writer visited Sudeley Castle, near Winchcombe, by the kind permission of Mr. Dent-Brocklehurst, on 21st September 1923, when two beautiful pieces of Elizabethan tapestry were found, one being a small strip 5 ft. long and 12 in. broad, the other a hanging measuring 16 ft. 3 in. by 6 ft. 2 in. (pl. XLI, fig. 2). This was hung in a north bedroom, and was in a perfect state of preservation, being worked in coloured wools of which the colours were quite fresh. The design consisted of eight small medallions, the background being a wealth of English flowers exquisitely worked, such as iris, strawberry, poppy, convolvulus, borage, lilies, roses, daisies, narcissi, daffodils, sunflower, foxglove, columbine, wall-flower, pansies, violets, fumitory, holly, elder flowers, pinks, snapdragon, Solomon's seal, forget-me-not, lupins, honeysuckle, and crown imperial—all familiar flowers, cultivated in an Elizabethan garden, and accurately represented on the tapestry, as well as peas in their pods. There are also figures of various animals—such as squirrels, horses, cats, and a lion with a human face, together with numerous birds such as the domestic cock, turkey, wagtail, crane, pigeon, pheasant, snipe, water-hen, swan, pelican, peacock, parrot, partridge, dove, and stork—one bird being shown with a human face.

Several birds at the top of the hanging are shown standing upside down. Sometimes these designs face the border all round the edge, evidently for use as table-covers, this one seems to go half-way. The design is suggestive of the early painted cloths, which are described as painted with birds, beasts, and *folorii*.

The eight medallions, with one exception, are surrounded by an irregular circular frame of twisted cords, the pictures being somewhat crudely represented. Starting from the right-hand side:

No. 1 shows *Justice*—a draped figure holding a sword raised in her right hand and an open book on her left knee.

No. 2. Lady holding mirror in her right hand, raising a long skirt by a cord in her left hand disclosing white petticoat beneath. In the background is a small half-timbered farm-house, and beyond, a village church.

No. 3. *Temperance.* Lady in flowing robes, with a bridge in background.

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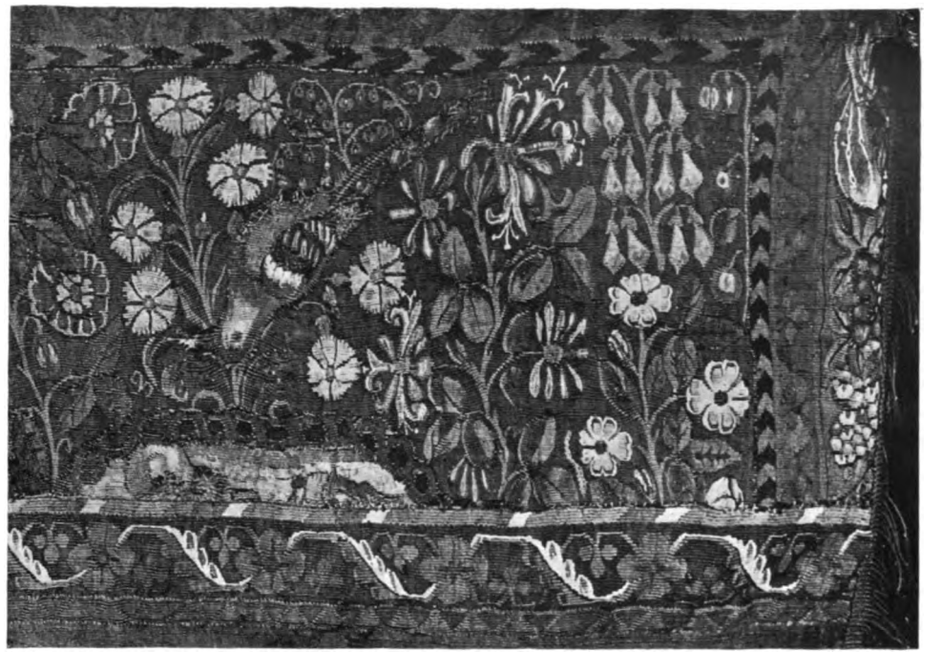


Fig. 1. Portion of English Tapestry Strip at Sudeley Castle, Gloucestershire

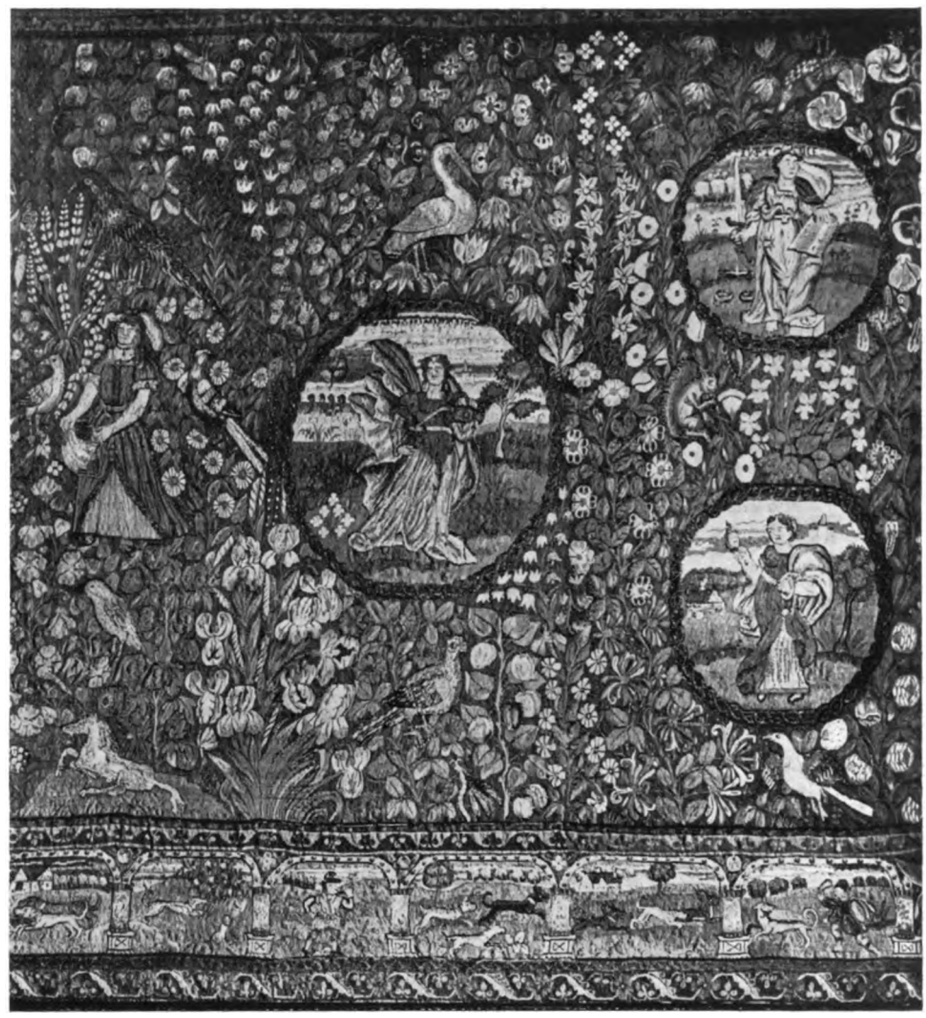


Fig. 2. Portion of Large Tapestry at Sudeley Castle, Gloucestershire

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Fig. 1. Portion of the Stone House Valance



Fig. 2. Portion of the Stone House Valance



Fig. 3. Meeting of Esau and Jacob, Hamsterley Hall, Rowlands Gill, Newcastle-upon-Tyne

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No. 4. *The Expulsion from Paradise.* The frame is shield-shaped with trefoil-like projections—on the central trefoil are letters, apparently B. I., and on the adjoining trefoil on the left, K.

No. 5. *Judices.* Draped figure standing on stool; on the left is the upper part of the figure of a double-headed man, below is a lion. On right of the medallion is an open book. There is a background of country scenery.

No. 6. *Charity.* A woman seated with four little children, one at the breast.

No. 7. *Hope.* Lady with anchor. In the background a castle, and a river with boat on it.

No. 8. *Faith.* Lady with cross in right hand. In the background a church, river, and ship. On either side of the central medallions is a woman, one with raised sword, the other with a basket.

The border is very remarkable, being 11 in. wide with scenes from hunting the fox, the deer, and the boar, in thirty-four arcade-like compartments, eighteen in the upper, and sixteen in the lower part of the frame. It is a spirited reproduction of the hunt, showing huntsmen on foot and horseback, dressed in Elizabethan fashion, with slashed breeches, each carrying a hunting-horn in the right hand; the large, collared hounds are in eager pursuit of their quarry, and in the background typically English scenery, with a castle, a mansion, a church, a farm-house, and cottages.

On either end of the frame, the arcading ceases and is replaced by ornament consisting of various fruits, as apples, pomegranates, grapes, quinces, and of various flowers, and of a woman with a basket of fruit on her head.

Running all round the picture is a spiral cord suggestive of the barber's pole found in the Chastleton hangings.

The smaller strip or valance (pl. XLI, fig. 1), measuring 5 ft. by 12 in., consists of representations of familiar flowers, such as Solomon's seal, dog rose, honeysuckle, lily of the valley, cornflower, rose, ox-eye daisies, tulips, borage, and foxglove, acorns and oak leaves, together with birds and a dragon-fly. At the base of the strip is the summit of a crown with the letters $\frac{\text{I}}{\text{B}}$ F. underneath the trefoil ornament, resembling the larger hanging and evidently designed by the same hand.

The specimen has been repaired by the insertion of two small pieces at the base, of different material.

The Stone House Tapestry.

Col. Howard has in his possession a very charming and perfect valance of the same period, the colours still fresh, measuring 19 ft. 4 in. in length and 10 in. in breadth. The background is green, and the hunting scenes are reminiscent of the large Sudeley Castle hanging. The border is of the same

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barber's pole design, coloured white, red, yellow, blue—each picture representing spirited English hunting scenes of the fox, boar, hare, stag, and bear. The huntsmen are usually clad in short breeches, either baggy or tight-fitting to the knees, which are generally bare—the short jacket buttoned to the waist, suggestive of Elizabethan dress. One carries a horn in his left hand, another a hawk on his left wrist, and a gentleman is riding a richly caparisoned horse. The attendants carry short, stout spears; most are on foot, and accompany the pack of large hounds. The background of the chase consists of characteristic English scenery, showing castles and moated mansions, a half-timbered dwelling, and a scene outside a country inn, where under a tree, from which the sign of the 'Ship' is hanging, rustics are dancing to the music of the bagpipes (pl. XLII, figs. 1 and 2).

The valance is surmounted by a strip of familiar English flowers and birds, and dragon-flies, closely resembling the Sudeley Castle small tapestry, and in addition, masks of lions.

Drayton House Tapestries.

Two tapestries in Drayton House examined last summer by the courtesy of Col. Stopford Sackville, are splendid illustrations of Elizabethan hangings which were woven with the arms of the owner. They are interesting as showing the kind of tapestry executed for Bess of Hardwick and John Talbot of Grafton, from the Barcheston looms, by Richard Hicks.

Both hangings exhibit in the centre the arms of Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, who died in 1588, with sixteen quarterings on the shield, and *Droit et Loyal* beneath, the badge of the 'Bear and Ragged Staff' above, introduced into the arms of Leicester in 1561, when his elder brother Ambrose was made earl of Warwick.

No. 1 (pl. XLIII) is enclosed in a double frame of a delicate Renaissance design of globes and figures, between which is enclosed a rich pattern of flowers and fruits.

Surrounding Leicester's arms and forming the background is the usual adornment of exquisite flowers seen on the Sheldon tapestries, with the addition of others such as the periwinkle, pink, daffodil, anemone, primrose, cowslip, moondaisy, bistort, stinking iris, and wood sorrel.

On either side of the tapestry are incidents in connexion with the Flood, the building of the Ark, and Noah and his family leaving the Ark after the waters had subsided. There is a serpent crawling away on the right. On the front of the picture at the bottom are a cock and hen pheasant and two young ones.

No. 2 (pl. XLIV) is a superb piece, with the Leicester arms, and lion supporters in the middle, and the Bear and Ragged Staff badge above the shield.

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Drayton House Elizabethan Tapestry (no. 1), with the Arms of the Earl of Leicester

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Drayton House Elizabethan Tapestry (no. 2), with the Arms of the Earl of Leicester

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On either side is a medallion, with a circular frame of flowers, each enclosing a large fountain of different design surmounted by the Bear and Ragged Staff; the background of the picture shows buildings on a high hill.

In the right-hand fountain is an ornamented square bowl, with four rounded bowls attached, the high column in the centre bears on the top the Warwick badge and is supported by four figures from whose mouths the water falls into the basin below. At the base of the fountain the water escapes through lions' mouths to the square reservoir beneath. The whole is surrounded by a railing, entered on each side by a high rounded archway or low entrance.

The left fountain is circular, and the low railing encloses four round basins which catch the water from the mouths of the four supporting figures above, these holding up a basin into which the water is projected in narrow streams from its centre; four swans bear the column surmounted by the Bear and Ragged Staff.

Two small pools below are tenanted with water-fowl and wild ducks, and other birds shown are heron, male ruff, hawk, parrot, pheasants and chicks, and turkey cock and hen.

A snake is seen wriggling in the foreground, and again in the same position in the right-hand corner occurs the significant dandelion.

These two tapestries were not improbably woven for Queen Elizabeth's chamber on the occasion of the queen's visit to the earl of Leicester at Kenilworth Castle, where she stayed for seventeen days after her arrival on Saturday, 9th July 1575. Magnificent entertainments were provided for her amusement, and Robert Laneham, who was present, has left an account of her splendid reception, upon which the earl expended about £60,000. Robert Laneham writes:

> 'Unto this his Honours exquisite appointment of a beautiful garden, an acre or more in quantity, that hath on the north there in the centre as it were of this goodly garden, was there placed a very fair fountain, cast into an eight square, reared four feet high, from the midst whereof a column upright in shape, and two Athlants joined together, a back half, the one looks east the other west, with their hands upholding a fair bowl of three feet over, from whence sundry fine pipes did lively distil continued streams, into the receipt of the Fountain, maintained still two feet deep, by the same fresh falling water; in the top the ragged staff, which with the bowl the pillar and eight sides beneath were hewn out of right and hard white marble.'[1]

Might not the fountains in the tapestry have been drawn from those in Kenilworth Castle garden?

[1] *Robert Laneham, an account of Festivities given to Queen Elizabeth on her visit at Kenilworth in 1579*, p. 156.

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Tapestry in St. Mary's Hall, Coventry.

The remarkable tapestry in St. Mary's Hall, Coventry, is thought to have been designed in England (during the early half of the sixteenth century) and woven in Flanders. It is supposed to represent Henry VI and his queen, the leading lords and ladies of his court, surrounded by saints and monarchs, and above the summit of the centre of the hanging is a figure of Justice, over the emblems of the Passion.

When this tapestry was at South Kensington to be cleaned and repaired, Mr. Kendrick came to the conclusion that the figure of Justice was woven and inserted after the Reformation, in the place of the original illustration of the Holy Trinity or our Lord enthroned, which had been cut out and destroyed, as an objectionable Popish subject. This figure was probably executed at Barcheston, and is therefore the work of Sheldon's looms.[1] Mr. Kendrick states:

> 'There were tapestry weavers in the county (Warwick) and there need be no hesitation in attributing this figure to them. In type and treatment it resembles the figures on the border of the Bodleian maps woven by Sheldon weavers in Warwickshire, and the forms of the letters in the word "Justicia" are similar to that of the names on the maps.'

Though Sheldon claims that Richard Hicks, his head weaver, is 'the only author and beginner of this art within this realm', there is evidence to show that in the reign of Henry VIII some of the arras makers of the royal household wove complete tapestries in addition to weaving portions to repair or enlarge tapestries already existing.[2]

Armorial Tapestry of William Herbert, 1st Earl of Pembroke.

The fine armorial tapestry of William Herbert, 1st earl of Pembroke, is now considered to be of English design, and woven at Barcheston, and, if so, represents one of the early Sheldon hangings, though in appearance it is unlike them. It contains in the centre the coat of arms of Sir William Herbert, first earl of Pembroke, 1501–70, but lacks the simplicity of design of other Barcheston early pieces, with backgrounds of English flowers, which are replaced in this tapestry by a series of grotesque forms.

On the left side of the panel, the seated lady's left hand rests on a turkey cock, a bird 'unknown in England before 1530' when it was introduced from America.

[1] A. F. Kendrick, 'Coventry Tapestry', *Burlington Magazine*, no. ccli, vol. xliv, February 1924.
[2] W. G. Thomson, *Tapestry Weaving in England*, p. 46.

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Armorial Tapestry at Chawton Manor.

A magnificent armorial tapestry at Chawton Manor, owned by Mr. Montagu George Knight, measures 16 ft. 3 in. long by 7 ft. 2 in. wide. It is dated 1564 and contains shields indicative of the Lewkenor marriages in the wide border. A pair of nude figures support a shield surrounded by a wreath of leaves and flowers, and on the right and left of the hanging are two shields, each similarly encircled with a wreath.

The design and execution are very fine, and if the date is correct it would point to a high development of tapestry weaving at an early period. The hanging must be assigned to the Sheldon looms, as apparently Barcheston was the only English factory then at work in the country.

Hatfield Cushion Cover.

Preserved at Hatfield is a small cushion-cover, with a shield containing the arms of Lord Burghley, who died in 1598, which in its country scenes and arrangement of wild flowers in the foreground is reminiscent of Sheldon's work.

The Hamsterley Hall Tapestry.

Since reading this paper, a small tapestry, 2 ft. 10 in. by 2 ft. 5 in., representing the meeting of Esau and Jacob (pl. XLII, fig. 3), the property of Mr. S. R. Vereker, of Hamsterley Hall, Rowlands Gill, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, has been placed on loan in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

The colours—red, orange, and cobalt blue—are vivid and fresh, with numerous gold and silver threads. The picture is well treated, with a wealth of detail for so small a panel.

The frame is composed of fruit and flowers, and in the centre of the lower border is a medallion with apparently the sheldrake, the crest of the Sheldons. There can be little doubt that this little tapestry is another valuable addition to our knowledge of the work of the Barcheston weavers.

This panel was bought originally from a house in the Barnard Castle, co. Durham district.

List of Sixteenth-century Sheldon Tapestries.

Chawton Manor tapestry, date about 1564.
Panel of earl of Pembroke, about 1570.
Earl of Leicester's tapestries, with his arms, at Drayton House, 1575.
Bodleian map of Worcestershire, 1588.
Four Chastleton Judah tapestries, 1595.

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One 'Paris and the Golden Apple', 1595.

Three small tapestries from Chastleton.

Lord Burghley's chair-cover, before 1598.

Two Sudeley Castle hangings, probably latter part of the sixteenth century.

Lt.-Col. Henry Howard's valance, undated, but probably late Elizabethan.

Wollas Hall tapestry, undated. Victoria and Albert Museum, catalogue i. E, second half of the sixteenth century.

Six panels of the Prodigal Son tapestries in the Victoria and Albert Museum, Catalogue 1. B.

A panel from another set of the same design in the possession of Lt.-Col. Henry Howard, and two others in the Glynn Vivian Art Gallery, Swansea.

The Victoria and Albert Museum Catalogue records a small piece measuring 8 in. in height and $11\frac{1}{8}$ in. in width, illustrating 'The Flight into Egypt'; and a second panel of about the same size, illustrating 'Christ and the Woman of Samaria', which were both purchased for the museum under the bequest of the late Francis Rennell Bryan in 1913 (1. C and 1. D in the Victoria and Albert Museum Catalogue, late sixteenth century).

A table-cover (7 ft. by 5 ft. 3 in.) was sold at Christie's in the Huth sale, and bought by Mr. Leslie Urquhart, 10 Palace Green, Kensington, representing 'Hearing'—with a lute player in the middle, and figures of four other senses in the corners.

The seventeenth-century productions from the Barcheston looms include the 'Four Seasons' at Hatfield House, one of which is dated 1611, and also the remaining tapestry maps, one of which, the Sheldon Rocksavage map of Warwickshire, was woven about the middle of the seventeenth century, it is thought in connexion with the marriage of Ralph Sheldon, born in 1624, to Henrietta Maria, daughter of Viscount Rocksavage, which took place, according to Anthony Wood, in 1647.

The cartoon is considered to have been designed by Francis Hicks, son of Richard Hicks, before his death in 1630, as his name appears upon the panel which illustrates the counties of Berkshire and Oxfordshire. The arms show Sheldon impaling Savage.

As we are now in possession of several dated sixteenth-century hangings, one being the Bodleian Worcestershire tapestry map dated 1588, and another the Chastleton Judah hanging, dated 1595, as guides and for reference, the solution of the authorship of the other panels is simplified.

There are many points of resemblance in the details of the designs, whilst the costumes, houses, and furniture all indicate sixteenth or early seventeenth-century art, and, as far as is known, the Barcheston looms were the only ones in England working at the time. It is fortunate that there are examples of this beautiful tapestry still in existence.

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For permission to reproduce illustrations of the various tapestries to illustrate this paper I have to thank—The Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum for part of the tapestry map of Worcestershire, the Wollas Hall tapestry, and Prodigal Son panel; the Director of the Birmingham Art Gallery and Museum for the Judah Chastleton panel; the proprietors of *Country Life* for the three small Chastleton panels; Mr. H. Dent Brocklehurst, Sudeley Castle, Glos., for the large decorative Elizabethan tapestry and the strip of similar work; Lt.-Col. Henry Howard, Stone House, Worcs., for the valance of tapestry; Mr. S. R. Vereker, Hamsterley Hall, Rowlands Gill, Newcastle-on-Tyne, for the Esau and Jacob panel; Col. Stopford Sackville, Drayton House, Northants, for the two 'Leicester' tapestries; Mr. Philip Chatwin, F.S.A., Birmingham, for the photograph of Barcheston Manor House; and Mr. Thos. J. Davies, Birmingham, for that of the monument of William Sheldon in Beoley Church.

I gratefully acknowledge the help I have received from Mr. A. F. Kendrick, late Keeper of the Textile Department, Victoria and Albert Museum; Lt.-Col. Henry Howard, F.S.A.; Mr. Clifford Smith, F.S.A., of the Victoria and Albert Museum, and Mr. H. C. Marillier.

To Mr. D. T. B. Wood, of the British Museum, I am much indebted for his valuable notes from the Great Wardrobe accounts of Elizabeth and James I, and to my friends Mr. Rees Price, F.S.A., and Mr. E. A. B. Barnard, F.S.A., for valuable original notes on the activities of Richard and Francis Hicks in London.

Discussion.

Mr. Baird Wood had extracted from accounts the names of as many weavers as he could discover, and the list threw some light on the subject of the paper. The period from 1518 tc 1647 was covered by more than a hundred names in London; Richard Hicks, who appeared as the head of the repairing shop in the Great Wardrobe in 1584, had previously worked at Barcheston. His son Francis succeeded him and managed the repairing shop till 1605. Three generations of the Hicks family were in the trade, and the name of Thomas Hoerd, mentioned by Mr. Humphreys, also appeared in the list of the Great Wardrobe shop. There was reason to suppose a close connexion between Barcheston and London. His own list extended from 1485 to 1750 and would probably be published eventually. The names were about half English and half Flemish.

Lord Crawford said British enterprise was more common than might be inferred from the paper, and questioned whether Hicks brought back any trade secrets from the Flemish weavers; there were very few to learn. Tapestries were woven on a gigantic scale. A famous battle-scene of 1382, by Michel Bernard of Arras, measured 285 square metres: it was divided into six by Philip the Bold, and again into six other pieces. Nicholas Bataille took four years to weave the tapestries for Catherine of Angers in 1378, the dimensions being 144 yards long and 5 yards deep; and there must have been English tapestries before the Sheldons. In the thirteenth century England was the greatest exponent of needlework, and nothing like

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opus Anglicanum had been produced before or since. The Sheldon products had nothing in common with Flemish work of that date, and were of elementary form, not tapestry in the ordinary sense, but a kind of woven embroidery. The maps were not embellished with figure subjects or perspective, and their very geography did not admit of accurate measurements. It must, however, have been a great moment when the decorative panels were found in the butler's bedroom. Incident and the pictorial element were both absent, and the result was *verdura* tapestry, with vegetable, animal, and architectural features predominant. He recognized the work of five or six groups in the works shown on the screen, and thought the Sudeley group different from the true Sheldon type. The former had arches of poor form at the bottom, and were clumsy and vague in contrast to the Sheldon borders. The finest piece illustrated was that bearing the Warwick arms, to which the *verdura* element was kept in subordination; and he could not assign it to Sheldon, the lion and bear being far too easy and natural for that school. The only example shown with a pictorial representation of humanity was a commonplace piece of Flemish origin. He hoped that the subject of the paper would be still further investigated, and thought more might be found out by a close study of the styles and records.

Mr. QUARRELL was impressed with the extraordinary accuracy of outline in the tapestry maps, and by the treatment of Westwood, Hindlip, and Huddington manor-houses. The outline of pieces in the Victoria and Albert Museum closely resembled needlework by an ancestress of his own; and the weavers must have had drawings of no mean order to serve as models, such as those made for Queen Elizabeth's visit to Oxford.

Mr. CLIFFORD SMITH said the arms of Jones were confirmed in 1603, with a crest. He had found the Sacheverell panel at the bottom of a drawer in the little chapel of a priest, and had exhibited it to the Society in 1914 (*Proceedings*, xxvi, 237).

Mr. NORMAN had been interested in the paper and admired the English squire's energy in sending workmen to the Netherlands to study tapestry. If, as Lord Crawford seemed to think, the art was continuous in England, where were the looms set up and the names of the craftsmen recorded? Sheldon must have had a sufficient motive, and the craft might have been dying out in his day. He hoped that tapestries of more ambitious character might be identified as English work. As chairman of the Decorative Needlework Society he might mention that all the important tapestries in the country were put in good repair before the war, and as the Society had fulfilled its purpose, it had passed out of existence.

Mr. SANDS said that if the buildings represented on the Sheldon maps could be identified, the tapestries would be a valuable record of contemporary architecture.

Mr. HUMPHREYS replied that criticism like that offered by Lord Crawford was always welcome, especially to one who had approached the subject as an amateur from the historical side. Sheldon work was certainly important, and should be put on record.

The CHAIRMAN (Rev. E. E. Dorling) said the interest of the paper was shown by the discussion. He had expected to hear something about the tapestries in rooms seldom seen on the east side of Haddon Hall; he was reminded of one of them with flowers and the arms of England and France by the example shown on the screen. The paper well merited the thanks of the Society.

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IX.—*An Alabaster Table of the Annunciation with the Crucifix: a Study in English Iconography.*[1] *By* W. L. HILDBURGH, *F.S.A.*

Read 15th May 1924.

THE Kunstgewerbe Museum at Cologne contains a peculiarly interesting example of medieval English alabaster carving, enclosed in what seems to be its original painted wooden case. A few years ago Dr. Carl Schaefer, who was then in charge of the Wallraf-Richartz Museum, found it cast aside in a store-room of that institution, and, having recognized its nature and origin, exhibited it for a little time in one of the galleries; afterwards, he had it removed to the Kunstgewerbe Museum, of which he was director, where it more properly belonged. I saw it in June 1922, soon after it had first been exhibited, and, at my request, Dr. Schaefer courteously had made for me the two photographs (pl. XLV, figs. 1 and 2) herewith reproduced.

The panel was originally about 20 in. high. Its upper part has been broken away, but the remaining portion contains, fortunately, most of the features of special interest to us. The style of the sculpture, and certain minor characteristics of the panel, such as the moulded edges, indicate that it belongs to the earliest group of English alabaster reliefs made for trade purposes;[2] a group datable about the third quarter of the fourteenth century. Two subjects, the Annunciation, and God the Father holding before Him the crucified Son,[3] which are commonly depicted in English alabaster work on separate panels are here represented on the same table. Here, the two subjects are divided from each other by the floor upon which the heavenly throne is set, but connexion

[1] I have to thank, for their valuable assistance in obtaining photographs reproduced and information embodied in this paper, Messrs. F. C. Eeles and F. E. Howard, and our Fellows Mr. P. B. Chatwin, Mr. F. H. Crossley, Dr. H. H. E. Craster, and Dr. Philip Nelson.

[2] Cf. P. Nelson, 'Earliest Type of English Alabaster Panel Carvings', in *Archaeol. Journ.*, lxxvi, 84 seqq., and pls. I–IX. The present panel has been referred to briefly on 93 seqq.

[3] This often has the Third Person, in the form of a Dove, added, so as to show the Trinity. On alabaster representations of this sort, with or without the Dove, cf. *Ant. Journ.*, iii, 28.

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between them has been established by means of the stem of a lily-plant placed, as is common in Annunciation scenes of the period, between Mary and Gabriel. The plant, of extraordinary size, bears upon the portion extending beyond the usual limits of an Annunciation scene the Crucifix of the 'Trinity', and thus replaces the Cross commonly used. Round the stem twines a scroll, descending from the foot of the throne and in process of being unrolled by Gabriel; it still bears a small part of the Angelic Salutation. Much of the original colouring remains. Both divisions of the panel have gilded backgrounds set with regularly disposed knobs of composition, the knobs in the upper division forming two pairs of vertical lines, and those in the lower division squares containing each a large knob at the centre.[1]

The shallow case containing the panel was clearly made to fit it, and from its interior dimensions the original height of the panel before the breakage occurred may be recovered. The front of the case has a pair of doors, surmounted by cresting. On the inner surfaces of these four saints, so disposed as to be displayed when the doors are fully opened, have been painted. The two upper figures are the Blessed Virgin and St. John, as usual to the Lord's right and left sides respectively; the two lower are St. Cyriac the deacon, with a stake[2] in front of him, and holding a chained demon,[3] and St. Ursula,[4] crowned and holding two arrows and a book. Devotional panels of alabaster, mounted in like manner to the present one, appear to have been a regular product of the English alabaster industry. Nelson has recalled[5] a number of these, which still retain their housings, including St. John's Heads, the Trinity, and the Virgin and Child, as well as an empty case which doubtless originally contained one. He has also cited (*loc. cit.*) several carvings which seem to have been made for mounting in the same way. There is a well-known anecdote of Edward IV, in

[1] This latter pattern is similar to the patterns of the backgrounds of a table of the Resurrection in the British Museum (*Catalogue*, London, 1913, of the Society's Alabaster Exhibition, fig. 5; Prior and Gardner, *Medieval Figure-Sculpture in England*, 1912, fig. 545; Nelson's 'Earliest Type . . .', pl. III and p. 87) and a table of the Betrayal at Hawkley Church, Hants (Nelson, *ibid.*, pl. VII and pp. 91 seq.).

[2] Cf. F. C. Husenbeth, *Emblems of Saints*, 1882, 56.

[3] Cf. *Calendar of the Anglican Church*, Oxford, 1851, 217.

[4] If the paintings are—as they seem to be—contemporary with the panel, we may conceivably see in the picture of St. Ursula an indication that the panel and its case were made especially for a place in the Cologne district, since St. Ursula is one of the patron saints of Cologne. The situations, in certain small German towns, of several English alabaster panels of about the same comparatively early date as the present one, seem to indicate that at that period England was often exporting alabaster work to German districts; cf. *Ant. Journ.*, iii. 30 seqq.; Nelson, 'Earliest Type . . .', 88 seqq.

[5] In 'The Woodwork of English Alabaster Retables', in *Trans. Historic Soc., Lancs. and Ches.*, 1920, 57 seq. Cf. also his 'Some Unpublished English Medieval Alabaster Carvings', in *Archaeol. Journ.*, lxxvii, pl. II, and 'English Medieval Alabaster Carvings in Iceland and Denmark', in *ibid.*, pl. IV.

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Fig. 1. Alabaster table of the Annunciation at Cologne

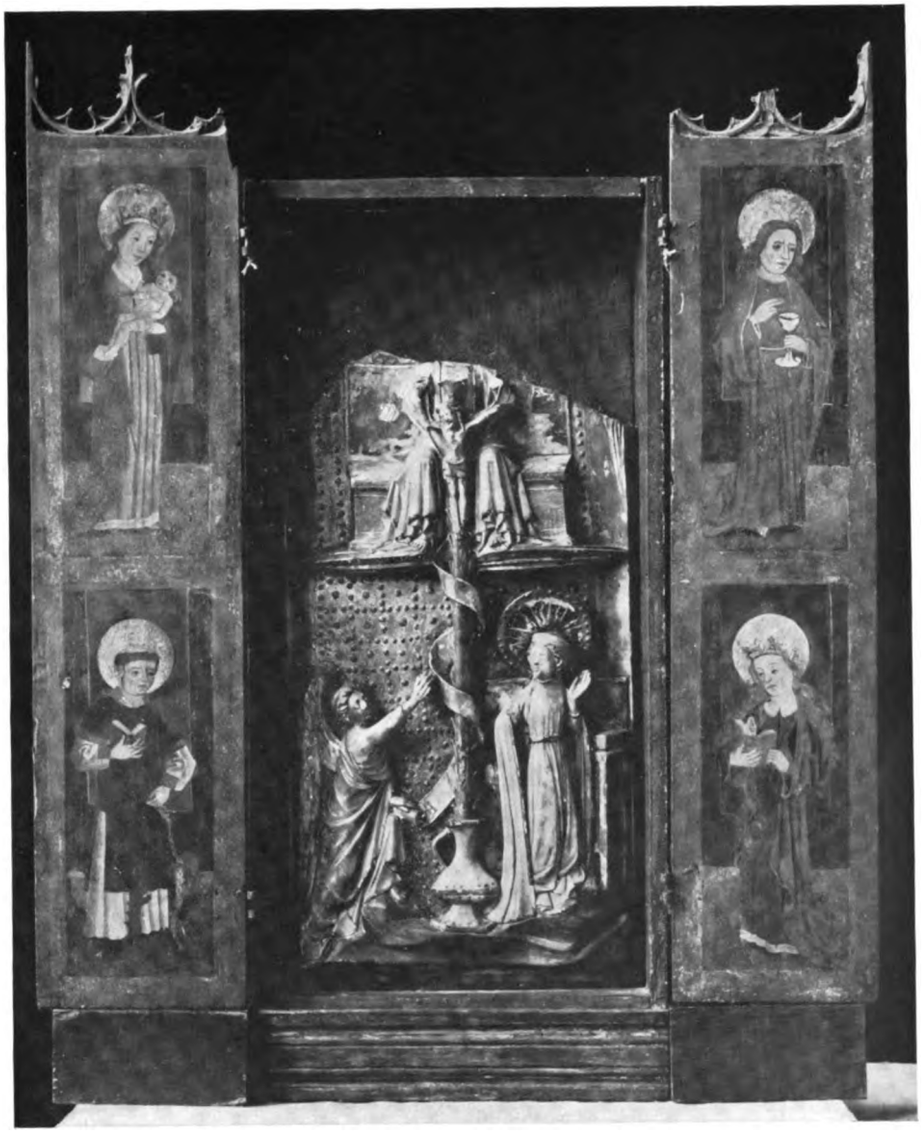


Fig. 2. The Cologne alabaster in its original housing

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Fig. 1. Alabaster table from Emmerich



Fig. 2. Alabaster table of the Conception



Fig. 3. Alabaster table of the Holy Trinity

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which a housed alabaster played an important part,[1] which illustrates at least one of the purposes of the housings, namely, the covering from sight, during certain periods, of images in churches.

Although the panel carries two subjects which are in most cases shown independently of each other, there is a possibility that their combination here was intended to illustrate, albeit in a very unusual rendering, the single scene of the Annunciation. Commonly, in English alabaster representations of that subject, we find the upper part of the Father shown in an upper corner of the table, with some mark of division indicating that that corner symbolizes heaven while the remainder of the scene is earthly. In the present example, however, the dividing line between heaven and earth is indicated by means of a sort of flooring running, except for a small break, right across the panel,[2] and the Father is shown seated upon His throne. We meet something of the same sort in the central panel of the triptych,[3] now in Reykjavik Museum, from Hólar Church, Iceland, where the lower portion represents our Lord standing in the tomb, and the upper portion God the Father holding between His knees the Cross bearing the Son. A somewhat similar arrangement is to be seen in the very curious English alabaster panel, about 18 in. high (pl. XLVI, fig. 1 [4]), in the minster church at Emmerich, the lower part of which shows a person lying on a death-bed, a religious figure standing at the foot of the bed, and a crucifix standing on a base set at the level of the patient's body, while in the upper part is seated the Father with the Cross rising, between His knees, through the floor of heaven from the death-bed scene.

The introduction of the crucified Christ, seemingly as an essential feature, into the scene of the Annunciation is of somewhat rare occurrence, and is of considerable iconographical interest. It might seem probable that one of the principal causes for it—at least in the present case and in certain others—had to do with the acceptation in medieval England of March 25th as the date of both the Annunciation and the Crucifixion.[5] The collect for that day—which now,

[1] Cf. *Historie of the arrivall of Edward IV in England* . . . (1471), Camden Soc., 1838, 13 seq.; quoted by Nelson, 'The Woodwork . . .', 58 seq.; given in abridged form in W. C. Hazlitt's *Brand's Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, 1870, i, 73.

[2] Wavy lines, representing clouds, often (e. g. in tables of the Assumption) run right across a panel, to separate the heavenly part of a scene from the earthly.

[3] Cf. Nelson, 'English Medieval Alabaster Carvings in Iceland and Denmark', pl. II and p. 195. Double scenes occur so rarely on English alabaster tables that the first scenic panel of this triptych, showing the Betrayal in its lower part and the Agony in the Garden in its upper, also seems worth noting here.

[4] Reproduced from P. Clemen's *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Rheinprovinz*, vol. ii, 'Kreis Rees', 46 (with fig. 19).

[5] For various quotations illustrating the belief in ancient times that these two events occurred on that date, see Cabrol's *Dict. d'archéologie chrétienne*, i, 2247 seq. (s. v. 'Annonciation [Fête de l']'). Cf.

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of course, is regularly Lady Day alone—suggests by part of its wording the obsolete association of the two events: 'that, as we have known the incarnation of Thy Son Jesus Christ by the message of an angel, so by His cross and passion we may be brought unto the glory of His resurrection'. To the medieval mind, with its habit of looking at events in pairs—expressed, for example, in the showing of a New Testament scene with one from the Old Testament assumed to have pre-figured it—the setting in contra-position of the beginning and the end of our Lord's earthly sojourn could have seemed very fitting. An idea of that sort appears to underlie the curious small alabaster panel shown in pl. XLVI, fig. 3,[1] in the upper part of which is the Annunciation (including the Father and the Dove) and in the lower a Holy Trinity composed of the First and Third Persons, in human form, holding the Second returned from His earthly pilgrimage,[2] for we seem to have contrasted in this the beginning and the end of Christ's sojourn below. And since He rose from the dead only on the third day, in this small panel it is clearly the Resurrection, not the Death by Crucifixion, which is contrasted with the Annunciation; so that we have the right to think that it is also the former—expressed in part by showing Christ between the Father's knees—rather than the latter which is symbolized in the upper part of the present panel.[3]

Although probably the greater number of Annunciation tables show the Holy Ghost in the form of a Dove about to descend to Mary, there are not a few from which the Dove is absent, its place being taken by a naked infant proceeding from the Father.[4] Sometimes the infant is shown in the Father's breath;[5] sometimes (as in pl. XLVI, fig. 2)[6] in a glory;[7] sometimes, as in the fairly early 'Virgin'

also Caxton's Englishing (about 1483) of the *Golden Legend*, under 'Feast of the Annunciation'. For much relative to the celebration on that date of the two events see J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 3rd edit., *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, 1914, i, 305 seqq.

[1] Cf. *Proceedings*, xxxi, 58 and fig. 2 (from which the present fig. is reproduced).

[2] Compare A. N. Didron, *Christian Iconography*, i, London, 1851, 443: 'Jesus Christ, after having accomplished his mission upon earth and terminated his mournful pilgrimage, re-ascended to Heaven, to give account to his Father of everything he had done; in the monuments representing that beautiful scene, the Holy Ghost is generally shown accompanying the Father Almighty in his reception of his Son.' Cf. further, *ibid.*, 293 seq., 300, 304 seq.

[3] It is perhaps worth noting in this connexion that a 'tradition, followed by Lactantius and perhaps by the practice of the Church in Gaul, placed the death of Christ on the twenty-third and his resurrection on the twenty-fifth of March'. Frazer, *op. cit.*, 309; cf. *ibid.*, 307.

[4] This method of representing the Incarnation seems to illustrate the heresy of Eutyches, who, in 337, taught that the flesh of Christ came from heaven; cf. X. Barbier de Montault, *Iconographie chrétienne*, ii, Paris, 1890, 115, 216.

[5] Cf. *Cat. cit.*, pl. v and p. 37; Prior and Gardner, *op. cit.*, fig. 555.

[6] Reproduced from *Cat. cit.*, no. 57. The panel, now the property of Sir Wilmot Herringham, is on loan at the Victoria and Albert Museum.

[7] Cf. P. Biver, *Archaeol. Journ.*, lxvii, 84 seq. and pl. XVIII, or *Cat. cit.*, pl. VII.

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set at Danzig, carrying a cross over His shoulder.[1] The Dove seems not to have been a feature of the present table—there is no sign of it even above Christ's head, where it would most probably have been placed had there been an intention to show the Trinity complete, although it might in such a case conceivably have been on a part of the table now missing[2]—and the pattern of the Annunciation seems, therefore, as if it might be analogous to those patterns in which the Second Person is shown going from the Father towards Mary. I recall no English alabaster in which—as not uncommonly in Italian, French, and other representations of the Annunciation[3]—the Infant Christ floats to earth preceded or followed by the Dove, although the Annunciation is so depicted elsewhere in English art;[4] possibly this is to be accounted for by the restrictions, in the case of the usual alabaster table, of space and material, rather than by religious scruples.[5]

The scroll, in a beautifully expressive piece of symbolism, descends from the Father to Gabriel, who unrolls it before the Virgin. It is perhaps conceivable that the scroll here had not the simple role we should naturally attribute to it, but that it was used—in the absence of the Dove—to symbolize the Holy Spirit and thus to enable the sculptor to present the Three Persons,[6] or even to suggest that the Trinity was about to become incarnate. It is true that in many English representations of the Annunciation the scroll and the Dove (or the Child) both appear, but the medieval idea that Gabriel's message caused the Incarnation, produced by the Holy Spirit, to take place,[7] seems to give some ground for the symbolism whose possibility I have suggested. That such symbolism might have been desirable appears from certain other English representations of the Annunciation in, or in immediate association with, the Trinity. The painted panel shown in pl. XLVII, fig. 2 has all three Persons represented upon it; the alabaster in pl. XLVI, fig. 3 has the Trinity in its lower section; the alabaster depiction of the Conception shown in pl. XLVI, fig. 2 includes the Trinity complete; and the Tannesley Tomb (cf. p. 209 *infra*) has an Annun-

[1] Cf. Nelson, 'The Virgin Triptych at Danzig', in *Archaeol. Journ.*, lxxvi, 140 and pl. II.

[2] Didron, *op. cit.*, ii, London, 1886, 71 seq.

[3] Cf. J. B. MacHarg, *Visual Representations of the Trinity*, Cooperstown, 1917, 109; Yrjö Hirn, *The Sacred Shrine*, London, 1912, 314 seq., 527; Mrs. Jameson, *Legends of the Madonna*, 3rd edit., London, 1864, 171, &c.

[4] e.g. in the window of a church in Norfolk; see C. I. W. Winter, *A Selection of Norfolk Antiquities*, Norwich, 1885-6, 13th plate. In this example the Father is not shown, but His situation is indicated by a broad ray along which flies the Dove, followed by the Child holding a cross.

[5] Cf. Barbier de Montault, *loc. cit.*, referring to Benedict XIV, in the middle of the eighteenth century.

[6] Not infrequently the Third Person is not shown in representations which seem to be intended for the Trinity; cf. Didron, *op. cit.*, i, 503 seq., 507 seq., and *Ant. Journ.*, iii, 28.

[7] Cf. Hirn, *op. cit.*, London, 1912, 296 seq.

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ciation on one side and a Trinity on one end. The Conception just mentioned is very interesting, for it shows the First and Third[1] Persons enthroned, the Second descending in the form of a naked infant to Mary, and in various parts of the scene four female figures who hold inscribed ribbons and represent Mercy, Justice, Peace, and Truth. The scene is thus a combination of the Conception and the Parliament of Heaven, in which the Three Persons of the Trinity and the four Virtues mentioned were represented[2] as having taken part just before the Father dispatched Gabriel on his mission. We should hardly need—even though we had knowledge of its occurrence outside of England[3]—to take into account the possibility, mentioned above, of so heretical an idea as that of the incarnation of the Trinity having influenced our sculptor, were it not that, in an English mystery play, we find the statement that the Child shall be the son of the Trinity,[4] and the directions 'Here the Holy Gost discendit with iii bemys [beams] to our Lady, the sone of the Godhead vest [covered] with iii bemys to the Holy Gost, the fadyr Godly with iii bemys to the sone, and so entre alle thre to her bosom, and Mary seyth, . . .'.[5]

Of the several curious features of the Cologne alabaster, the one of most especial interest to us is the exaggeratedly large lily-plant with the crucified Christ upon it; for, so far as I have been able to ascertain, that feature is almost or quite exclusively English. Investigation of English alabasters has brought to light some other iconographical details which are more or less peculiarly English in character—e.g. Christ's stepping upon a soldier, in the scene of His resurrection;[6] the boss on St. Barbara's tower-emblem;[7] and the line of whelk-shells along the front of the pilgrim St. James's outer garment.[8] The lily with the Crucifix has for us, therefore, apart from its intrinsic interest, a special value, because, if found upon an object, it is at least suggestive of either an English origin for, or English influence in connexion with, that object.

The only examples with which I am acquainted of the combination of the crucified Christ with the lily-plant[9] are the following:[10]

[1] Other examples of the Holy Ghost with a book have been figured by Didron, *op. cit.*, i, 301, 435.

[2] Cf. *The Coventry Mysteries*, edit. by J. O. Halliwell, Shakespeare Soc., 1841, 104 seqq.; *Ludus Coventriae*, edit. by K. S. Block, Early English Text Soc., 1922, 97 seqq.

[3] Cf. Didron, *op. cit.*, ii, 59, 61.

[4] Cf. *The Coventry Mysteries*, 113.

[5] Cf. *ibid.*, 114 seq.

[6] Cf. *Ant. Journ.*, iii, 35 seq.

[7] Cf. *ibid.*, iii, 25 seq.

[8] Cf. *ibid.*, iv, 376.

[9] This should not be confused with the emblem, formed of a crucifix entwined with lilies, held by St. Nicholas of Tolentino.

[10] I have examined a considerable number of medieval English manuscripts, depicting the Annunciation, at the British Museum, but have failed to find any showing Christ upon the lily.

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1. The present example, presumably made about 1375. This seems to be the earliest of which I have a record.

2. A misericord at Tong Church, Shropshire (pl. XLVII, fig. 1).[1] This seems to have been carved about 1410.[2]

3. A panel, shown in pl. XLVII, fig. 3,[3] between panels containing, respectively, the Blessed Virgin and Gabriel in alabaster, on the front of the tomb of John de Tannesley (died 1414) in St. Mary's Church, Nottingham.[4] Dr. Nelson informs me that on the end of this tomb, adjacent to the panels just mentioned, is a Trinity; this situation is interesting because on the Cologne panel, the Annunciation appears with what may possibly have been intended for a Trinity (cf. p. 207 *supra*). St. John Baptist and a female saint are shown on the front of the tomb, beyond Gabriel.

4. A painted wooden panel, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum,[5] shown in pl. XLVII, fig. 2.[6] God the Father appears near the upper part of the Virgin's seat, to her left, and almost in a line with the central stalk of the lily-plant (or group of lilies) upon which the Crucifix appears; the Dove is above her. The two-handled pot in which the lilies stand is marked '**ihc**'; and there are three main stalks, each ending in a flower, and two small stalks each of which carries a bud. An East Anglian origin has been suggested for this panel.

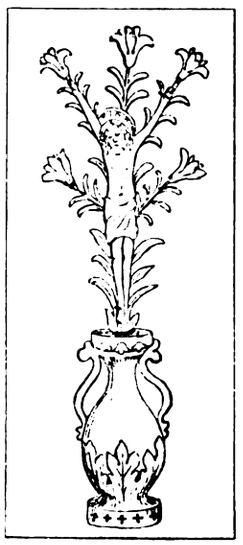


Fig. 1. From glass in St. Michael's church, Oxford.

5. An Annunciation, in a window at York Minster.[7]

6. In fifteenth-century glass, at St. Michael's Church, Oxford (fig. 1).[8] The Crucifix upon a lily-plant, having five open flowers and growing from an ornamental vase, appears in the upper light of the central window, whilst in smaller lights are cherubim.[9] It is worth observing that the

I have as yet found no example of the representation in the needlework for which medieval England was noted.

[1] Reproduced by courtesy of Mr. F. E. Howard, from a print found by him in a book formerly belonging to the late J. T. Micklethwaite, F.S.A.

[2] Cf. F. Bond, *Wood Carvings in English Churches: Misericords*, Oxford, 1910, 217, 226.

[3] By courtesy of Dr. Philip Nelson.

[4] Cf. Nelson, 'Earliest Type . . .', 94 seq.

[5] No. W. 50, 1921.

[6] Reproduced from H. Clifford Smith's 'An English Fifteenth-century Panel', in *Ant. Journ.*, i, 300 seqq.

[7] Cf. Nelson, *Ancient Painted Glass in England*, London, 1913, 253.

[8] Reproduced from a drawing in *Calendar of the Anglican Church*, Oxford, 1851, 60.

[9] Nelson, *Ancient Painted Glass . . .*, 170.

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drawing here shows no sign of a cross, supporting the Crucifix, such as appears in the lily in Westwood Church.[1]

7. In a window of Westwood Church, Wilts (pl. XLVIII, fig. 1).[2] The centre light shows a two-handled pot containing a tall lily-plant, with the crucified Christ against the stalk of the plant and with His feet nailed to it, and hanging from a tall wooden tau-cross to which His hands have been nailed. The cross is visible in parts behind the plant, but the feet appear as if nailed to the stalk, and a large flower at the very top of the plant extends from the end of the stem of the cross exactly to the top of the cross-bar, so that there seems clearly to

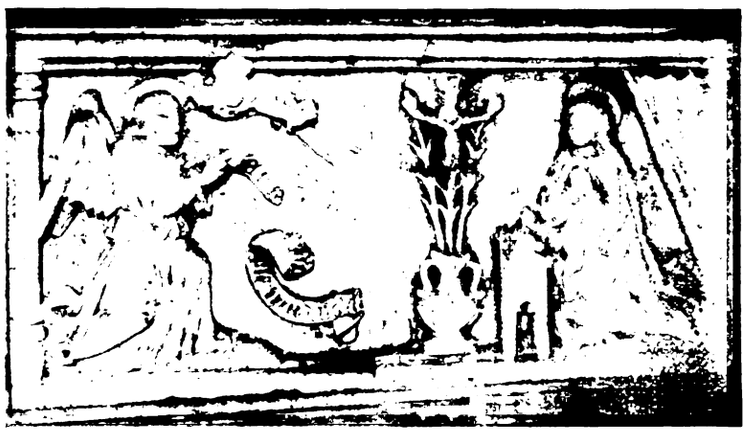


Fig. 2. Panel in tomb of William Earnley, West Wittering, Sussex.

have been an intention of identifying the Cross with the lily-plant. The plant here has five flowers in full bloom; and behind the Lord's head, set so as to form a cross-shaped nimbus, are three smaller fleurs-de-lis or lily-flowers. In the lights at either side, removed there in the nineteenth century, are angels holding implements of the Passion.

8. On the stone tomb of William Earnley (died 1545),[3] in the Church of SS. Peter and Paul, at West Wittering, Sussex. Upon the lower panel (fig. 2)[4] of this the Annunciation is shown, with representations of the Father, the Holy Ghost, and the Crucifix supported by three lily-stalks standing in the usual two-handled pot between Mary and Gabriel. The upper panel shows the risen Christ standing between kneeling members of the Earnley family.

[1] Of this representation E. S. Bouchier says (in *Stained Glass of the Oxford District*, Oxford, 1918, 46) that 'a small crucifix with Christ clothed in white is stretched on the stem'.

[2] Cf. Clifford Smith, *loc. cit.*; Nelson, 'Earliest Type . . .', 94. Reproduced by courtesy of Mr. F. H. Crossley, F.S.A.

[3] The tomb is ascribed to about 1530; cf. Prior and Gardner, *op. cit.*, 59. A drawing of it has been reproduced by Crossley, *English Church Monuments*, London, 1921, 126.

[4] Reproduced by courtesy of Mr. Crossley.

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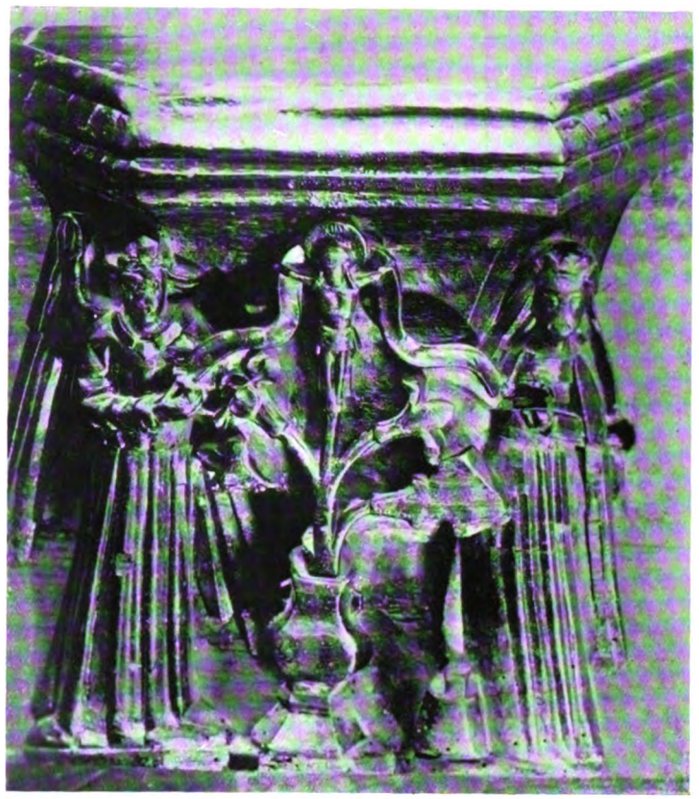


Fig. 1. Misericord in Tong Church, Shropshire

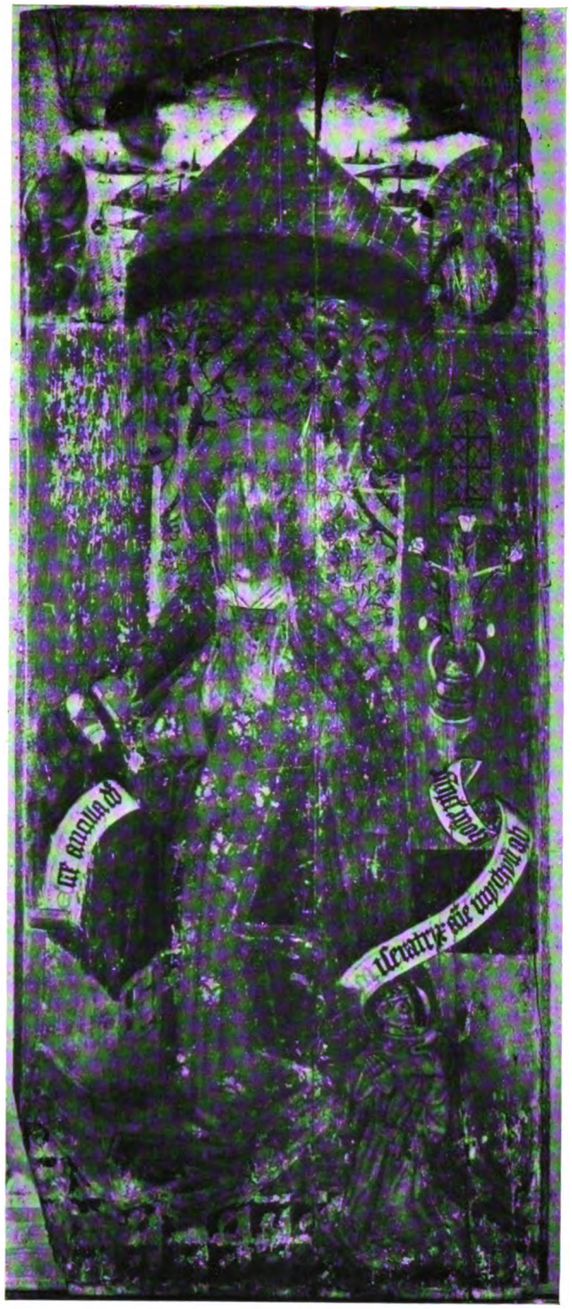


Fig. 2. Fifteenth-century panel of the Annunciation



Fig. 3. Panel from tomb of John de Tannesley, St. Mary's, Nottingham

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Fig. 1. Window, Westwood Church, Wilts.



Fig. 2. Alabaster table of the Holy Trinity in the Victoria and Albert Museum

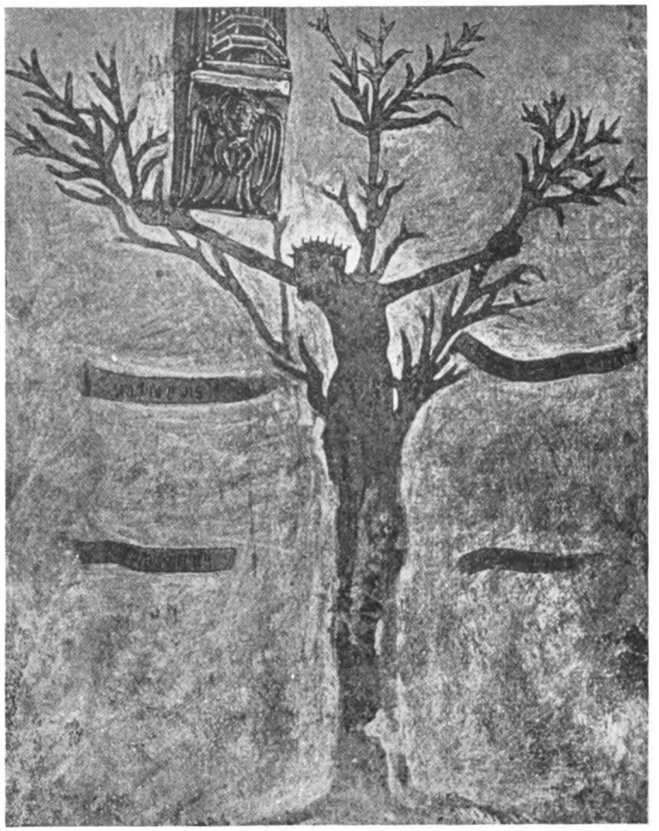


Fig. 3. Wall painting, Godshill Church, Isle of Wight

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What exactly was intended, in symbolic form, by the craftsmen of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and the first half of the sixteenth centuries, to whom are due the examples cited above, is not easy to decide. There is, indeed, no lack of symbolism from which to choose what might have served as a reason for placing the crucified Christ upon the lily-plant; the difficulty is to decide what was in the minds of the designers of the objects in question. Quite possibly those representations symbolized for them more than one idea. Although, as we shall see, the evidence of a number of the examples above cited seems to indicate that something else was being symbolized, there is also evidence which suggests that the idea of symbolizing the Virgin Birth in this way may have been in the minds of some persons (and so in the mind of our alabaster-man) even in the fourteenth century. Thus, Chaucer, writing about 1390,[1] made his Prioress, beginning her Tale, say: 'O Lord our Lord! . . . Of thee and of the white lily flow'r Which that thee bare, and is a maid alway.' I think, however, that we can by no means be certain that he and the sculptor of the Cologne panel were thinking alike when they produced their images; and, too, that it is quite possible that the simile was suggested to Chaucer by some scene like the one on the panel, for that panel (and, doubtless, other objects showing the Crucifix on the lily) was probably already existent when he wrote. Again, in the York play of 'The Annunciation' we find: 'A wande sall brede of Jesse boure . . . Vppone that wande sall springe a floure, Wher-on the haly gast sall be, . . . That wande meynes . . . This mayden, . . . And the floure is Jesus, That of that blyst bees borne'; and 'Hos. xiv. 6 *Ero quasi ros et virgo Israell germinabit sicut lilium.* The maiden of Israell . . . He sais, sall bere one and forthe brynge, Als the lelly floure . . . This meynes . . . That the hegh haly gaste . . . In marie mayden chaste, . . . This lady is to be lilly lyke, That is by-cause of hir clene liffe, . . .'[2] It seems possible that the composer of this play had in mind to express symbolically the Virgin Birth; but more probably, I think, he was merely using several symbols, common enough at that period, in forms and in a chance conjunction which enables us to read into his words the idea of Christ as a lily-flower borne by the lilylike Mary.

It is clear that the placing of the Crucifix on the lily was symbolical, and not merely a trade-trick, for it must have been at least fairly generally done in the England of its time; we find it in carved stone and carved wood, painted on wood, and in the glass of windows, and occurring widespread over England. Furthermore, it seems not to have been popular outside England during pre-Reformation times, else we should probably often find it in the innumerable continental representations of the Annunciation; and I have not yet discovered one

[1] He is said to have begun the *Canterbury Tales* when he was about 60; i. e. about 1388.

[2] Cf. L. T. Smith, *York Plays*, Oxford, 1885, 96.

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example in the many continental Annunciations I have examined. We are, consequently, tempted to seek some popular English belief or custom of a non-religious character which, combined with the symbolism employed by England and the Continent in common, led to its adoption and spread in England while not fostering its adoption on the Continent. Up to the present I have not been able to identify any such belief or custom to which, in my opinion, such an effect could with certainty be ascribed.[1] A stage-property for a mystery representing the Annunciation suggests itself as a possible explanation, but



Fig. 3. Panel from tomb of Richard de Whitenhall, South Kilworth, Leics.

I know of no record giving the information of that kind which we must demand before accepting such an explanation.

There are, however, certain English representations of the Annunciation which seem to me to indicate at least some steps in the process through which representations of the Annunciation in which appears the Crucifix came to be evolved. One of these is the carving in stone (not alabaster) shown in fig. 3,[2] in South Kilworth Church, Leicestershire. It is upon three panels which presumably formed part of the tomb-chest of a monument to Richard de Whitenhall, having an inscription but no date.[3] The work originally was very poor, and as it has suffered through exposure for a period in the churchyard,[4] details are not distinct. Our Lord is depicted as crucified upon a large branching plant set between Gabriel, who holds a short scroll, and Mary, who, with hanging hair and hands folded in prayer, kneels before a *prie-Dieu* (or perhaps a reading-desk; the carving does not show it clearly). The example is peculiarly

[1] Cf., however, *infra*, pp. 288 seqq.

[2] I am indebted for my information concerning this carving, as well as for the photograph (made at my request) herewith produced, to our Fellow Mr. P. B. Chatwin.

[3] Cf. John Nichols, *History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, iv, London, 1807, 206 and pl. xxix.

[4] The panels are now set up in the vestry of the church.

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interesting because, although the plant depicted clearly is a living one, there seems to be nothing whatever, if we except its position between Gabriel and Mary, to indicate its species. Rising from a little mound (perhaps a debased representation of a pot, perhaps a symbol of the ground), it has (including the vertical extension of the trunk) five main branches, each dividing into three parts[1] swelling slightly towards their ends. Neither the shape of the plant, nor its 'leaves' or 'flowers' (whichever they may be), seem to suggest a lily-plant.

Another example is in a window in the chapel of Queen's College, Oxford, one of four, dating from about 1500 but considerably altered in the eighteenth century. The upper tier of this window 'contains an interesting combination of Crucifixion and Annunciation scenes. . . . In the centre is a green palm growing from a vase, and in the middle Christ crucified, wearing a red cloth round the waist; to the left is Gabriel . . . to the right the Virgin . . .'.[2]

As in these two examples the place commonly occupied by a lily in English Annunciation scenes of the period is occupied by other plants, we cannot but ask ourselves whether the examples have been merely the results of efforts by ignorant craftsmen mis-remembering things that they had seen, or whether they are not perhaps visible effects of some deep-seated folk-belief associating the crucified Christ with the reviving vegetation of the springtime—that is, the time at which the Annunciation was believed to have occurred—and naïvely expressing itself in a situation where we are accustomed to see it in perhaps a disguised form.

That there was actually a belief of the sort widespread in medieval England seems abundantly clear from a mass of evidence of various kinds. On the Continent, certainly, an association of Christ's cross with living vegetation is of fairly ancient origin. Thus, in a catacomb-painting in the Baptistery of St. Pontian, presumably of the seventh century,[3] the upright of the Cross (which bears no Crucifix) is in part like a tree-trunk from which sprout living stems and leaves;[4] and a fresco in the cemetery of St. Soteris shows a cross, seemingly dating from the first half of the fourth century, disguised by living foliage ('vaguement dissimulée derrière des feuillages') and presumably representing a tree full of life.[5] And 'in the liturgy and the writings of the fathers, we meet

[1] Compare p. 216 *infra*, on the tripartite portions, perhaps associable with vegetation, of English metal crosses; and p. 222 seq. *infra*, on the symbolical use of three lilies.

[2] Bouchier, *op. cit.*, 43.

[3] Cf. Cabrol, *op. cit.*, s. v. 'Arbres', 2706. The date is, however, disputable and has been put as early as the sixth century and as late as the ninth; cf. T. Roller, *Les catacombes de Rome*, ii, Paris, 1881, 341.

[4] Cf. *Les catacombes*, ii, pl. LXXXIX and p. 305. Reproduced also by Cabrol, *loc. cit.*, fig. 899.

[5] Cf. *ibid.* ii, 304 and pl. LXXXIX; also Cabrol, *loc. cit.*, 2707 and fig. 901.

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continually with invocations of the Cross as a divine tree, a noble tree, the likeness of which no earthly forest could produce . . . a tree covered with leaves, sparkling with flowers, and loaded with fruit'.[1]

In medieval times this connexion was maintained in the crosses, fairly common, of regular forms having their surfaces ornamented with conventionalized foliage, and in those imitating wood only roughly trimmed instead of squared. Of these latter, quite common in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in which the tree-like character was accentuated, Rupin says,[2] that while they were somewhat rare in France,[3] they are to be found fairly often in German and Italian art, and that the Germans have sometimes not even lopped the branches, but have left them with leaves and flowers. A late medieval German example of Christ crucified on a living tree is shown in fig. 4.[4] Amongst crosses of this kind there are some which represent the Rood as if it had been made in one piece from a living tree with two branches springing symmetrically from the trunk, opposite to each other and (instead of horizontal, as in crosses made of two pieces) inclined slightly upward, and with the trunk and major and minor branches lopped.[5] That such crosses of life-like wood, perhaps representing the Tree of Life,[6] were purely symbolical seems clear, in view of the tradition that the True Cross was of squared wood.[7] An example of a cross, attributed to Limoges of the end of the



Fig. 4. Christ crucified on the living tree.

[1] Didron, *op. cit.*, i, 412; authorities cited in a foot-note.

[2] E. Rupin, *L'œuvre de Limoges*, Paris, 1890, 272.

[3] Didron, *op. cit.*, i, 412, cites, however, a number of French examples in sculpture, glass, and miniatures.

[4] From Muther, *Deutsche Bücher-illustration der Gothik und Frührenaissance (1460–1530)*, ii, 6.

[5] E. g. in a Rhenish crucifix of the first half of the fifteenth century, in the Schnütgen Collection, at Cologne; cf. F. Witte, *Die Skulpturen der Sammlung Schnütgen in Cöln*, Berlin, 1912, 60 and pl. xiv.

[6] Cf. Witte, *loc. cit.* For texts referring to this, see Gen. ii. 9; Rev. ii. 7, xxii. 2, 14. For numerous references to trees 'of Life' see H. C. Barlow, *Essays on Symbolism*, London, 1866, 'The Tree of Life'; note especially pp. 73, 78 seq.

[7] Rupin, *op. cit.*, 271, ascribes the introduction of the representations with lopped branches to people who, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, thought 'sans motifs sérieux' that the Cross was made of a tree-trunk whose branches only had been lopped away, instead of one which had been squared. For some German examples of twelfth-century crosses of this kind see C. de

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thirteenth century, showing on its front vertical and horizontal stems with foliage growing from them, was formerly in the Spitzer Collection.[1] Crosses, especially those having lopped branches, in medieval times were very frequently shown coloured green;[2] indicative, presumably, of a living character. Lopped crosses thus coloured occur in English as well as in continental art of the thirteenth century; e.g. embroidered on the famous Syon Cope, of the late thirteenth century, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and painted on two Norman piers in the nave of St. Alban's Cathedral.[3] At Godshill Church, Isle of Wight, there is a wall-painting (pl. XLVIII, fig. 3)[4] representing Christ as crucified upon a tree having three main branches from which spring leafy twigs.[5] Patently, therefore, in fourteenth-century England the showing of Christ crucified upon a living plant was not a radical innovation. Then, too, the language probably helped towards a popular association of the Cross with trees, for in medieval times (and until much later) the Holy Rood was called 'the Tree'.[6]

English sepulchral slabs of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries sometimes show crosses (without the Crucifix) from whose stems sprouts conventionalized foliage. A number of such slabs, some abundantly foliated, have been figured by Styan.[7] Sometimes the cross is shown almost or quite detached from the foliated stem, so that it looks as if above a living plant;[8] sometimes a simple stem ends in a fleur-de-lis, hardly large enough to be called conven-

Linas, 'Les crucifix champlevés polychromes', in *Rev. de l'Art chrétien*, 1885, 470. A cross of the same sort, in Limousin enamel, is shown by Rupin, *op. cit.*, fig. 330.

[1] *Catalogue*, Text i, 120; figured also by E. Molinier, *L'orfèvrerie religieuse et civile* (in *Hist. générale des Arts appliqués à l'industrie*), 189.

[2] Cf. Didron, *op. cit.*, i, 412.

[3] Copies of these paintings are in the Victoria and Albert Museum, nos. E. 491 and E. 493, 1915.

[4] Reproduced by courtesy of our Fellow Mr. P. G. Stone, from his *Architectural Antiquities of the Isle of Wight*, London, 1891, i, 90.

[5] A drawing of this painting was exhibited, shortly after its discovery, before the Society in 1844; its description, given in *Archaeologia*, xxxi, 483, says, 'It represents Christ crucified on a tree ... Scrolls with mottoes were painted on each side of the tree; only one of which—"Ora pro nobis Domine"—can now with difficulty be read.' The Rev. W. L. Giradot, curate of Godshill, writing about the same time (cf. *Archaeol. Journ.*, i, 67), said, 'The Saviour on the Cross, ... [he] imagines, is placed against a shrub or tree, as bright green colours surround it; the lower parts being entirely defaced, the stem cannot be traced out. The crown of thorns, and the bloody arms extended, are tolerably clear, as well as some scrolls painted in red colour, one of which is legible.'

[6] Cf. *Oxford Dict.*, s.v. 'Tree, **4** a'. We should observe, however, that wood (cf. *ibid.*, **2**), a gallows (*ibid.*, **4** b), and various objects made of wood (*ibid.*, **5**) are (or have been) also known as 'tree'.

[7] Cf. K. E. Styan, *History of Sepulchral Cross-Slabs*, London, 1902, pls. LIV, III, XLIX, XXII, XXVI, XXIII. Cf. also pl. XLVIII for one having two 'branches' and attributed to the late twelfth century.

[8] Cf. *ibid.*, pls. LIV, XXIV.

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tionalized foliage, which almost or just touches the cross or the cruciferous circle.[1] Most of the crosses have a stepped or mound-like foot.

There is a certain kind of flat, cast-metal cross, made in England in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries for altar and processional use, which seems clearly to have been based on the idea of a cross with foliage, or foliage ornamentation, and is perhaps associable in some way with the lily-rood. A typical example of such a cross was exhibited before the Society in 1908;[2] and numerous similar instances could easily be cited.[3] The Cross exhibited was set about with leafy crockets which have been so disposed as to convey distinctly an idea of foliage; one could well say that the Cross was intended to represent conventionally a living plant.[4] The same is true of most of the other English crosses of the kind. It is noteworthy, too, that each crocket is composed either of three leaflets or of three sets of three leaflets, possibly merely to secure symmetry, possibly because of a liking for the number three (as associable with the Deity), possibly (but, I think, hardly probably) because of their resemblance to a conventionalized lily-flower. This, also, is true of most of the other crosses of the sort, although in some of them the sets of triplets are not combined in just the same way. Crosses whose edges are set with leaf-like ornament are not uncommon—in metal, in wood, or in stone—in other art than English; but it is comparatively seldom, I think, that such ornament is used otherwise than as a simple decoration and arranged otherwise than as any ordinary geometrical decoration might be arranged. What makes these English metal crosses noteworthy is that the projections are so set as to suggest that their cross is *living*. The possibility, too, that the crockets of these English crosses have in some cases been in some way associated with the lily—thus providing an association between such crosses and the Crucifix-bearing lily of English art—is suggested by the fact that, although most of them have plain surfaces, the crockets of some crosses[5] have two cuts, set at an angle (\ /), in each 'leaf' in such manner that the 'leaf' resembles a conventionalized lily like those to be seen on some alabaster tables of the Annunciation as one of a symmetrical group of three. The workmanship of the metal crosses is, however, so rough—they were evidently a standard product, turned out in quantities—that we are not entitled at present to say anything more definite concerning the crockets than that they represent living foliage of some kind, more or less

[1] Cf. K. E. Styan, *History of Sepulchral Cross-Slabs*, London, 1902, pls. XIV, XLVI, XLVII.

[2] *Proceedings*, xxii, 42.

[3] Cf. *Proceedings*, xxxii, 129 seq.; one, with its staff, is shown facing p. 130.

[4] Worthy of note, in this connexion, is a part of the decoration of the Cross, consisting of 'silvered four-leaved flowers with golden stems on a ground of black enamel'.

[5] E. g. one in the Victoria and Albert Museum, no. 136-1879.

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conventionalized. We may observe, in passing, that some of these crosses have at their bases an ornamental band of fleurs-de-lis.[1]

But long before metal crosses of that kind were made, the ornamenting with flowers and foliage of the Cross bearing Christ, or perhaps even its formation of them, occurred in English art. The psalter of Robert of Lindesey,[2] abbot of Peterborough, which was written at Peterborough about A.D. 1220, has a full-page picture of the Crucifixion[3] in which the Saviour is borne upon a cross of green leaves and flowers, regularly disposed and alternately red and white. This floral cross, whose construction shows it to be purely symbolic in character, is set upon a rectilinear blue cross; or, perhaps, within a blue cross-shaped space.[4] Unquestionable representations of flowers appear upon later English images of the Cross; e. g. on the crosses of the fifteenth-century alabaster tables of the Blessed Trinity such as commonly formed the midmost panels of altar-pieces. Pl. XLVIII, fig. 2[5] shows a panel of this kind, forming part of the fine complete altar-piece recently acquired by the Victoria and Albert Museum,[6] whose cross is adorned with exactly the same characteristic conventionalized little flowers as appear upon the ground.[7]

It seems just possible that evidence of some sort of an association in medieval English minds between the Holy Rood and flowers is contained in a statement, concerning a certain plant called in Gaelic *ceus-chrann*, 'the crucifying-tree', that 'The people say that drops of the sacred blood fell upon the plant at the foot of the Cross, and that hence the semblance of the cross on the flower and the name given to the plant';[8] a plant which, according to the writer just quoted, is the 'passion-flower'. Now, since what is commonly known to us (and to the dictionaries) as the passion-flower is a plant whose name 'arose from the supposed resemblance of the corona to the crown of thorns, and of the other parts of the flower to the nails, or wounds, while the five sepals and five petals were taken to symbolize the ten apostles—Peter . . . and Judas . . . being

[1] E. g. one figured in *Proceedings*, xxvi, facing p. 3; and a base (no. M. 98-1914) in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

[2] The property of the Society.

[3] See *B.F.A. Club, Exhibition of Illuminated MSS.*, pl. 36; *Exhibition of British Primitive Paintings, 1923*, pl. XLII.

[4] The arrangement of the floral ornament with respect to the blue cross reminds one strongly of the crosses, of metal engraved with conventionalized foliage or of wood painted with it, of medieval Continental and English art.

[5] Reproduced by courtesy of the Museum.

[6] Cf. E. Maclagan, 'An English Alabaster Altar-piece in the Victoria and Albert Museum', in *Burlington Mag.*, xxxvi, 53 seqq.

[7] The same thing is shown by another 'Trinity' panel (no. 901-1905) in the same Museum; and doubtless it could be seen upon others, had they not lost their colouring.

[8] A. Carmichael, *Carmina Gadelica*, Edinburgh, 1900, ii, 244.

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left out of the reckoning',[1] some confusion has, obviously, occurred. And since the passion-flower (using the term in its present sense) is a plant of American origin, unknown in medieval Britain, the possibility suggests itself that an ancient folk-belief was fitted (as often happened) to a material object with which it originally had no connexion.

There is a type of cross which might well have suggested, by its form alone, the utilization of the lily-plant to support the Crucifix. This is the 'cross *fleury*', said to be 'the earliest variation of the Cross. It appears on the coins of the Emperor Justinian. The extremities are expanded, the petals being open and curled over in volutes—the flower in full bloom, implying [in heraldry] that the bearer was a matured soldier of the Cross, whose noble achievements had been recognized as flourishing in the field of Christian chivalry'.[2] Crosses with floriated ends were general in medieval England. On the Continent—and almost certainly (although for the moment I cannot cite an example) to at least some extent in England—crosses with foliated ends, which latter sometimes were so moulded in relief as to increase their resemblance to an iris, and bearing the image of Christ were common. The floriation of the ends of crosses, even had artistic considerations alone been involved, would have been a natural development; but it was doubtless fostered by the symbolism associated with the number three. So, remembering the symbolism whereby the Cross was associated with living vegetation, we may readily believe that, had any reason for it arisen, there would have been but a small step, from a cross with floriated ends and carrying the Crucifix, to the Crucifix-bearing lily. Perhaps worth noting in connexion with the cross *fleury*, as suggesting the possibility that in England some peculiar idea, not current on the Continent, was associated with crosses having foliated ends, is the statement concerning the type, 'that while frequent on Monumental Brasses in England, it is never found on them on the Continent'.[3]

We may note here, briefly, a fine cross[4] at Sancreed, in Cornwall, on whose front appears an object resembling a vase containing a fleur-de-lis-ended rod. The description of this front says that 'On the head is the figure of our Lord ... clothed in a tunic ... The shaft is divided into three panels, containing: (1) A rectangular figure having diagonal lines from corner to corner; (2) a jug, with a flower standing in it having a long, straight stem, with a fleur-de-lis termination

[1] *Encycl. Brit.*, 11th edit., s. v. 'Passion-flower'. Brewer, *Dict. of Phrase and Fable*, s. v. 'Passion-flower', gives a considerably longer list of assumed analogies, but similarly omits any mention of a 'cross on the flower'.

[2] W. W. Seymour, *The Cross in Tradition, History, and Art*, New York and London, 1898, 367.

[3] *Ibid., loc. cit.*

[4] Cf. A. G. Langdon, *Old Cornish Crosses*, Truro, 1896, 361 seq. and pl. opp. p. 361.

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at the top, which may possibly be intended for the lily emblem of the Virgin, so often found on the Gothic bench-ends of this county. Beneath the jug are some much-defaced markings. (3) . . .' It is perhaps possible (although, I think, very improbable) that this ornamentation, which seems to be unique, expresses some folk-belief associating the Virgin's lily with Christ. I am, however, inclined to think that the resemblance here to the Virgin's lily-pot is most probably fortuitous; and, in view of the presumably early date[1] of the cross, that no such likeness was originally intended. It is more likely, I think, that the 'jug' should be associated with ornamentation to be seen on a few other Cornish crosses,[2] and that the combination of the 'jug', the stem, and the fleur-de-lis is a modification of ornamentation such as appears on the front of a cross at Scorrier, St. Day,[3] formed of a large double chevron terminating in a small cross at top and bottom.

At the present day the lily is more commonly associated symbolically with the Virgin Mary than with her Son, and conjectures as to its meaning in Annunciation scenes, like the one of the Cologne alabaster, tend, in consequence, to be based on its symbolism as relating to her. We shall, for that reason as well as for convenience in handling our material, examine first the symbolism connected with the Virgin which is known, or may reasonably be surmised, to have brought the lily into such scenes. As a symbol of purity there was a normal reason for the lily to become a symbol and an emblem, in medieval times, of the Mother whose essential purity was so prominent a feature of medieval belief.[4] Even in classical times the white lily had been looked upon as a plant of purity, and as such had been contrasted with the rose of Aphrodite.[5] Consecrated to Juno (or Hera), it was fabled to have been born from her milk;[6] and it, the rose, and the violet were the three noblest flowers of antiquity.[7] Perhaps, too, the medieval picturing of the Blessed Virgin as the Queen of Heaven—a rôle which had in pagan times been assigned by the Romans to Juno[8] and by the Greeks to Hera[9]—helped towards the bestowal

[1] It is probably not later than the twelfth century; cf. *ibid.*, 17 seqq.

[2] E.g. one at St. Dennis (cf. *ibid.*, 294 seq.), one at Crowan (*ibid.*, 329 seq.), and one at Scorrier (*ibid.*, 333).

[3] *Loc. cit.* and pl. On the double-chevron pattern on Cornish crosses cf. *ibid.*, 326 seqq.

[4] As 'Pauper' tells us (cf. *Dives and Pauper*, London, 1534, fols. 16*v* seq.), 'the image of our lady is paynted with . . . a lyly or els with a rose in her right hond, in token that she is mayden withoute ende, and floure of all women'.

[5] Cf. *Encycl. Brit.*, 11th edit., s. v. 'Lily'.

[6] Cf. A. de Gubernatis, *Mythologie des Plantes*, ii, Paris, 1882, 199 seq.

[7] Cf. Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. des antiquités*, s. v. 'Hortus', p. 293.

[8] Cf. Smith's *Dict. Greek and Roman Biography*, s. v. 'Juno'. As the queen of heaven, Juno 'bore the surname of *Regina*, under which she was worshipped at Rome from early times'. Cf. also Daremberg and Saglio, *op. cit.*, s. v. 'Juno', p. 688.

[9] Cf. *ibid.*, s. v. 'Hera'.

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upon her of the flower of purity from the older faith. Amongst the Jews, also, the lily seems to have symbolized purity; the 'lily among thorns' (Canticles, ii. 2) has been likened to Rebekah, who remained pure amid evil surroundings, and to the sons of Korah.[1] And it was probably not through chance alone that Susanna, the chaste heroine of the Apocryphal addition to Daniel, had a name which has been believed to be derived from the Hebrew *shûshân*, or *shôshannâh*, a lily.[2] A certain medieval belief otherwise associated the lily, although perhaps only as a result of ecclesiastical symbolism, with virginity, in asserting that if it were powdered and eaten by a young woman, a medicinal effect would be produced upon her immediately if she were not pure.[3]

Curiously, the power of causing or of facilitating conception has also been attributed to the lily, and certain modern writers have, in consequence thereof, suggested the possibility that the lily was preferred as Gabriel's flower because of an idea that its presence would have prepared Mary, in some magical way, for her reception of the Holy Ghost, or would have at least served to symbolize her coming motherhood. In the Occident, there have become attached to the lily many of the same popular beliefs as have been attached in the Orient to the lotus; and the lotus is said to have been used in the latter as a symbol of generation.[4] Writing in the second half of the sixteenth century, G. B. della Porta speaks, in his *Phytognomonica*, of the iris and the lily as useful for preparing a woman for conception.[5] Saintyves, going further, says (*op. cit.*, 74) that this and certain other beliefs he refers to 'prouve qu'on attribuait à la manducation du lis la propriété de féconder les femmes'; and, still referring to the lily, 'Pourquoi, dès lors, n'eut-elle pas été propre à faire concevoir les vierges?' There is, too, Hirn tells us (*op. cit.*, 300), 'an old Italian lauda, according to which the Incarnation was brought about by the angel giving Mary the palm-branch and a sweet-smelling fruit'. And he adds that 'it even seems probable that the green and blossoming branch which artists placed in Gabriel's hand has often been regarded—in accordance with the popular point of view—not as a symbol of virginity, but as a means of procuring a pure motherhood'.

Just when the lily-branch first replaced Gabriel's wand or sceptre is diffi-

[1] Cf. *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, s. v. 'Lily'.

[2] Cf. Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, s. v. 'Susanna'.

[3] Cf. de Gubernatis, *op. cit.*, ii, 200, quoting Albertus Magnus, *De Secretis Mulierum*. The latter is also reported to have attributed a similar effect to the mallow, if stooped over by a girl; cf. J. K. Huysmans, *The Cathedral*, C. Bell's trans., London, 1898, 190.

[4] Cf. de Gubernatis, 199, 201. P. Saintyves, *Les Vierges Mères*, Paris, 1908, says (p. 109) that Mary sometimes holds a lotus instead of a lily.

[5] Quoted by de Gubernatis, *op. cit.*, ii, 200.

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cult to say.[1] One would, I think, naturally suppose that it was before the lily was placed in the water-pot which, according to the legend, the Virgin had been filling and had set down [2] just prior to Gabriel's appearance to her; but it seems in actual fact to have been later.[3] The lily of the pot is commonly believed to have obtained its place as a symbol of Mary's virginal purity, or possibly, because of the verse (ii. 1) of the Song of Solomon, so often taken as applying to her, 'I am the rose of Sharon, and the lily of the valleys', as a symbol of the Blessed Virgin herself.[4] Mâle, however, expresses [5]—and, I think, probably justly—the opinion that that lily is a symbolic detail whose original meaning has been misunderstood. He says: 'In the course of the [thirteenth] century . . . a flower with a long stalk is placed in a vase between the Virgin and the angel. This flower is not as yet a lily, and it does not symbolize purity as might easily be supposed, but it commemorates another mystery. Led by St. Bernard, the medieval doctors taught that the Annunciation took place in the spring-time, "at the time of flowers", and they thought to find support for this in the name Nazareth, which ["in Hebrew, according to an old but incorrect interpretation"] [6] signifies a "flower". So that St. Bernard could say: "The flower willed to be born of a flower, in a flower, at the time of flowers" ["Nasareth interpretatur flos. Unde dicit Bernardus, quod flos nasci voluit de flore, in flore, et floris tempore"]. This flower appears in many thirteenth-century windows . . . It is also almost always found in miniatures of the same period. When absent it is due to a slip of the artist, for the arrangement of the scene was rigidly fixed, and for more than a century nothing in it was changed. The angel stands . . . The Virgin also stands . . . Between them is the vase and the flower. We have here the origin of the marvellous flowers which in early Italian paintings stand out on a background of gold between the Virgin and the angel of the Annunciation.' In the fourteenth century the flower, until then indeterminate in French art, became a lily.[8]

In some of the thirteenth-century representations of the Annunciation [9] we may see the water-pot with its indeterminate flowers, and Gabriel holding

[1] Cf. *infra*, pp. 223 seq.

[2] Cf. *Protevangelium*, xi; *Pseudo-Matthew*, ix.

[3] See, for some examples, the photographic reproductions given by A. Venturi in *La Madonna* (Milan, 1900; English trans., *The Madonna*, London, 1902), in the chapter on the Annunciation.

[4] Cf. Mrs. Jameson, *Sacred and Legendary Art*, i, London, 1866, 122 seq.

[5] E. Mâle, *Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century*, 1913, 244 seq.

[6] Hirn, *op. cit.*, 281.

[7] *Legenda Aurea*, chap. li, 'De annunciatione dominica'; Th. Graesse's edit., Dresden, 1846, 217. The passage is not in Caxton's version.

[8] Mâle, *op. cit.*, 245, foot-note.

[9] E. g. the one of Mâle's fig. 122.

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a wand tipped with a sort of fleur-de-lis. But from early representations the water-pot seems generally, perhaps invariably, absent; the numerous examples figured by Rohault de Fleury [1] and dating from the fifth century to the eleventh, all lack it. I think that we should take into account the possibility that in the thirteenth-century scenes the plant-stem, breaking into conventional foliage, represented Aaron's rod of almond-wood, which flowered miraculously [2] and because of that served in medieval times as a symbol of the Blessed Virgin, although the probabilities seem rather in favour of its being (as Mâle says) a symbol of the spring-time. Adam de Saint-Victor, in the twelfth century, wrote comparing her with Aaron's rod.[3] In copies of the fifteenth-century *Biblia Pauperum* there is a picture [4] in which is represented the flowering of this rod in the tabernacle; the rod, set in a cup-like vessel, has in at least some examples [5] a form greatly resembling that of the lily-plant of the Nottingham tomb (cf. pl. XLVII, fig. 3 and p. 209 *supra*), but differing from it in that there is only one flower—a three-petalled one—at the summit, and no Crucifix attached. The coincidence seems worth noting, although it has probably been due, I imagine, to nothing more than conventionalizing on the part of the Nottingham sculptor. Towards the end of the thirteenth century, seemingly, the flowers in the water-pot ceased to be indeterminate, and came (in Italian art at least) to be shown as lilies,[6] for precisely what reasons we do not know, but presumably because of the lily's beauty and because in popular thought it was associated either with Mary (as we have seen) or with her Son.

When the lily-plant of the water-pot, or the lily-stalk of that pot or within Gabriel's hand, is an emblem of the Virgin, it is proper for it to bear three full-blown flowers, for it expresses thus her triple virginity—before, during, and after the miraculous birth.[7] It appears, in medieval art, very frequently with three flowers;[8] and in English art of the late fourteenth century and of the fifteenth

[1] *La Sainte Vierge*, i, Paris, 1878, pls. VII-XIV.

[2] Num. xvii, 5, 8.

[3] Cf. Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.*, i, 145.

[4] In a copy in the British Museum (cf. J. Ph. Berjeau, *Biblia Pauperum*, London, 1859), pl. B; in one from Wolfenbüttel and now in the Bibliothèque Nationale (cf. P. Heitz and W. L. Schreiber, *Biblia Pauperum*, Strasbourg, 1903), pl. E.

[5] The two just cited; I have not gone further into the matter.

[6] The mosaic, of about 1290, in Santa Maria in Trastevere, Rome (cf. Venturi, *La Madonna*, fig. on 156), shows a small pot of lilies. For some other early examples see *ibid.*, figs. on 157 seqq. Some later Italian examples are given as well in the same chapter.

[7] Cf. D. Rock, *The Church of our Fathers*, iii, London, 1852, 246 seqq., 252; the legend of St. Aegidius and the lilies, given on 247 seq. in Latin, from the *Magni Speculi Exemplorum*, is given in English by Hirn, *op. cit.*, 282 seq. When only one flower is shown, with two unopened buds, only the first of the three virginities is symbolized; cf. Barbier de Montault, *op. cit.*, ii, 216, 221.

[8] Sometimes we find, as the equivalent of this, three separate lilies, each on its own stem—

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we often meet with it so represented. On alabaster tables of the Annunciation, of the ordinary type, this is a commonplace;[1] it appears on woodwork,[2] in glass, and in manuscripts.[4] In cases in which we find three flowers there is at least some ground for supposing that the artist or craftsman had in mind to symbolize the triple virginity; and, consequently, that he was using (as did many artists) the lily as a symbol of Mary's purity. And if three flowers were normally used, we may see in the plant a form ready, without alteration, for the application of the crucified body; and in that application a response to the suggestion that that form gave to the artist wishing to express symbolically the mystery of the Virgin Birth. It is therefore important to observe that the Crucifix-bearing lily-plant does not regularly have three flowers, because this is an indication of the probability that the Crucifix-bearing lily-plant was not always (even if it were sometimes) intended to symbolize that mystery. In the St. Michael's glass, and in the Westwood window, it has five flowers; in the Tong misericord it has five; in the painted wooden panel it has three, and two large buds; on the Earnley[5] and de Tannesley tombs, and in the Cologne alabaster, it has three.[6] There is no necessity, however, to assume that symbolism always determined the number of the open flowers; decorative symmetry was probably often an important factor; and when roughish sculpture on a comparatively small scale (as was much of that in alabaster or stone) was being done, the qualities of the material probably helped largely to determine the number of the flowers and the way they should be arranged.

We may now turn again to a brief consideration of the lily or lilies so often held by Gabriel in Annunciation scenes. As I have already remarked (cf. p. 221 *supra*), the angel's lilies seem to have come later into the scene than did those of the water-pot; and we may therefore reasonably suppose them to have been derived, in some measure at least, from those of the pot. We have noted (cf. pp. 219 seq. *supra*) how Gabriel's lilies were commonly looked upon as symbolizing the Blessed Virgin's purity, and certain other meanings which some

an arrangement said (cf. E. Haig, *Floral Symbolism of the Great Masters*, London, 1913, 175) to have been suggested by the legend of St. Aegidius just mentioned. Sometimes *three* is further symbolized by making each flower conspicuously tripartite.

[1] Cf. *Cat. cit.*, pls. v, vii (figs. 15, 16); Biver, *op. cit.*, pl. xix; Nelson, 'English Alabasters of the Embattled Type', in *Archaeol. Journ.*, lxxv, pl. iii (figs. 1, 2); etc.

[2] E. g. on a bench-end at Warkworth (cf. Prior and Gardner, *op. cit.*, fig. 625).

[3] E. g. in a panel in the Leicester Museum; in Great Malvern Priory Church; at East Harling, Norfolk (cf. N. H. J. Westlake, *Hist. of Design in Painted Glass*, iii, London, 1886, pl. lxiv), etc.

[4] E. g. in Queen Mary's Psalter [early fourteenth century] (cf. *Queen Mary's Psalter*, Brit. Mus., 1912, pl. 147 [f. 84 *v*]); Harleian MS. 2887, f. 55 *v*, etc.

[5] Here, and on the painted panel, three separate stems are shown.

[6] I have not had the opportunity of looking into the examples at York Minster.

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persons have thought they might conceivably have had. Those symbolical applications were, I think, comparatively late, and seem to tell us little beyond the reason why the lilies might have replaced other objects that Gabriel had previously been depicted as holding. In early representations of the Annunciation the angel herald carries, probably as a sign of his holy office, a wand whose end has, seemingly, no form definitely specified for it. During the Renaissance the wand was often replaced by 'a blossoming twig, which leads the thoughts to the root of Jesse and to the flowering staff of Joseph.[1] In a number of cases the artists seem to have chosen at random the flower they placed in the angel's hand, but usually Gabriel bears a lily.'[2] Rohault de Fleury has published a considerable number of early representations of the Annunciation.[3] On pl. VIII of vol. i of his *La Sainte Vierge* is figured an ivory, ascribed to the sixth century, on which the wand is tipped with a small fleur-de-lis; on pl. IX there is a Gabriel of the eighth century, carrying a small cross with a very long handle; on pl. X, reproducing the Paliotto of St. Ambroise, at Milan, the wand is long and ends in a small cross; and on pl. XIII are shown an ivory in the Louvre, ascribed to the tenth century, on which the wand has three points at its upper end, and a drawing, from a Vatican manuscript of the eleventh century, in which the wand has a tip which resembles somewhat a fleur-de-lis. But we cannot be certain that the makers of these particular examples always had some symbolic idea in view in connexion with the tip of the wand, because in many other examples shown along with them the wands end in a little ball[4] or in something that seems, so far as symbolism is concerned, to have no special characteristic. Nevertheless, the Cross seems so peculiarly suitable for the end of the announcing angel's wand that it must have been a favourite; and the fleur-de-lis was in form so like the little cross-shaped tip that, even had the lily (with which the fleur-de-lis has often been confused) had no especial association with Christ or with the Blessed Virgin, it would very probably often have been substituted for that tip. And it so happened that the lily was, for several reasons, to be associated with Him and, especially in late medieval times, with His mother.

The simile of Christ as a flower is an old one. The verse (ii. 1) of the Song of Solomon, 'Ego sum flos campi et lilium convallium', has long been looked

[1] On a fresco of the Betrothal, at Padua, painted by Giotto at the beginning of the fourteenth century, the tip of Joseph's rod has flowered as a lily (perhaps in allusion to the coming Saviour, perhaps to his own purity of life, perhaps to Mary), upon which is a dove (cf. Venturi, *op. cit.*, 127, 136).

[2] Hirn, *op. cit.*, 281.

[3] Venturi also reproduces, but photographically, a number of early examples in the chapter on the Annunciation in his *Madonna*.

[4] Barbier de Montault, *op. cit.*, ii, 216, says that this represents heaven.

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upon as referring to Christ, although it has also, and often, been applied to the Virgin Mary. Again, the symbolic interpretation of the prophecy in Isaiah, 'And there shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall rise up out of his root', has not varied since the time of St. Jerome: as the monk Hervaeus put it in the twelfth century, 'the root of Jesse signifies the lineage of kings. As to the rod, it symbolizes Mary as the flower symbolizes Jesus Christ.'[1] The twelfth-century manuscript of Herrade of Landsberg, formerly at Strasbourg, shows a bust of Christ, set within a flower which, springing from the head of the Blessed Virgin, terminates (except for the Dove above the Lord's head) a Jesse-tree.[2] We have seen (*supra*, p. 221) how St. Bernard of Clairvaux spoke of Him as a flower. But the convention was not a fixed one so far as the kind of flower was concerned; for example, we are told that in medieval symbolism 'The rose and lily are used indifferently to signify the Saviour and His mother. Thus in some Visitation hymns Mary is sung as a rose hiding within it a lily . . . On the other hand, there are nativity hymns in which it is said God issues from His mother's womb like a rose from a lily . . . [There is] a fourteenth-century German song, in which Mary addresses her Child as the "rose from Jerusalem" and the "lily from Bethlehem".'[3]

It will have become evident, from what has just been said, that the lily was the flower very often, although not invariably, thought of as most fittingly symbolizing the Christ-flower. And there is much, I think, to suggest that the earliest purpose of the lily or lilies in Annunciation-scenes was to symbolize the coming Christ. As early as the third century Origen saw Christ in the lily of Canticles ii.[4] We have already learned how Gabriel's wand was in some of the early representations of the moment of the announcing tipped with Christ's symbol, the Cross, and in others with a sort of fleur-de-lis—a device easily to be mistaken for the representation of a lily.[5] In somewhat later Annunciation scenes the wand was tipped with a lily;[6] and in still later ones it became a lily-stalk with flowers.[7] The fleur-de-lis appears—although perhaps only as a sign

[1] Cf. Mâle, *op. cit.*, 165.

[2] Figured by Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.*, i, pl. 11; cf. *ibid.*, p. 18.

[3] Hirn, *op. cit.*, 547.

[4] Cf. Huysmans, *op. cit.*, 197.

[5] For an example of the medieval confusing of the fleur-de-lis with the lily, as associated with the Virgin Mary, see the tale of the fleur-de-lis bearing the words 'Ave Maria' which grew from a grave, given in Caxton's version of *The Golden Legend*, under 'Feast of the Annunciation'. On this confusion in art cf. Haig, *op. cit.*, 168 seq.

[6] Venturi thinks (cf. *The Madonna*, 159) that the lily held by Gabriel in the fourteenth century 'was probably derived from the lilied sceptre which Gabriel, as messenger of God, bore for a token of imperial authority. As though to record some such origin, Orcagna gave to the lily-stem a shape like that of the regal sceptre. It is a sceptre with opening buds upon it.'

[7] There is an Italian painting, of the first half of the fourteenth century, in which Gabriel's wand

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of royalty, and without reference to the true lily-flower—on the robe of King David,[1] in a Greek manuscript[2] of the tenth century. Again, in a much later manuscript (of the sixteenth century), the Blessed Virgin is shown, holding the Infant Christ, in the cup of a flower representing 'the mystical Lily of the tribe of Judah'.[3]

Symbolism of that kind is suggested, too, by certain Jewish notions about the lily. We are told that 'The lily as the chief of flowers seems to have been represented on the shekels and half-shekels ascribed to Simon the Hasmonean . . . About this flower a rich and abundant symbolism has gathered. The faces of the righteous are as the lily, and exist only for redemption as the lily for perfume; so that the later cabalistic writers employ the flower as a symbol of the resurrection . . . The symbolism of the lily has passed from the Jews to the Christians, so that the angel of the Annunciation is conventionally represented as bearing lilies.'[4]

To the Venerable Bede also, the lily with its shining white petals and its golden stamens, symbolized Christ's resurrection.[5] And the lily as a symbol of the resurrection of Christ seems clearly to have been in the mind of the medieval poet who wrote that God arisen on the third day showed Himself like a lily which came forth from its bulb hidden in the earth.[6] That Gabriel's lily may very possibly have been intended, in at least some medieval Annunciation scenes, to convey that message is suggested by some words of Dante (1265–1321), who spoke of the archangel having held (instead of what Venturi calls the traveller's staff or the regal sceptre of Byzantine scenes) a branch of palm, symbol of victory over death and of immortal life.[7]

The Cologne alabaster (pl. XLV) and the West Wittering tomb (fig. 2) both suggest that their makers, more or less consciously, were using the lily as a symbol of Christian resurrection; and the small alabaster table shown in pl. XLVI, fig. 3 lends support to the suggestion. So, too, does the painted panel of pl. XLVII, fig. 2, with ihc on the pot to indicate seemingly, that the lily-plant in it symbolizes

is part stick, part lily-stem; in this painting the lily-pot is present, as well as the lily-wand; cf. Haig, *op. cit.*, 178 seq., quoting Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte Italiana*.

[1] Reproduced by Didron, *op. cit.*, i, 432, fig. 110.

[2] Bibl. Roy. *Psalterium cum Figuris*, Greek, no. 139.

[3] Didron, *op. cit.*, i, 128; the illustration copied from MS. no. 460 in the Bibliothèque de Sainte Geneviève.

[4] *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, s. v. 'Lily'.

[5] Cf. Rock, *op. cit.*, iii, 251 seq., quoting *De Templ. Salamonis*.

[6] Cf. Abbé C. A. Auber, *Hist. et théorie du Symbolisme religieux*, iii, Paris, 1871, 542. It should be observed, however, in this connexion, that 'we are told by old treatises on symbolical theology that all plants embody the allegory of the Resurrection'; cf. Huysmans, *op. cit.*, 193.

[7] Cf. Venturi, *The Madonna*, 158.

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Christ, not Mary. And so, too, does the fact that two of our examples of the Annunciation with the Crucifix are on tombs. And the setting in juxtaposition of the risen Christ, or of a symbol of the Resurrection, and the announcing of the coming virginal birth may, perhaps, be explained at least in part by the likening, in both early Christian and medieval times, of His tomb to Mary; an analogy was seen 'between the grave shrine and the human shrine which had held the Prince of Life', and 'in the miracle of the Resurrection it was sought to decipher symbolical references to the virginal birth'.[1]

We have been told that the pot of flowers of the thirteenth-century Annunciation scenes was introduced as a symbol of the time of flowers. Now, the time of flowers is the time of the springing of new life, and of the resurrection of a world of vegetation which has lain as dead through the cold winter; and the white lilies of the fourteenth and fifteenth-century scenes are not only typical of the season, but flowers which even in medieval times had long symbolized a resurrection. What more natural, then, that such lilies should have been chosen to replace the earlier indeterminate flowers, even had there not been another reason—their symbolizing Mary's purity—for choosing them. Because of the period of their blooming, as well as of the ideas connecting them with resurrection, white lilies such as are in the water-pot have become closely associated with Easter. Whether that particular association, which exists at present, extends as far back as the fourteenth century, I have no evidence; but we know that the base for such an association certainly did exist then.[2]

It is clear, therefore, that if the lily-plant of Annunciation scenes symbolized a resurrection, and if the lily-flower were a symbol of Christ Himself, no great step of the imagination was needed to cause the Crucifix to be placed, as representing its bloom, upon the lily-plant, and through their combination to symbolize, presumably, the Resurrection of our Lord. And this was, doubtless, the easier because of the picturing of the Holy Rood as a living tree or one with only its minor branches and its leaves removed, or as ornamented with conventionalized living foliage, or as green in colour. Possibly, too, the occasional[3] terminating in a flower, holding Christ, of a Tree of Jesse—based

[1] Hirn, *op. cit.*, 338; cf. further, *ibid.*, 336–42.

[2] We may observe in passing, as perhaps bearing on this matter, that in England of the early fifteenth century there was a custom that on Easter Day the fireplace in the hall of a house should be 'arayde wyth grene rusches, and swete flowres strawed all about' (Mirk's *Festial* [Bodl. MS. Gough Eccl. Top. 4], edited by T. Erbe, E.E.T.Soc., London, 1905, p. 129, 'De Festo Pasche').

[3] Cf. F. E. Hulme, *Symbolism in Christian Art*, London, 1891, 201. Christ generally appears on a 'Jesse' either in majesty or as an infant held by the Virgin Mary. An example interesting in the present connexion is in the rood-loft screen of East Harling Church, one of whose compartments has a quatrefoil containing Jesse, from whom springs a vine amongst whose branches is the crucified Christ. Information, dated 1852, from Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 23055, f. 200.

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on the text 'And there shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall rise up out of his root'—helped to suggest the arrangement. Clearly, it seems to be the Resurrection which is symbolized by the tall green lily-plant extending from earth to the very knees of the Father, and bearing the crucified body of the Son, in the Cologne panel—the earliest, I believe, of our Annunciation examples of the Crucifix-bearing lily. And so, too, as I have already suggested, do several of the others clearly contain the same symbolization, although perhaps less markedly. And the Westwood glass, which may or may not have been part of an Annunciation scene, seems to lend itself equally well to that interpretation; its lily seems obviously to symbolize the Resurrection, and neither the purity of Mary nor the Blessed Virgin herself, for the Lord is borne by the Cross and not upon the plant, although His feet are nailed to the latter.

If, as seems assuredly to have been the case, the Crucifix-bearing lily-plant of Annunciation scenes was a symbol of the Resurrection, it is conceivable that when in the thirteenth century flowers first appeared in them they did so as a symbol of that event rather than as indicative of the season of the year. Yet if that had been so, it is reasonable to suppose that the Crucifix on the lily would have developed as a regular feature of continental art, instead, as it appears, of remaining exclusively, or almost exclusively, English; wherefore, I think, the seasonable interpretation is the more probable of the two.

I have said (*supra*, p. 212) that I know of no especial reason why the Crucifix-bearing lily-plant should, apparently, be found only in English art. But there are some curious pieces of what seem to be English popular belief, embedded in versions of Mirk's *Festial*, which, I think, may possibly help to explain this. The *Festial* was a collection of homilies in English, partly drawn from the *Golden Legend*, compiled by John Mirk, who was a canon of the monastery of Lilleshall about 1403.[1] In the sermon dealing with the Annunciation there is a story, varying somewhat in different manuscripts or printed editions, of a dispute between a Christian and a Jew concerning the credibility of the Virgin Birth. In the version[2] printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1499 this story goes to the effect that the dispute occurred on a Christmas Day, and that a wine-pot with a lily-stalk in it stood between the disputants. The Jew said that he would believe that Mary had conceived and brought forth, and still remained a virgin, when he saw a lily spring out of the dead stalk that stood in the wine-pot; and 'anone therwith sprange a whyte lylye out of the deed stocke'. Furthermore,

[1] Cf. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, s. v. 'Mirk, John'.

[2] *Liber qui Festialis appellatur*; cf. ff. cxix *v*, cxx. There are other printed versions to the same effect, including one of 1496 of the same printer.

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the story tells us, 'For ryght as the Jewe dyputted with the crysten man of the maner of the cancepcyon So our lady dysputed with the angell of the maner how she sholde conceyue and be both moder and mayde or she consented thereto'; and that the reason for the 'wyne potte w^t^ lylyes bytwene our lady & Gabryell' is that 'our lady at her salutacyon conceyued by fayth'. There seems to be in this version an implication that the lily in the pot played a part in the Annunciation analogous to that of the lily of the tavern-dispute; that is, that Gabriel, to prove to her the truth of his words, showed Mary the miraculous growth of a living flower from a dead stalk. Now, it is possible that the dead stalk is only Aaron's rod, or Joseph's wand, in a new form; but as the springing of a flower, and especially a lily, from a dead stalk seems to be more properly a symbol of the Resurrection than of the Annunciation, I suspect that the reference to it here may be an incident transplanted from some other tale in which it had served to illustrate the Resurrection. Such an interpretation, if correct, would seem to furnish additional evidence of the association in medieval England of the two great events, and perhaps also an indication of the existence of some popular tale in which the lily-flower served as a symbol of Christ. But be that as it may, the *Festial's* story suggests the possibility that the occurrence of the lily-borne Crucifix in English art especially may have been brought about by it (or by some other similar story) through some artist's attempt to combine pictorially the Saviour with the faith-bringing lily; an attempt facilitated by the several analogies I have already cited. Once introduced, its peculiar suitability as a symbol of the Resurrection, and perhaps in a less degree of the Lord borne by the lily-pure Virgin,[1] must have been obvious, and its spread throughout England a probable result.

There is another version of the same story in a manuscript copy of the *Festial*, written in the early fifteenth century.[2] In this, the explanation of the presence of the lily-pot goes: 'Thus was the reason: for our Lady at her salutation conceived by sight.[3] And that was the first miracle that was wrought in

[1] In the course of the argument:—'Then said the Christian man to the Jew: "We believe right as the stalk of the lily groweth, and conceiveth colour of green, and after bringeth forth a white flower without craft of man or any damage of the stalk, right so our Lady conceived of the Holy Ghost, and after brought forth her son without stain of her body, that is flower and chief fruit of all women"' (modernized from Erbe's edition; cf. *supra*, p. 227, note).

[2] Cf. Erbe's *Mirk's Festial*, 108 seq. I give herewith a modern rendering in the place of the original's medieval spelling.

[3] The reading is 'syght' in the original, and the only one I have thus far found in that form. Dr. H. H. E. Craster, F.S.A., who kindly examined on my behalf the Bodleian's manuscripts, has informed me that in two others (both of the *late* fifteenth century) which contain the passage, the reading is 'faith' (in MS. Hatton 96, f. 204 *v*, 'feyth'; and in MS. University College 102, f. 159, 'fayth'); two others lack the passage. Two manuscripts (i. e. Lansdowne MS. 392, f. 50 *v*, with 'feyth',

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proving of Christ's faith. And fell thus that a Christian man and a Jew sat together talking of the coming of our Lady. And there as they were, a wine-pot stood between them. Then said the Christian man . . . Then said the Jew: "When I see a lily spring out of this pot, I will believe, and ere not." Then immediately therewith a lily sprang out of the pot, the fairest that ever was seen.' The Jew was converted, and the story ends 'For this reason the pot and the lily is set between our Lady and Gabriel. For right as this Jew disputeth with this Christian man of the manner of the conception of our Lady; right so our Lady disputed with the angel of the manner, and how she should conceive, and be maiden ere and after. Then she assented thereto.' In this early version we have again the implication—which, of course, we need not accept as the true reason—that the lily of the water-pot was a miraculous growth serving to convince the Virgin. But now we have the lily of the tavern springing direct from the wine-pot, and not from a dead stalk; and since it is less likely that wine-pots on tavern tables contained lily-stalks than that they did not, so we may reasonably suppose the present version to be less corrupted in this respect than the later ones embodying—whether of set purpose or not—what appears to be an allegory of the Resurrection. However, the seemingly implied faith-bringing power of the lily, which is the matter of most interest to us, is the same here as in the later versions.

But there is another matter which, if 'syght' be not a copyist's error for 'fayth' (or its equivalent), may possibly have had to do with the introduction and spread of the lily-borne Crucifix. That is, the belief that Mary conceived 'by sight', for such a belief is rare; indeed, I recall no other record of it than the one above quoted.[1] A common belief was that she conceived by ear—'quae per aurem concepisti'[2]—and this belief found pictorial expression in representations of a ray carrying the Holy Ghost and reaching to her ear, or of the Dove itself about to touch her ear.[3] Or she was thought to have conceived through

and Claudius A. ii, f. 49 *v*, with 'fayth'), both considerably later than the manuscript edited by Erbe, in the British Museum, give 'faith'; a third (Harleian 2371) seems to lack this part of the Annunciation sermon (which is given on ff. 152 seqq.). And all the early printed versions (including Caxton's of 1483) I have examined give 'faith', in one spelling or another. Some minor variations in the early printed versions are perhaps worth noting here: Caxton's edition of 1483 tells us that our Lady 'conceyued the feyth'; Wynkyn de Worde's of 1499 'by fayth'; and Morin's of 1499 'by the feythe'.

[1] Stories in which conception is accounted for by the sight of something seem to be far from usual anywhere. An ancient Roman one (cf. E. S. Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*, London, 1909, i, 27) may, however, be cited.

[2] For much on this see Hirn, *op. cit.*, 295 seqq., 313 seq.

[3] Cf. Barbier de Montault, *op. cit.*, ii, 216. On this, and a number of other ways in which her impregnation was pictorially represented, see Hirn, *op. cit.*, 312 seqq., and Hartland, *op. cit.*, 19 seqq.

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the effect of the Father's breath [1]—an idea made visible in many alabaster tables of the Annunciation—or, less commonly, by Gabriel's giving her the palm-branch and a sweet-smelling fruit.[2] Now, a pictorial representation of conception by sight could most suitably, in the circumstances, be attained by showing Mary looking upon a likeness of our Lord; that likeness would be apt to have the form of the crucified Christ; and the place between her and the angel—at that time commonly occupied by the lily in the water-pot—would be the most suitable situation for the image. We need but recall the several reasons, set out above, for associating the lily with Christ to see how likely would have been the setting, in such circumstances, of the image upon the plant, especially as the latter often had a tripartite flowering upper portion ready, without need of special adaptation, to receive the Crucifix. Occasionally the lily-borne Crucifix seems not to be in the Virgin's line of sight, but the exceptions can be accounted for by the probability that if once the Crucifix became a usual part of the lily-plant of the Annunciation, it would be transferred with the plant in the event of the latter being moved out of its common situation between Mary and Gabriel. The similarity in medieval script between 'syght' and 'fayth' is so great that a copyist might easily have mistaken one for the other,[3] and the belief in Mary's conception by sight so unusual (perhaps 'heretical' is not too strong a word), that we need stronger proof to serve as basis for anything more than the merest conjecture than a single aberrant example of a text. But I think that the matter has been well worthy of our attention, not only because of the possibility that it may help to explain the seeming restriction to England of the Crucifix on the lily-plant, but also for its broad interest in connexion with the study of popular beliefs in medieval England.

Summing up, I think that we are entitled to draw the following conclusions in connexion with the subject of the alabaster panel at Cologne:

1. In this case the Crucifix has been set upon the lily of the Annunciation in allusion to the Resurrection; and this is in accordance with the usual meaning, in medieval art, of the Crucifix on the lily.

2. The Crucifix upon the lily of an Annunciation scene may, in some instances, have been intended to serve as a symbol of the Virgin Birth, although its earlier (and very probably original) significance was as a symbol of the Resurrection.

[1] Cf. Hirn, *op. cit.*, 299 seq.

[2] Cf. *ibid.*, 300.

[3] We should observe, however, that in the early copy now in question, the word 'fayth' occurs in the very next sentence to the one containing 'syght'; and that this suggests the probability that the copyist was not at fault in the present case.

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3. Flowers in a pot were placed between Mary and Gabriel, in the thirteenth century, to symbolize the spring-time: towards the end of that century, or in the fourteenth, lilies came to be considered the most suitable expression of these flowers; and later in the fourteenth century the Crucifix came to be placed on the same stalk or stalks with such lilies.

4. Since from an early period the likeness of the crucified Christ was associated with representations of living vegetation, and since many traces of the association persisted through medieval times and in England, and since in medieval times Christ was often likened to a flower and more especially to a lily, the combination of the Crucifix with a lily-plant was to be expected when a suitable motive for it arose.

5. The Crucifix upon the lily-plant of Annunciation scenes appears to have been fairly common in England of the late fourteenth, the fifteenth, and the early sixteenth centuries, but rare—if occurring at all—in continental art of that period. The reason for this is not clear, but may possibly have been in part dependent upon certain popular stories (suggestions as to which have been put forward above) current in England and perhaps not current on the Continent, or to certain English popular customs (not yet identified) which were not found on the Continent.

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X.—*Examples of Anglian Art.*

By Reginald A. Smith, *Esq., F.S.A.*

Read 24th January 1924.

In Prof. J. Strzygowski's recent work in English on the *Origin of Christian Church Art*, there is a chapter on Hiberno-Saxon art in the time of Bede (673–735), with the following striking passage: 'Whether I turn to the remains of Anglo-Saxon churches, to the crosses, or to the manuscripts of the time of Bede, I feel in the presence of an art which differs from every other art in the world. Above all, I feel that we have here no mere pale reflection of Roman or Byzantine art' (p. 233).

The decorative achievements of the Anglo-Saxon peoples have long been debated, and native material compared or contrasted with contemporary work abroad; but the period just referred to, apart from the Lindisfarne Gospels, the Ormside cup, and certain stone-carvings, including the greatest of all at Ruthwell and Bewcastle, is very poorly represented in the Anglian area, and it is therefore desirable to search out and bring together the few examples that still remain. Either it was that metal was seldom adopted, or the destruction of metal objects (which would be most numerous in churches) must have been very thorough at the hands of the Danes.

Politically, the star of Northumbria set about 670, just when its art blossomed into such surprising forms as the two great crosses already mentioned, or the earlier Collingham stone and Otley shafts (fig. 8). Fostered by the Church, its semi-oriental style was destined to develop (though hardly to improve) till the Danish seal was set on the kingdom by the capture of York by the Danes in 867. Somewhere in those two centuries must fall most of the examples to be cited here, but neither in style nor locality can they logically be classed as Northumbrian.

The Franks casket in the British Museum[1] is no doubt exceptional, and some of its subjects were apparently copied from an illustrated History of the

[1] *Guide to Anglo-Saxon Antiquities*, 98, pl. viii; cf. O. M. Dalton, *Cat. Ivory Carvings of the Christian Era*, p. 32.

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World based on that of Theophilus of Alexandria, who died in 412. It was certainly local work, and the existence of a model can be accounted for, as it is recorded[1] that a cosmographical work of artistic merit was given to King Aldfrith of Northumbria by Ceolfrith, abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow (690–716) in exchange for a piece of land, just at the date when the casket was carved. For our present purpose the only detail of importance is the middle of the back panel (fig. 1), which has within an arch three pairs of grotesque animals which may be called birds, lions, and horses respectively.[2] The birds are little more than heads joined by interlacing; and the lions are joined below by more elaborate interlacing ending in a loop with loaded angle, a feature also seen in the illuminated Gospels at Stockholm, known as the *Codex Aureus*, dated by Zimmermann 750–75 (his plate 280); in Cotton Tib. C. ii and Royal I, E. vi (his plate 292); and especially in the Gospels of St. Cuthbert at Vienna (about 770). Pairs of animals placed symmetrically are also found on the end of a casket in Coire (Chur) Cathedral, Switzerland.[3]



Fig. 1. Panel from back of Franks Casket, British Museum.

The Franks casket therefore stands apart from the Ormside bowl in York Museum and the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses which are typical of Northumbrian art in the late seventh and eighth centuries, but are again to be distinguished from a series which, though affected to some extent by Northumbria, was not in the same line of descent. In order to be seen and studied in isolation, Northumbrian art must be separated from an imported style that also flourished in Northumbria.

The best example of Hiberno-Saxon art is admittedly the Lindisfarne volume, sometimes known as St. Cuthbert's Gospels or the Durham Book, and just published by the British Museum, with coloured plates and an introduction by our Fellow Mr. Eric Millar. This school of illumination, further exemplified in St. Chad's Gospels, evidently derived its inspiration from Ireland; but there are elements which distinguish its productions from Irish masterpieces like the Books of Durrow and Kells, and the term Northumbrian is hardly wide enough to include the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Franks

[1] Bede, *Historia Abbatum*, cap. 15.

[2] Mr. Bruce Dickins has an interesting suggestion (*Anglo-Saxon Guide*, p. 97) that the building is the Temple, containing the Ark of the Covenant with poles for carrying it; on either side are the Cherubim; and underneath, the oxen below the sea of brass (1 Kings, vii, 44).

[3] *Mitt. Antiq. Gesell. Zürich*, xi (1857), 162, pl. VIII. Sir Martin Conway, in *Proceedings*, xxxi, 234, 239, attributes this to the eighth century, and compares the Brunswick casket, which, however, he calls Northumbrian of the ninth century.

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casket, which were produced locally at the same date. Portable objects might easily travel far from their place of origin; but sculptured stones imply direct communication in some form between their own locality and the northern centre of eighth-century art. But here a distinction must be made, for Northumbria had no monopoly of the Anglian name. Mercia under Wulfhere (reigned 659–75) had become a formidable neighbour, and the political decline of Northumbria began before the date of St. Cuthbert's death (687), though art and letters were kept alive by men like Benedict Biscop and Bede (d. 735), and many local sculptures must be referred to the eighth century.

Though Hiberno-Saxon is a recognized term, it has, when strictly used, a very limited application. The great crosses of Northumbria are neither Irish nor Saxon, but Anglian versions of a Syrian model; and some term is needed to include a number of works in stone and metal that show, here and there, traces of Northumbrian or Irish influence, but at the same time much originality and considerable taste. Examples are taken from various parts of England of a style that seems to belong to the Midlands and East Anglia; and as about 730 Mercia was by far the largest kingdom in the country and reached as far south as the Thames and Bristol Avon, it will be convenient to regard much of the work under review as Anglian of the eighth century, contrasting on one hand with the vine-scrolls of Northumbria, and on the other with the early illuminated MSS. of Canterbury (Cotton Tib. C. ii and Vesp. A. i; Royal I, E. vi, the *Codex Aureus* of Stockholm, and the Book of Cerne at Cambridge). As all these appear to date before 850, the Trewhiddle hoard is half a century later (*Proceedings*, xx, 47), and may be taken as typical of southern metal-work, some of which was carried off to Norway (*Bergens Museums Aarbok*, 1920–1, p. 17, etc.).

Little is left of eighth-century works of art in the Midlands, and a rival to the Franks casket of Northumbria long ago left its native country and is now in the Ducal Museum at Brunswick (fig. 2). It is all the more remarkable that the few relics which survive have so many features in common.

The Brunswick casket is well published in Adolph Goldschmidt's *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen* (1918), vol. ii, p. 55, pl. LIX; and the Runic inscription on the base leaves little doubt that it was made for Etheldreda's monastery at Ely, which was founded in 673 (Bede, *Eccles. Hist.*, iv, 19) and plundered by the Danes in 870. The bone[1] panels are affixed to a bronze body which measures 5 in. in height and width. From Gandersheim monastery it went to Brunswick in 1815, containing relics of the Virgin Mary, to whom the house at Ely was dedicated. The inscription has been finally interpreted by Th. von Grienberger

[1] Stephens called the material walrus or morse ivory (*Old Northern Monuments*, i, 379), and gave several wood-blocks of the casket, one of which is here reproduced.

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(*Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, xli (1909), p. 431), who gives a rendering that may be translated 'May the holy Virgin be a light to her own Ely'. He thinks the casket may well have been the gift of Etheldreda herself, and date from the foundation of the monastery. In Goldschmidt's opinion this attribution is correct and the style of carving agrees with a number of illuminated MSS. which Zimmermann, among others, assigns to southern England and



Fig. 2. Back of the Brunswick casket (½).

dates about 770–800. Birds and beasts run off into intricate interlacing, whether alone or in pairs within a panel: one compartment is filled with trumpet scroll-work in the Irish manner; and a sprawling lizard-like creature should be noticed, as it also occurs on the Lindau book-cover and one of the Witham pins. Some connexion with the Northumbrian school of sculpture is indicated in the scrolls issuing from a central stem and enclosing animal forms, on both ends of the casket. More naturalistic representations of single or confronted animals, with the interlacing distinct from the body, occur in the *Codex Aureus* of Stockholm, attributed to Canterbury about 750–75 (cf. Zimmermann,

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pls. 280, 284, 286, *b*). The motive evidently became more complicated during the eighth century.

The exceptional quality and design of the Croft stone, North Riding (fig. 3), is properly emphasized by Mr. W. G. Collingwood [1] and an early date suggested. In the present connexion it is of the highest importance as a link between the Syrian vine-scroll with its animals, and the delicate execution of certain Anglian work where interlacing rather obscures the animal, whereas in Northumbria the animal gets clear of the foliage soon after 750 and becomes the dominant motive in the ninth century.[2]

The Syrian vine-scroll with included animals is found not only on stone carvings but also on the famous gilt-metal cup from Ormside, Westmorland,

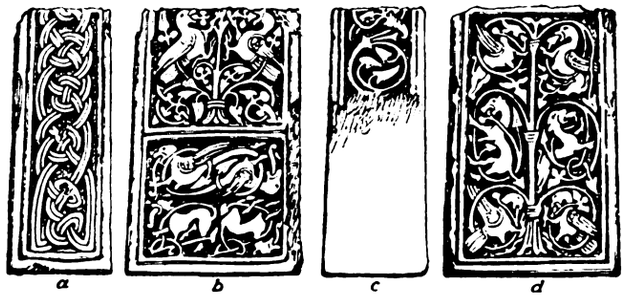


Fig. 3. Part of cross-shaft, Croft, N. R. Yorks. ($\frac{1}{12}$).

now in York Museum. It was published by Mr. W. G. Collingwood in 1899 (*Trans. Cumb. and West. A. and A. Soc.*, xv, 377), and later by Professor Baldwin Brown (*Arts of Early England*, v, 318), who gives enlarged photographs of the embossed design. To the references given in his chapter may be added Mr. Thurlow Leeds's remarks in *Annals of Archaeology* (Liverpool), iv, March 1911, p. 8; but no more than a mention is necessary here, as its date and affinities are now placed beyond all doubt.

In 1892 Mr. J. T. Irvine contributed an illustrated paper to our *Proceedings*, xiv, 156, on the stone monument (fig. 4) in Peterborough Cathedral, ascribed on inadequate grounds to Bishop Hedda, who was killed by the Danes in 870; and the drawings were again reproduced in *V. C. H. Northants*, ii, 192. Three eminent authorities have confirmed his opinion that the sculpture dates from the twelfth century, and I should have hesitated to differ if Mr. W.G. Collingwood had

[1] *Yorks. Arch. Journ.*, xix, 306; *V. C. H. Yorks.*, ii, 111, 115 and pl. iv; *Saga Book*, Viking Club, v, 118. This and other stone-carvings in Yorkshire are here reproduced by permission from our Fellow Mr. W. G. Collingwood's papers on the subject.

[2] Brøndsted, *Nordisk og fremmed Ornamentik i Vikingetiden* (*Aarboger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1920), p. 188 (English edition, *Early English Ornament*, p. 192).

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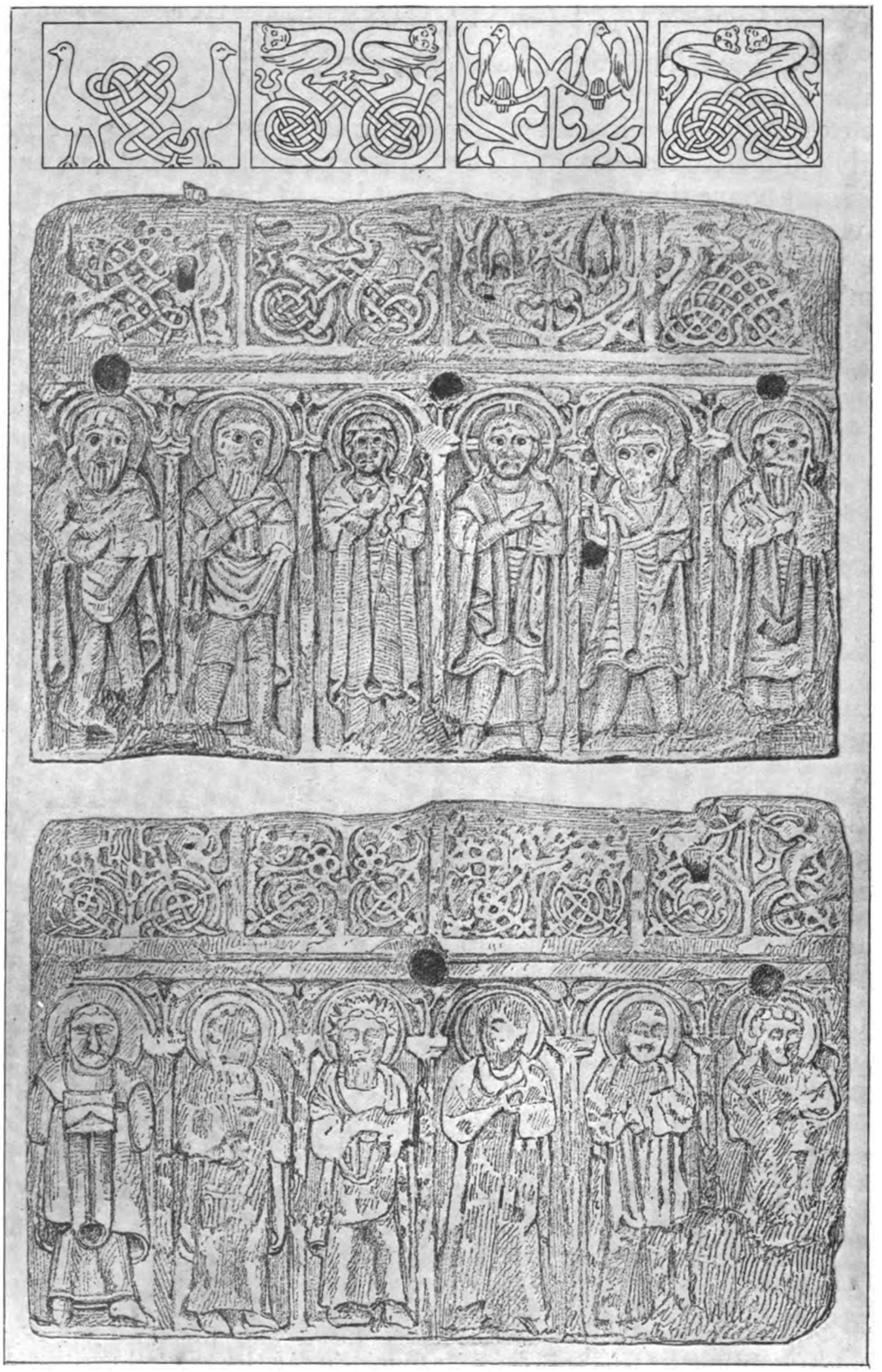


Fig. 4. Monument attributed to Abbot Hedda, Peterborough; front and back, with restoration ($\frac{1}{8}$).

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not anticipated me in classing this stone with the Hovingham bas-relief (fig. 5) (*Yorks. Arch. Journ.*, xix, 334, 337), the Masham shaft (fig. 6), and the Easby fragment (fig. 7) in the North Riding, dating them all about 750–800.[1] The lower half of the Masham carving is most apposite, with its row of standing figures in arched panels, above similar panels containing single and confronted beasts, with less interlacing than the Hedda stone or the Brunswick casket. Part of a similar arcade, with a complete arch and standing figure adjoining half another, was recently found at Castor and is illustrated in the *Antiquaries Journal*, iv, 421.



Fig. 5. Bas-relief, Hovingham, N. R. Yorks. ($\frac{1}{12}$).

Standing figures of the Apostles, each with a nimbus below a rounded arch, are not surprising in view of the figure-sculpture on Northumbrian and Yorkshire cross-shafts; and the pairs of leaves in the spandrils at Peterborough find parallels in the Masham and Hovingham sculptures just referred to, and also on the early cross at Otley (fig. 8) in the West Riding (*Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xxiii, 225). The upper panels on what was probably the front of the Peterborough carving have pairs of birds and dragons going off into interlacing: one has two birds facing and perched in the conventional vine-scroll of Northumbria,[2] which recurs in all four panels of the back with variations.[3] In these cases the foliage assumes a spiral form with trefoil terminals in the angles resembling details in a MS. at Rome (fig. 9), assigned by Zimmermann to southern England of 750–800 (pls. 313, *a*, 315, *b*, and 317, *b*), and in the St. Petersburg Gospels of the

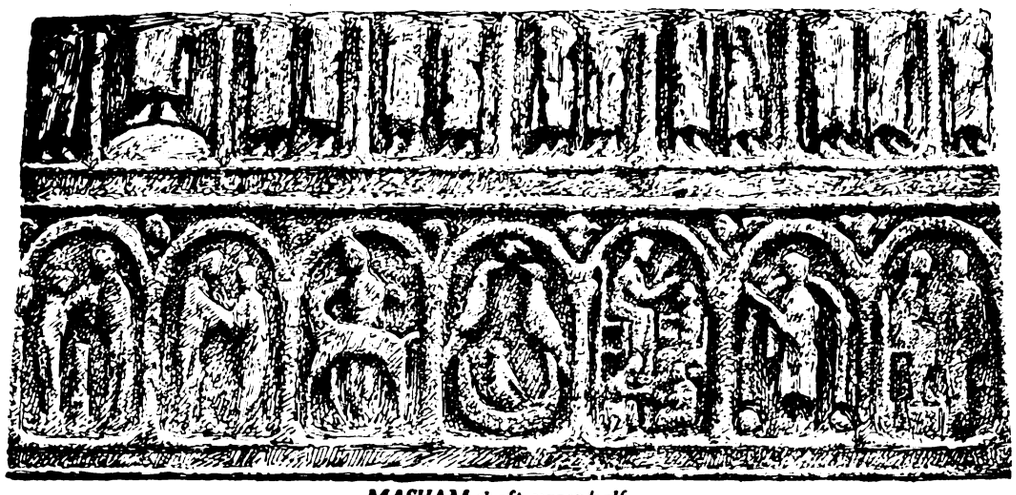
[1] Our Fellows Messrs. Prior and Gardner, in reviewing late Anglo-Saxon and Viking sculpture, quote this opinion (*Mediaeval Figure-sculpture in England*, pp. 125–6, fig. 104).

[2] Much like the eagle of the Easby fragment (fig. 7) and birds on the Jedburgh, Bewcastle, and Ruthwell crosses.

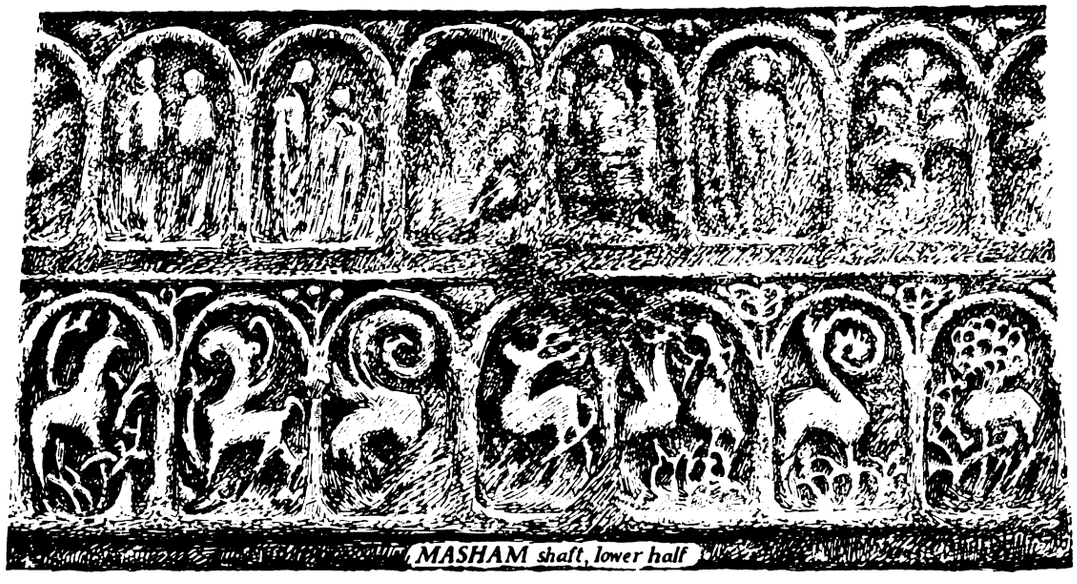
[3] Not unlike the design on the leather binding of St. John's Gospel taken from the tomb of St. Cuthbert (died 687), now in Stonyhurst Library. It is reproduced as the frontispiece of Sarah T. Prideaux's *Historical Sketch of Bookbinding*, but the date is disputed.

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same school (*ibid.* pls. 321, 323); also on sculptures at Birstall (fig. 10) and Ilkley (fig. 11) in the West Riding (*Yorks. Arch. Journ.*, xxiii, pp. 145, 195). The same practice has been noticed in the Urnes group of the late eleventh century in



MASHAM shaft, upper half



MASHAM shaft, lower half

Fig 6. Carving on base of round pillar, Masham, N. R. Yorks. (about $\frac{1}{14}$).

Norway (Shetelig, *Urnesgruppen*, p. 76, fig. 1); and a parallel for the pairs of winged creatures, that might be overlooked, is the cross-shaft at Thornhill, Dumfriesshire (Allen and Anderson, *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, p. 450).

Another sculpture in this style (fig. 12) is preserved in the churchyard at

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Castor, five miles west of Peterborough (*V. C. H. Northants*, ii, 190). It is a cross-base sadly mutilated, with curious bulbous projections at the four upper angles, and traces of spirals on the two ends, above single bird-like creatures with interlaced tails. On the broader faces are two panels of animals with interlacing, and another with almost pure ribbon-work, and what looks like a serpentine head pointing upwards.

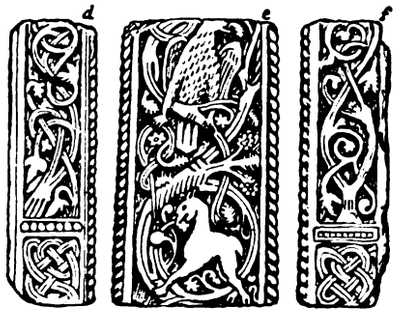


Fig. 7. Part of cross-shaft, Easby, N. R. Yorks.

The Witham pins (fig. 13) were found in the river at Fiskerton, five miles east of Lincoln, in 1826 after a dry summer, and presented to the British Museum in 1858 by the Royal Archaeological Institute (*Anglo-Saxon Guide*, pl. ix). They were illustrated and described by Mr. Romilly Allen in the *Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist*, new series, vol. x (1904), p. 52 and frontispiece; and the leading parallels are quoted in support of a date between 800 and 850, but I am now inclined to assign them to the eighth century for the following reasons:

(i) The animals filling the quadrants are finer and presumably earlier than those on the Brunswick casket, which is dated by Goldschmidt about 770–800. Perhaps some allowance must be made for the difference in material.

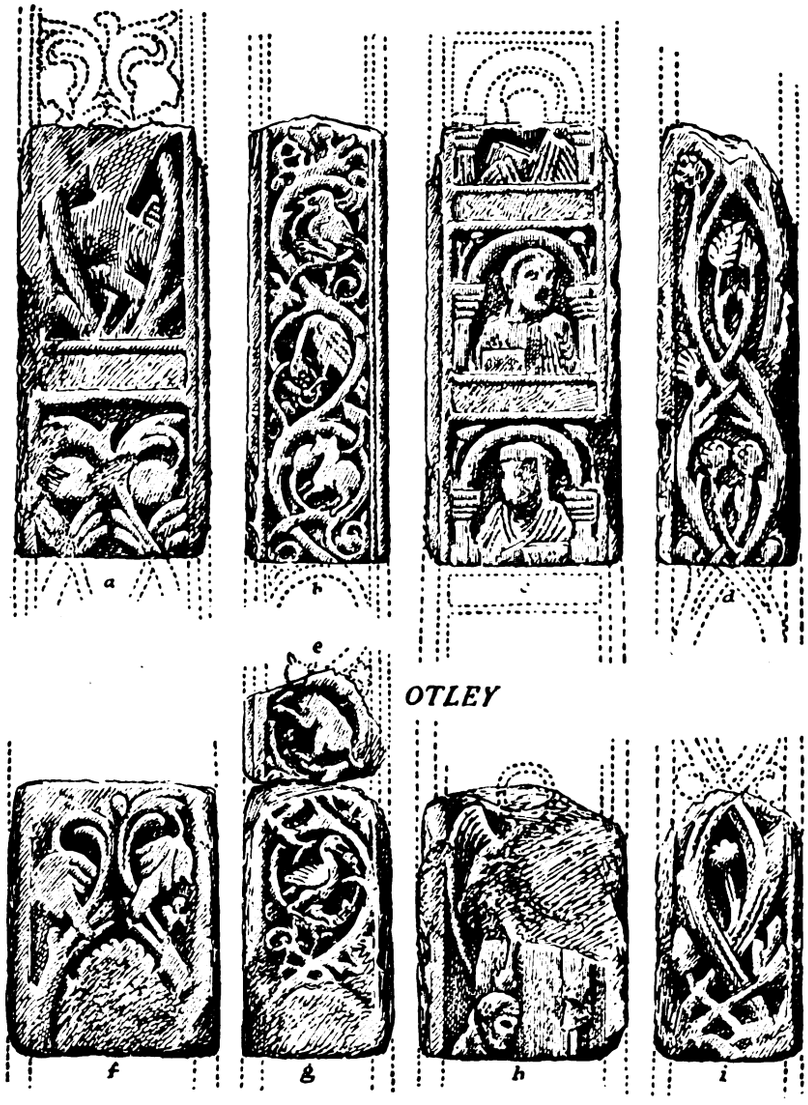


Fig. 8. Fragments of cross-shaft, Otley, W. R. Yorks. ($\frac{1}{12}$).

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(ii) There are debased Irish scrolls on the links, and the pattern though



Fig. 9. Detail from the Vatican Gospels (Barb. lat. 570): S. English.



Fig. 10. Stone carving, Birstall, W. R. Yorks. ($\frac{1}{12}$).



Fig. 11. Stone fragment at Ilkley.

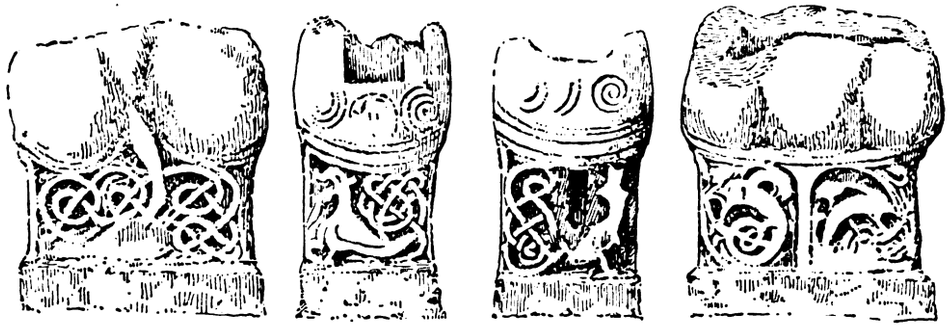


Fig. 12. Four views of stone carving, Castor, Northants. (height 2 ft. 2 in.)

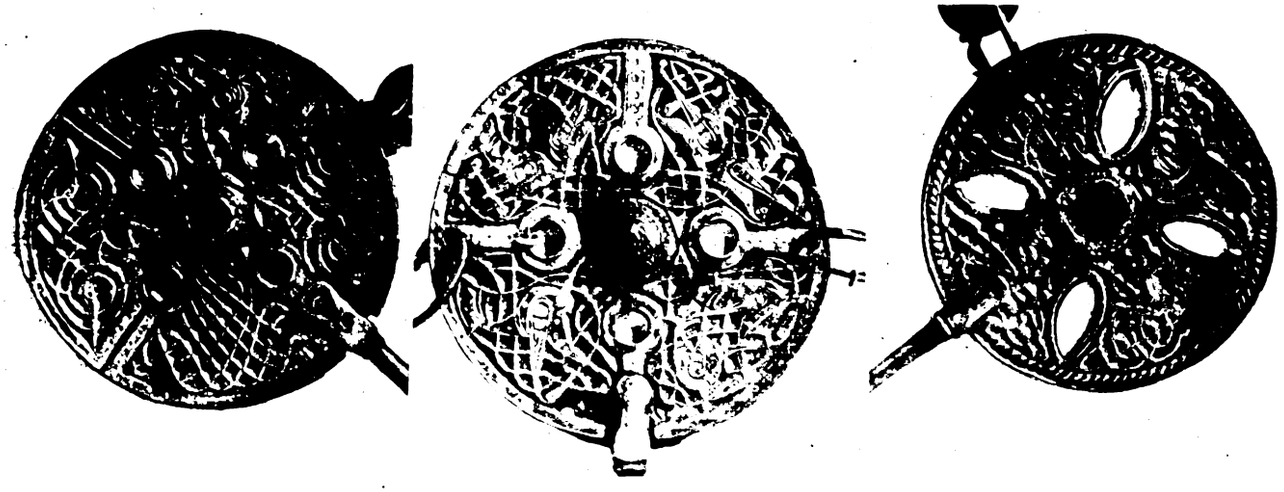


Fig. 13. Heads of triple silver pin (enlarged), from the Witham (British Museum).

common on English work (early Canterbury MSS., and in stone at South Kyme, Lincs., *Antiq. Journ.*, iii, 119), is rarely found after about 800.

(iii) The dots on the borders and on the bodies of some of the animals are

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found in the Lindisfarne Gospels (Millar, *op. cit.*, p. 40, pl. III, *c* = fol. 90), though this method was not an Irish invention. Zimmermann points out that it was freely adopted by the Irish and spread by their missionaries over the Continent (Text, p. 24).

(iv) Pairs of animals facing each other or with heads turned away, also single animals of the same kind, are found in vine-scrolls on a cross-shaft (fig. 14) at Aldborough, W. R. Yorks. (eighth century),[1] and appear to be the prototypes

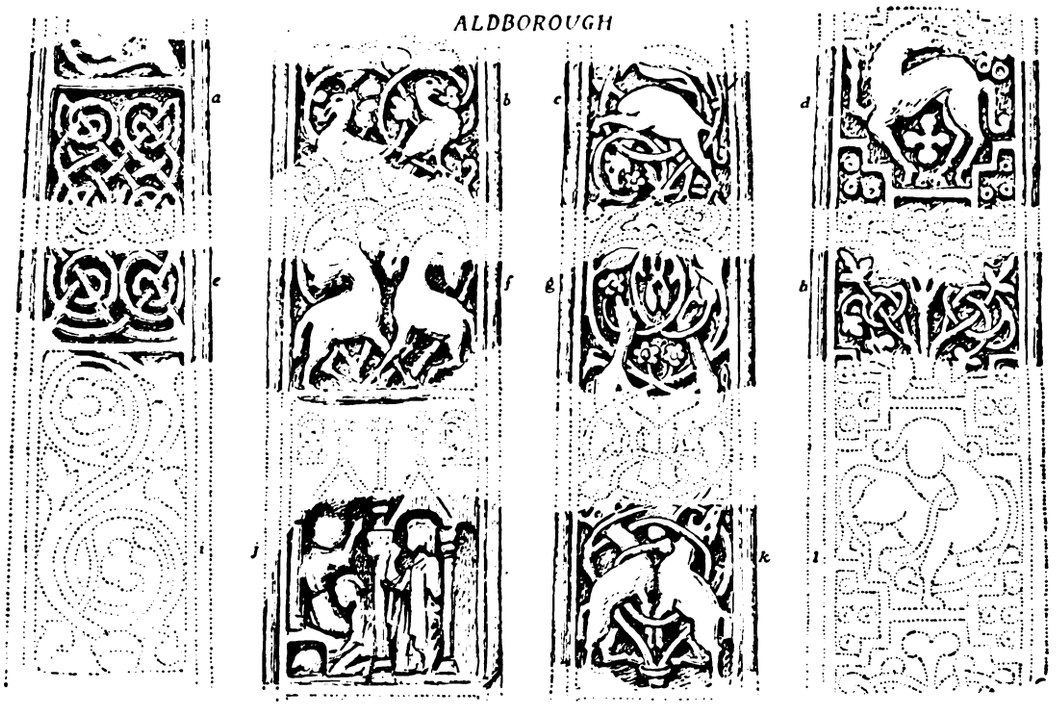


Fig. 14. Parts of cross-shaft, Aldborough, W. R. Yorks.

of those on the pin-heads. All the quadrants and cross-arms of the pin-heads have interlacing to serve as a background to various figures. That on the left has a single bird-like creature, with pure lattice-interlacing opposite; also two panels with hind legs, wings, or leaves as terminals, one springing from a central stem in a manner recalling the vine-scroll of Northumbria. The large central pin-head has winged dragons confronted in two panels; two similar animals with heads turned back so as to meet, and lastly a single dragon, in all cases with intertwined tongues and tails, and a few dots on the bodies. Of the right-hand disc two quadrants have an animal with bird-like head, perhaps intended for a cockatrice; and the others have each a sprawling lacertine creature with

[1] *Yorks. Arch. Journ.*, xxiii, 134; Brøndsted, *op. cit.*, p. 179 (English edition, p. 46).

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its head towards the centre, all dotted as before. This last device, in the arms of a cross within a circle and presumably Christian, is of special importance, and occurs in association with winged creatures in the spandrils (fig. 15) of the St. Petersburg Gospels of the South English school, assigned by Zimmermann to the third quarter of the eighth century (pl. 323, *b*, cf. p. 144 of text); and the Witham dragons may well be descended from those in the same MS. (*ibid.* pls. 321, 322, 323, *a*).

The form of the right-hand pin resembles the Canterbury cross of bronze (*V. C. H. Kent*, i, 382) found in St. George's Street about 1860. Here the animals and interlacing have disappeared, but the arms are bordered with leaves

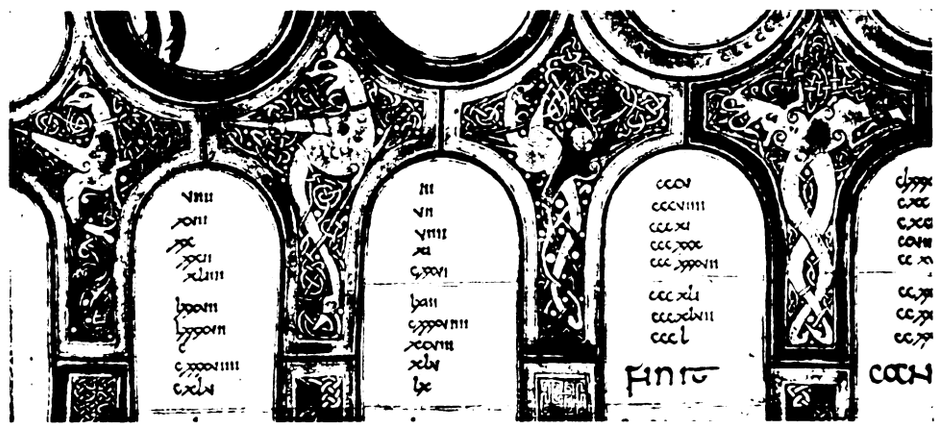


Fig. 15. Detail from St. Petersburg Gospels: S. English.

attached to a wavy stem very like the design between the serpents of the Fetter Lane sword-handle (fig. 23) and above the panels round the base of the Tassilo chalice (about 770). The Gravesend cross (*op. cit.*, p. 381) seems to represent a still later stage of development, and this is dated about 875 by associated coins, corresponding to the Trewhiddle hoard in Cornwall (*Proceedings*, xx, 47).

It was held by Sophus Müller forty years ago that the winged dragon does not appear in the north of Europe before 1000; and Shetelig (*Urnesgruppen*, p. 104–5) points out that it appears only on the latest of the Uppland stone carvings: hence this 'herald of Christian Romanesque' made its appearance about 1100. Authorities are agreed that it was of oriental origin, but the date of its arrival in the West seems in need of revision; and it may be found to have travelled with the Carolingian lion whose origin is equally vague, but whose arrival can be dated with precision. The drawing of a dragon-like creature, with wing and lappet complete, forms part of an initial in a MS. dated by Zimmermann 770-80, and now at C.C.C., Cambridge (pl. 145, *e* = fol. 62, *b*); and the same authority suggests an oriental origin for the Trewhiddle style of the

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late ninth century in England (p. 23). An argument in favour of this theory is the occurrence of the dragon on metal-work in the famous Nagy-Szent-Miklos hoard in E. Hungary, dated by Riegl 870–90 (*Die spätrömische Kunstindustrie*, vol. ii, edited by Zimmermann, pl. XLV, XLVII, and p. 92, fig. 89).

A disc (fig. 16) that must have belonged to a similar pin, no doubt one of a set, was found at Ixworth, Suffolk, and is now in Mr. Samuel Fenton's collection. It is figured in *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxvii, 259, fig. 3, and *V. C. H. Suffolk*, i, 337; and consists of a convex copper or bronze plate richly gilt, and engraved in quadrants having a dotted cross between them. The same quadruped appears

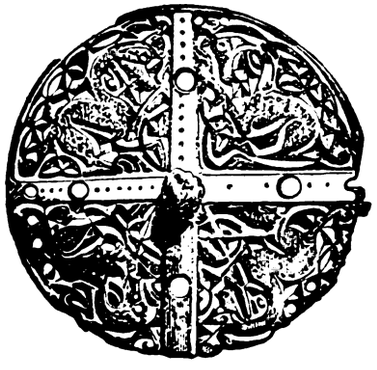


Fig. 16. Gilt disc-head of pin, Ixworth, Suffolk (½).



Fig. 17. Disc-head of bronze pin, Cambridge (½).



Fig. 18. Bronze quadrant, Hauxton Mill, Cambs. (½).

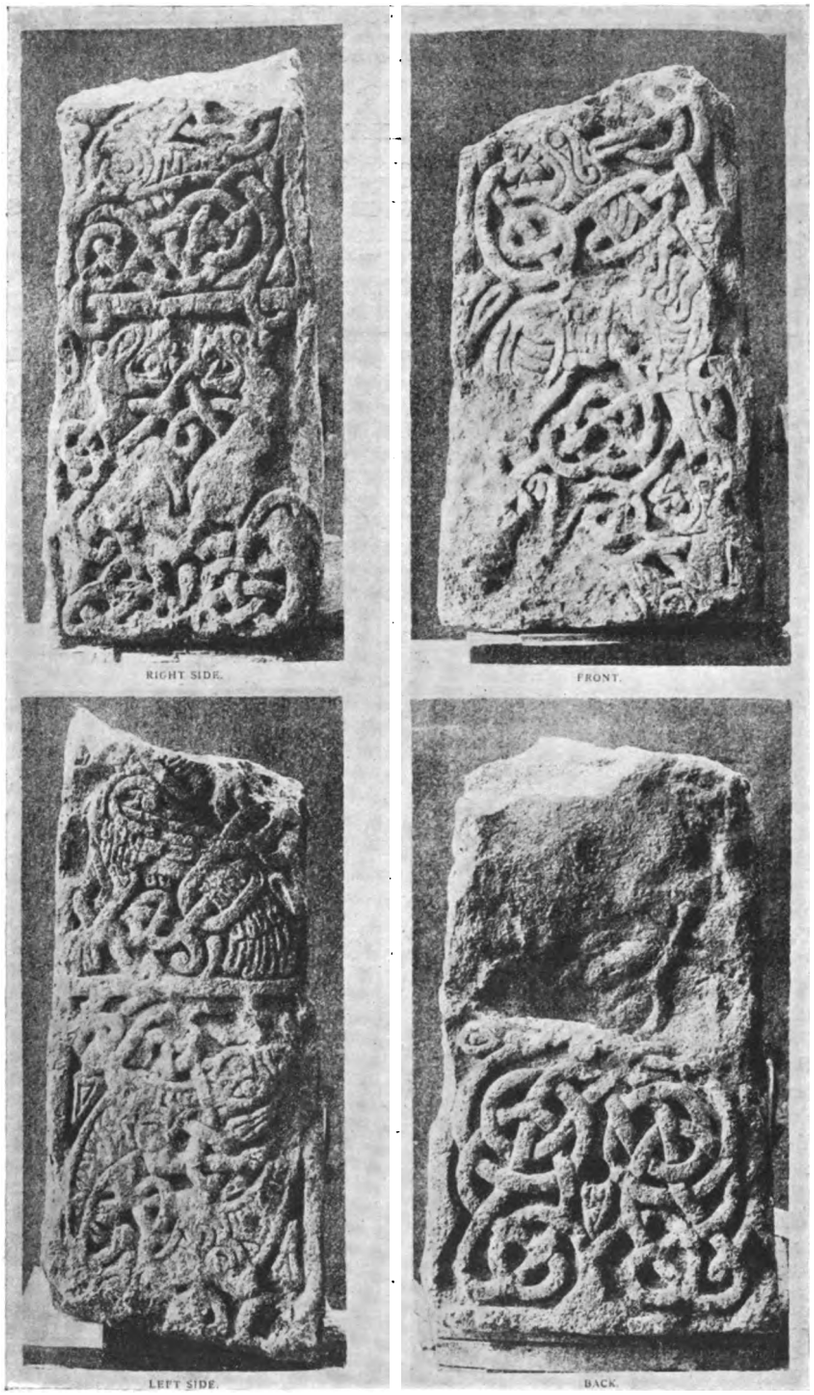
in each quadrant, the ground being filled with interlacing just in the same style as the set from the Witham; and the place of discovery strengthens the argument against a Northumbrian origin for either of them.

The S-spiral, which occurs on the links of the Witham pins, fills two of the quadrants on a similar pin-head found in Cambridge, 1905 (fig. 17); the other two have a fret pattern common in the MSS. It has recently been published by our Fellow Dr. Cyril Fox (*Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*, p. 297, pl. XXXIV, fig. 6), who mentions another bronze at Cambridge (found at Hauxton Mill), with interlacing patterns (fig. 18). It is a quadrant with a hole (now open) at the edge, and a broad ring at the centre of the full circle.

A curious parallelism is seen on the sculptured fragment of a standing cross (fig. 19), which was well illustrated in the *Builder*, 15th September 1888 (see p. 196).[1] A letter from Mr. Henry Medland states that it had recently been removed from a garden wall near the priory at Gloucester. Tradition assigns the foundation of St. Oswald's Priory to Merval, the third son of Penda, and Domneva his

[1] Reproduced in *Trans. Bristol and Gloucs. Arch. Soc.*, xiii, 122.

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Fig. 19. Four views of cross-shaft in Gloucester Museum.

wife about the year 660. Oswald was killed in battle by Penda in 642, having founded the monastery of Lindisfarne in 634 and placed in charge of it Aidan,

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one of the monks of Iona, where the Northumbrian king had spent his boyhood. This connexion may be of interest in view of the character of the design on St. Oswald's cross; and though the workmanship is apparently Danish, the original model may have been Anglian. The following motives are common to the Witham pin-heads and the Gloucester sculpture: scrolls springing from a central stem, the sprawling reptile, winged creature (bird or dragon) with interlacing, pair of dragons confronted and interlaced, and a nondescript animal with interlacing. That these were stock figures of the eighth century is suggested also by their occurrence on the Brunswick casket.



Fig. 20. Bezel of finger-ring, Thames at Chelsea (⅞).

For an enlarged photograph of the silver nielloed finger-ring (fig. 20) from the Thames at Chelsea[1] I am indebted to Mr. H. P. Mitchell of the Victoria and Albert Museum, where it is now preserved. In shape the ring resembles those of gold found in Garrick Street, London, and at Bossington, Hants.; but the design and technique are different and indicate a somewhat earlier date. The expanded bezel is 1¼ in. long and bears a central medallion enclosing an animal with head turned back and interlacing in the field issuing from its mouth and apparently from the back of the head in the form of a lappet. Both its body and the border are dotted like the Witham and Ixworth pin-heads, and flanking the medallion are two pairs of confronted animal heads in compartments, of the same general form as that of the central animal, with gaping jaws, but also with a large and distinct ear. The heads which have a trumpet-shaped tongue springing from the back of the lower jaw are much like those of the serpents on the Fetter Lane sword-handle, and quite unlike those of the pin-heads; but the attitude and interlacing of the limbs, as well as the dotted body and border, are clearly of the same school as the Witham and Ixworth pin-heads, for which Anglian seems to be the appropriate name. The ear, as distinct from the lappet, is well seen on the capitals of canon-tables in the Lindisfarne Gospels (Millar, *op. cit.*, pls. XV, XVI, and XIX); but is exaggerated on the Chelsea ring to fill a certain space.

Though not a finger-ring, a bronze (fig. 21) that has strayed to Trondhjem Museum may here be cited as an example of Anglian art. It is almost the

[1] Fairholt, *Rambles of an Archaeologist*, p. 101, fig. 116; *Cat. of Antiquities exhibited at Ironmongers' Hall, London, in 1861* (published 1869), p. 496; H. Clifford Smith, *Jewellery*, pl. XIII.

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only specimen of the kind in Scandinavia, and for that reason has been variously explained. Our Hon. Fellow Dr. Sophus Müller published it in 1881 (*Die Thier-ornamentik im Norden*, p. 136, fig. 67) and called it Northumbrian: it also appears in Rygh's *Norske Oldsager*, fig. 617, where it is stated to have been found at Nedre Stjordalen, Nordre Trondhjem, with other objects including a tortoise-brooch which should date about 800–50. It has more recently been called Irish or English by Nils Åberg in *Fornvännen*, 1921, p. 75, fig. 15; and as it was evidently looted from England, the date suggested by the associated Viking brooch justifies us in including this in the small Anglian group of the eighth century. The animal in the lower panel is clearly a dragon, with wide-open jaws and large fangs,[1] the interlacing proceeding from the mouth and tail. The upper figure is less determinate, but has interlacing in the same style, approaching the spiral; and both bodies, as well as the partition between the panels, are ornamented with dotted lines, the whole design being very similar to the Witham pin-heads.



Fig. 21. Bronze fragment in Trondhjem Museum, Norway.

By the kindness of our Hon. Fellow Dr. Shetelig of Bergen, I am able to illustrate a fragment (fig. 22) in the museum there which can be classed with that at Trondhjem and compared with fig. 18. It was found in a grave on Lunde farm in Voss, associated with bronze tortoise-brooches of the late ninth century, but was evidently old when it was deposited. Two rivet-holes near the edge show that the fragment was adapted as a brooch in Norway, like many gilt bronzes of foreign origin; and the animal design is more like the Trondhjem example than the drawing published by Rygh would lead one to believe. It is about a quarter of a disc, 2·2 in. in diameter: the points in the interlaced border are a late feature, and the animal within is rudimentary, but the open jaws and eye can be identified, and the interlacing is mainly a continuation of the tongue. The bronze was originally gilt, and the two holes near the margin suggest a pin-head like those from the Witham, Cambridge, and Ixworth, while the diameter is also in accord. Still larger are the two gilt bronze discs of the same period recently discovered at Whitby, to be described by the Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments in the next volume of *Archaeologia*.



Fig. 22. Bronze quadrant, Lunde, Voss, Norway.

More Irish than all these but by no means pure in style is the silver-gilt sword-handle found in Fetter Lane, Holborn, London, and now in the British

[1] As on the shaft from St. Peter's, York (*Yorks. Arch. Journ.*, xx, 154), and on the right side of St. Oswald's stone at Gloucester (fig. 19).

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Museum. Two views of it were published in colours in *V. C. H. London*, i, 154; and the accompanying illustration (fig. 23), borrowed by permission from the *Anglo-Saxon Guide*, is a restoration, showing the back as the missing half of the handle and suggesting the original appearance of the whole. The pommel has been published separately in *Proceedings*, xxiii, 302, where on structural grounds it is dated about 800. That date corresponds to Brøndsted's (eighth or ninth century), and is a mean between MSS. of the eighth century and the Trewhiddle hoard. A copy of the Gospels at Rome classed as Southern English [1] shows animal heads arranged in a whorl, and the St. Petersburg Gospels (said to be S. English work of about 750–75) has grotesque quadrupeds with gaping jaws and spirals on the shoulder;[2] while the hoard includes a naturalistic ivy-leaf pattern that was derived from Carolingian sources, though Brøndsted called the decoration of this sword-handle a blend of Irish animal style and the ivy-leaf pattern of northern England (p. 203). The resemblance of the foliage to that bordering the Canterbury cross and below the knop of the Tassilo chalice has already been noticed (p. 244); and the sword is in every way more closely related to the half-Irish illumination of the Kentish MSS. than to the contemporary style in East Anglia or in the kingdom of Mercia, which recovered Kent at the battle of Otford in 774.

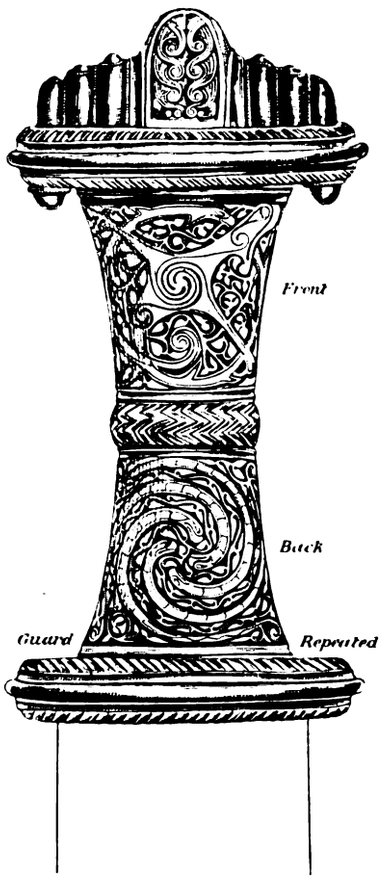


Fig. 23. Reconstructed sword-handle of silver, Fetter Lane, London (⅓).

A famous eighth-century work of art attributed recently to English influences, if not to English craftsmanship,[3] is the Kremsmünster silver chalice, connected with Tassilo, duke of Bavaria, and dated about 777. Part of the border is here reproduced (fig. 24). The best publication of it has just appeared in the second volume (1923) of Alois Riegl's *Die spätrömische Kunstindustrie*, edited by Zimmermann, and full details are given on his plates xxii–xxv. The view taken of its origin is in the main that of Dr. Otto von Falke[4]—possibly made at Salzburg, it incorporates many details seen in illuminated MSS. of the Canterbury school, including

[1] Zimmermann, *op. cit.*, pl. 315, *b*, top middle, date 750-800.
[2] *Op. cit.*, plates 321, 324.
[3] Brøndsted, *op. cit.*, 206, note 1 (English edition, p. 158).
[4] Lehnert's *Illustrierte Geschichte des Kunstgewerbes*, i, 22.

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the *Codex Millenarius* at Kremsmünster itself, St. Cuthbert's Gospels at Vienna, the *Codex Aureus* at Stockholm, the St. Petersburg Gospels, and Vespasian A 1 (British Museum). The following is from Riegl's text, p. 58 (translated):

'The form of the chalice and technical handling of the 'chip-carving' (*Keilschnitt*) justify its attribution to a native artist who followed Anglo-Saxon models as closely as did the illuminator of the *Codex Millenarius*. Both these (Kremsmünster) relics show how much Anglo-Saxon influence strove, and how well qualified it was, to raise the standard in the art-centres of young Germany. That the Anglo-Saxon elements in the decoration



Fig. 24. Frieze round the lip of the Tassilo chalice, Kremsmünster, Lake Constance ($\frac{1}{1}$).

of the chalice were partly contested even in recent times may well be explained by the general assumption that insular art was homogeneous, and no regard was paid to the revolution which took place in Anglo-Saxon art in the middle of the eighth century.'

It would be easy to exaggerate the national importance and the artistic quality of the modest English series already noticed; but in more than one quarter higher claims have been made, both Zimmermann[1] and Brøndsted,[2] for instance, attributing to England or English influence the Lindau (Ashburnham) book-cover now in the collection of Mr. Pierpont Morgan. It is, however, recognized that the cover has later additions, and no one will deny the Carolingian origin of the grasping animals in the two medallions of the middle line (fig. 25). The home of the enamel work on the cross might be debated, but the four irregular panels, that seem to serve as a background for the cross, contain interlaced animals of different kinds that certainly favour an Anglo-Saxon origin, and indeed are difficult to place elsewhere. If the Carolingian medallions are contemporary with the background, we are again brought to the end of the eighth century;

[1] *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen*, Text, pp. 25, 115; also in Riegl, *Die spätrömische Kunstindustrie*, ii (1923).

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 204, 206 (early 9th century).

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and though the transverse hatching and contour lines of the interlaced animals are late features more connected with the Jellinge style of the tenth century, it is of interest to note the sprawling lizard-like forms in association here with serpents and quadrupeds. In *Vetusta Monumenta*, vi (Nesbitt and Thompson), the book-cover is regarded as Irish work; and Dr. Otto von Falke [1] says the



Fig. 25. Part of the Lindau book-cover (Pierpont Morgan collection).

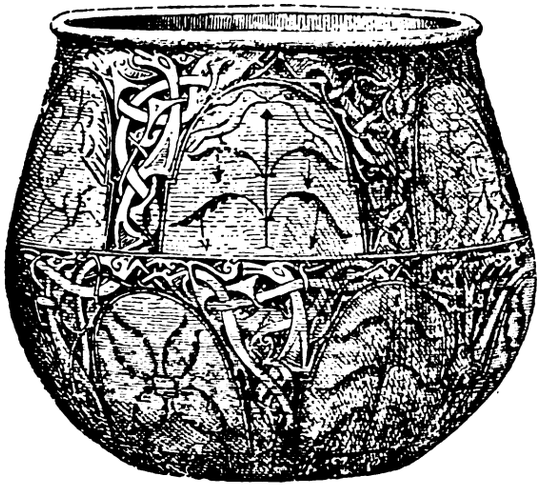


Fig. 26. Silver cup, Fejö, Denmark ($\frac{2}{3}$).

work between the cross-arms is in the purest Irish style of the eighth or ninth century.

England has also been credited lately with the silver cup (fig. 26) [2] found at Fejö (Loland, Denmark) with coins of the tenth century, but evidently earlier than the coins, as it was old and worn when deposited. Its interlaced animal ornament is admittedly like the Tassilo chalice, and there is nothing improbable in the dispersion of English works of art at that date, as the Brunswick casket, the Trondhjem bronze, and the *Codex Aureus* of Stockholm can testify. Boniface (the English Winfrith, who went abroad about 718) and the Irish missionaries were active on the Continent before the Vikings took to looting the monasteries

[1] Lehnert, *Illustrierte Geschichte des Kunstgewerbes*, i, 215.

[2] Brøndsted, *op. cit.*, pp. 205, 276 (English edition, pp. 152, 329); Zimmermann in Riegl's *Die spätrömische Kunstindustrie*, ii, 57, fig. 42; illustrated by Sophus Müller, *Ordning* (Jernalderen), 670, also in *Urgeschichte Europas*, pl. iii; by Shetelig in *Oseberg-fundet*, iii, 259.

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of the British Isles, and manuscripts were not the only things they carried or inspired. The Mercian king Offa belonged to this period, and the coins issued during his reign (757–96) 'may on the whole be pronounced distinctly superior to any series of coins struck in this country before the reign of Henry VII' (Brit. Mus. *Cat. A.-S. Coins*, I, p. lxxvi). Education was at the same time (about 740) flourishing in the north under Archbishop Ecgberht. 'It was at the moment', says J. R. Green,[1] 'when learning seemed to be flickering out both in Ireland and among the Franks that the school of York gathered to itself the intellectual impulse which had been given to Northumbria by Bede, and preserved that tradition of learning and culture which was to spread again, through Alcuin, over the nations of the West.' That distinguished pupil joined Charlemagne in 782.

It can hardly be a mere coincidence that this same eighth century saw the highest achievements of indigenous art both in Ireland and Scandinavia. Besides the illuminated manuscripts of Durrow and Kells, the Ardagh chalice, the Tara brooch, and other fine examples of the penannular type (*Archaeologia*, lxv, 223) are referable to this century, which was in this sphere the greatest in Irish history; and east of the North Sea the Teutonic art of the Continent found its highest expression in what is now known as late Vendel and Bernhard Salin's Style III. It should be noted also that from this period dates the practice of dividing spaces into panels or compartments for purposes of ornament,[2] and a good example is the box-brooch of Gotland, which in the seventh century has some form of triskele occupying the whole of the front, but in the eighth and ninth has the interlaced animal of Style III or the 'grasping' animal isolated in oval or rectangular panels (*Anglo-Saxon Guide*, pl. XVI, nos. 2 and 1; cf. figs. 164 and 211). This Style III is unrepresented in the British Isles; but the stone crosses of Northumbria alone are sufficient proof that the wave of creative impulse reached these shores, and it would be surprising if only one of the three kingdoms into which England was then divided should have been thus influenced. If the Anglo-Saxons derived as much of their religion as their art from Ireland at that period, it is none the less true that our Danish conquerors remained to learn; and recent writers agree that just as Irish art colours the Jellinge style of Denmark, the 'great beast' of the Anglian crosses marks its arrival in Denmark by figuring on the famous tomb-stone erected at Jellinge about 980 by Harold Bluetooth to his parents Gorm and Thyra. We may now perhaps go further, and see a connexion between the Urnes style which began about 1050 in Scandinavia, and Anglian or Mercian work of the eighth century.

The resemblance did not escape the eye of Adolph Goldschmidt, who,

[1] *The Making of England*, ii, 185.

[2] Noticed also by Bernhard Salin in *Fornvännen*, 1922, p. 196, during the period of Style III.

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without remarking on the difference in date, adds to his description of the Brunswick casket (vol. ii, p. 56) illustrations of two openwork bronzes in Lund Museum which are usually assigned to the late eleventh century, being examples of the Urnes style, as established by Haakon Shetelig in 1909.[1] Two examples from Norway in the British Museum (*Anglo-Saxon Guide*, fig. 10) are more likely to be local products of the eleventh century than Anglian of the eighth, taken away by the Vikings; but it is possible that old English models were copied in Norway, and interlaced animals of that style seem to date from the eighth or early ninth century in England, before any Scandinavian influence was felt. Shetelig holds that the Ringerike style (about 1000–50)[2] was of Irish origin and was adopted from the Church by Anglo-Saxons and Northmen alike; while Brøndsted goes further (p. 167)—'In the north of England a strong Scandinavian influence was felt about 900, and under it English art in that region was changed during the tenth century into a style which in its typical manifestation (the great beast surrounded by interlacing) reacts on Scandinavia in the latter half of the century, and becomes of vital importance in the last phase of heathen animal-ornament in the north of Europe'. We can therefore trace an ebb and flow of artistic impulse across the North Sea from about 850; but even this interaction does not explain the close similarity of products so widely separated, both in space and time, as the Anglian and Urnes styles, though Brøndsted (*Fornvännen*, 1921, 76) hazards the view that the style of the late eleventh century is a direct descendant of Style III, which flourished in the eighth.

That some of the above conclusions have been reached independently by students of different branches of the subject is an argument that has a certain weight. In several cases I have been anticipated at home and abroad: in others a conjecture has been confirmed by subsequent discovery or more thorough comparison. The foot-notes bear witness to the extent of my indebtedness to many authorities who see more in the early art of England than we have ever claimed for our own forefathers; and a word of acknowledgement is due to our Fellow Mr. Albany Major for his translation of Dr. Brøndsted's Danish treatise, which has appeared, since the present paper was read, under the title *Early English Ornament*, with additional illustrations.

There may still be enigmatic works of art at home and abroad that would fall into their place if compared with the examples already enumerated.[3] It is a common experience that the publication of a few links soon leads to the com-

[1] *Aarsberetningen fra Foreningen til norske Fortidsmindesmærkers Bevaring*, 1909, p. 75.

[2] A good example was found under Winchester Cathedral about 1910 (*Proceedings*, xxiii, 398).

[3] For instance, one face of a diptych panel in the Victoria and Albert Museum has pairs of animals and interlacing in the field much in the style of many Anglian cross-shafts, but is generally assigned to France (Goldschmidt, I, no. 179, pl. LXXXIII).

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pletion of the chain; and patriotism should in this case be an added stimulus to research and discovery. Much in this paper is derived from the published works of foreign archaeologists; and even more is expected from vols. vi and vii of *The Arts in Early England* by Professor Baldwin Brown, who has already treated other aspects of Anglo-Saxon civilization.

Discussion.

Mr. Dalton regarded the Lindau book-cover as the most remarkable illustration of the earliest medieval enamelling; it showed both cloisonné and champlevé, the latter in more than one variety. He was hardly prepared to assign it, as a whole, to England. As regards the enamelled parts, it showed affinities with other early work produced on the Continent, especially with the more primitive reliquary of Herford, now at Berlin. The evidence, as at present known, suggested the advance of cloisonné enamelling from the Christian East through the Lombard plain to the Burgundian and Alemannic area north of the Alps; there the monasteries carried on the method, uniting it with champlevé, which may have survived on the Rhine from Roman times.

Sir Martin Conway was glad to find antiquities being assigned to an earlier date than was generally recognized, as many critics took credit for going to the other extreme. He had always been of opinion that more work of the eighth century survived than was usually believed, and had been pleased to see for the first time a photograph of the Lindau book-cover. He hesitated to assign such enamels to England, as they more resembled the Lombard style; but it was well to remember that the best example, the golden altar-frontal of St. Ambrogio at Milan, was associated with Wolvinius, who might have been an Englishman. He had followed the argument with much pleasure and looked forward to seeing the paper in print.

The Chairman (Lord Crawford) said the meeting had enjoyed a living and fascinating picture of a period which even the most enthusiastic student might be excused for calling dim. Several curious points in archaeology and psychology had been raised, as the weird animal-forms and their involutions might have had a definite meaning for the Anglo-Saxon mind. Were the conventional head, limbs, body, and tail merely massed together to produce a tangle of lines? There was nothing in nature to explain such forms, which might have survived through superstition or convention, and been utilized by the artist merely as decoration. The author had often received the thanks of the Society, but had seldom deserved them more than on the present occasion.

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XI.—*The Inscribed and Sculptured Stones of Lindisfarne.* *By* C. R. PEERS, *Esq., C.B.E., M.A., Director.*

Read 14th February 1924.

IN March 1915 I made a short communication to the Society[1] on two gravestones recently found in the ruins of Lindisfarne Priory. The works of repair, in the course of which these stones came to light, have since been continued, with such interruptions as may easily be understood, and are now nearly finished. Other gravestones of the same class have been found from time to time, and a good many fragments of standing crosses and cross-slabs, in addition to those already known, have been added to the collection in the little museum on Holy Island, and it has seemed to me that the time has now come when some general account of these stones may be attempted.

The main facts of the early history of Holy Island are well known, but for the sake of clearness I will here set them down briefly.

The first Christian mission to the north of England, led by Paulinus, who settled in York in 625, had practically come to an end with the death of King Edwin in battle against Cadwalla at Hatfield in 633, and the return of Paulinus to the south.

Edwin's successor, Oswald, restored the fortunes of his kingdom by the defeat and slaughter of Cadwalla 'at Denisesburn, that is to say Heavenfield' in 634. Now Oswald, at the death of his father, Ethelfrid, had taken refuge, with his mother and his brothers, in Scotland, and had there become a Christian of the school of Iona, the principal seat of Christianity in Scotland. In reintroducing Christianity into Northumbria, he therefore turned naturally to Iona, asking Abbot Seghine to send him a missionary priest. One Corman was sent, but could not get on with the Northumbrians, and in 635 was replaced from Iona by Aidan. Aidan settled, by his own choice, at Lindisfarne, to be head, as bishop, over a monastery of the semi-eremitic type of the time, which was to be the missionary centre for Northumbria. The contrast between his choice and that of Paulinus is instructive. The Roman missionary came to

[1] *Proceedings*, xxvii, 132–7.

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the capital city of the north, as his leader, Augustine, had come to Canterbury; the Scotic-Irish priest chose a place suited to a monastic community of the type of Iona, remote and difficult of access. Yet the object of both was the same, and the contrast of method is not really racial, but constantly recurs in the story of monasticism.

Thus, at any rate, the monastery of Lindisfarne started, as a member of the *provincia* of Iona, and the contact with Iona and Ireland was closely maintained. The monastery at Hartlepool, founded about 640 under Aidan's influence, had as its first abbess, Heiu, a native of Ireland, and it was from Hartlepool that Hilda went to Whitby in 657, to be first abbess of the monastery there.

Aidan died in 651, and was succeeded by Finan, who was sent from Iona and built at Lindisfarne a church of wood after the Scottish fashion. Colman followed him in 661, also sent from Scotland; he was the defender of the quartodeciman Easter against Wilfrid in the Synod of Whitby in 664, and, when the decision was given against him, gave up his bishopric of Lindisfarne and returned to Ireland with all his adherents, who were not only Scots but included some thirty Northumbrians, as is seen by the sequel. The party settled in the island of Inishboffin, setting up a monastery there, but when harvest time came, the Irish members of the community took advantage of the fine weather to go on a round of visits to their friends. The English stayed at Inishboffin and gathered the harvest, and when the Irish returned from their summer holidays, proposing to share the good things which they had done nothing to collect, received them without enthusiasm. In the end, separate monasteries were set up, as the only solution of these incompatibilities of temperament.

This secession of Colman weakened the connexion with Iona, and the next bishop, Tuda, who had lived under Colman at Lindisfarne for several years before this date, came from southern Ireland, where it seems that the Roman Easter had for a considerable time been adopted. He died, however, in the same year of the great plague, the Yellow Death of 664, and his successor was Eata, one of Aidan's twelve disciples, and at the time abbot of Melrose. Coming to Lindisfarne, he brought with him his prior, Cuthbert. Eata was consecrated bishop of Hexham and Lindisfarne in 678 by Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury, who was then in the north, and, after the division of the see, went to Hexham, Cuthbert becoming bishop of Lindisfarne.

The close connexion with Iona and Ireland in these early days of the monastery is evident, and in spite of the influence of men like Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop, the Scottish element in Northumbrian Christianity must always be kept in mind. King Alchfrid, who came to the throne of Northumbria after the death of King Egfrid at Nechtansmere in 685, was half Irish by birth,

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and had studied in Ireland and there gained a great reputation for learning. He had also been a pupil of Adamnan in Iona. Lindisfarne remained prosperous in the eighth century, and in 737 King Ceolwulf of Northumbria became a monk there. In the first Danish invasion of 793 the monastery was plundered and burnt, but survived, like other northern houses, till late in the ninth century. The end came in 875, when the monks and the greater part of the inhabitants of the island abandoned their home, taking with them St. Cuthbert in his wooden coffin, and the rest of the treasures of the church, including the head of St. Oswald, the relics of St. Aidan, and the bones of Bishops Eadbert, Eadfrid, and Ethelwold. They also took what must have been a very cumbersome thing, the cross of Bishop Ethelwold, which had been broken in the raid of 793 and mended with lead. It accompanied St. Cuthbert's coffin in all its wanderings, and came with it at last to Durham in 995, to be set up in the cemetery there.[1]

Though it seems that the island was not quite deserted, it is clear that the monastery remained desolate thenceforward for two centuries, and the next time Lindisfarne appears in history is in the year of the Norman Conquest, when St. Cuthbert's body was brought back, for protection from the Normans, to the island which it had left for fear of the Danes.

The church of Lindisfarne is mentioned in 1082 in a grant, but this does not imply a revival of the monastery, and Bishop Carileph of Durham expressly says that there was no church on the island in 1093. At this time, however, the re-establishment of the monastery as a cell to the Benedictine Abbey of Durham was undertaken, and the later history of the island, with which I have at present no concern, begins.

This necessarily brief account of the first Christian settlement of Lindisfarne will make it clear that any relics of it which may survive may be expected to show Irish influence, especially those belonging to the early days of the monastery. The outstanding relic, the Gospels of Lindisfarne, gives ample proof of this, and I shall attempt here to deal with the lapidary evidence. Of the early buildings nothing whatever is left, and the only trace of anything older than the present priory church which I have met with is a foundation underlying the north aisle wall. This seems to have belonged to a plain rectangular building, whose east wall was a little to the west of the east end of this aisle; but its south and west walls have left no trace. That it may have been a remnant of the building destroyed by the Danes is possible, but it may equally have

[1] Symeon of Durham, *Hist. Dunelmensis Ecclesiae.* The coffin of St. Cuthbert yet survives at Durham, though Ethelwold's cross is lost. But another relic of this Odyssey, and one of the first importance to the present inquiry, is happily preserved, namely, the Gospels of Lindisfarne, now MS. Cott: Nero D IV in the British Museum.

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been a temporary church put up by the monk Edward at the end of the eleventh century; in any case it has no features from which a date could be deduced.

There is, however, a possibility that the present parish church, which may be taken to represent the Green church built by St. Cuthbert, as Symeon of Durham informs us,[1] for the women of the island, contains in its fabric, which shows the eastern angles of an originally aisleless nave, some remains of Saxon masonry.

The earliest objects which can be definitely associated with the Saxon monastery are the small grave-stones which have been named pillow-stones.

Stones of this character were first brought to notice in 1833 at Hartlepool, which, as already mentioned, was the site of a monastery founded under the influence of St. Aidan in 640. About 150 yards south-east of the church of St. Hilda a number of burials were found, lying not east and west but north and south, with stones both under and above their heads. The account in the *Gentleman's Magazine*[2] of the date says that some of these stones were plain and some inscribed and marked with the Cross, but Father Haigh, writing ten or twelve years later,[3] says that only plain stones were beneath the heads, and that the inscribed ones were above the heads, which from the nature of the stones is what would be expected. No further evidence of the finding of such stones in position has since come to light, and excavations made in what must be part of the same cemetery at Hartlepool, a few years ago, produced none of them.

Of those found in 1833 only a few, it is feared, have survived. Four are now in the British Museum, two in the Castle Museum at Newcastle-on-Tyne, and one in the Cathedral Library at Durham. All the stones found were rectangular, except one, which was circular. They bear on one side a cross with inscriptions between the arms in runes or Hiberno-Saxon lettering; but it is to be noted that in no case do runes occur on the same stone with Hiberno-Saxon letters. Two, however, have A and Ω,[4] in addition to the inscription, which consists either of a name alone, of a name with ORATE PRO before it, or of several names. It will at once be seen that it is most unlikely that a stone asking for prayers for the dead should have been buried in the grave (pl. XLIX, figs. 1 and 2).

These stones must, I think, have been designed to be laid flat on the ground above the graves, and all collateral evidence that can be brought suggests that they were so placed. It was not till 1888 that anything like a close parallel to these Hartlepool stones was found, but in that year a stone bearing a cross and

[1] Symeon of Durham, *loc. cit.*, cap. xxii.

[2] *Gent. Mag.*, September 1833, p. 219.

[3] *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, i, 185-96.

[4] Compare the inscription—of much later date—on the burial cross of Wulfmaeg, lately found at St. Augustine's, Canterbury, by our Fellow Rev. R. U. Potts, *Ant. Journ.*, iv, 422.

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the name AEDBERECHT in Hiberno-Saxon letters was found in the parish churchyard of Lindisfarne, and exhibited to this Society by Sir William Crossman in May 1889, after which an account was published in our *Proceedings*.[1] It differed from the Hartlepool stones in having a rounded head. Another was found at Lindisfarne in 1915, and since then ten others have come to light there, all with the rounded head, and in addition parts of two circular stones. One round-headed and one circular stone seem entirely plain, while a third stone has only two simple Latin crosses scratched on it. All the rest have, or probably had, biliteral inscriptions: one in runes above the arms of the cross, and one in Hiberno-Saxon letters below the arms.

The stones occurred in various places—several being found within the area of the priory church, two close together in the parish churchyard just west of the western range of the priory buildings, and others in the area of the cloisters. But all occurred among building rubbish and loose stones in disturbed ground, and were in no case in a position which could give any evidence as to their original arrangement. This year, 1924, one (no. vii), was found by Mr. Beveridge, foreman of works at Holy Island, among rocks and seaweed just below high-water mark at the south-east of St. Cuthbert's Island, the small rock south-west of the priory, about 200 yards from the shore of the main island. How it got there, there is nothing to show. It is a good deal worn, but it is reasonable to suppose that if it had been there for any long space of time, the sea would have completely removed all traces of carving.

The inscriptions, except in one case, consist of a single name only. There are two types of cross, a Latin cross and an equal armed cross with its stem prolonged to a second foot. All have circles at the intersection of the arms: at the head, foot, and ends of the arms circles or semicircles occur, and in one case potences. Some stones have a border and some are without it: some have interlacing ornament and some do not.

The stones may be described as follows:

i. 8¼ in. high by 6¾ in. wide. Straight sides.

Cross with circles at intersection, head, and arms; semicircle at foot. Inscription in two lines on either side of stem below arms AEDBERECHT. Stone much worn, and no signs of runes remain above the arms (fig. 1).

ii. 8½ in. high, 6½ in. wide at base, tapering to 5¼ in. where the rounded head begins.

Cross with circle at intersection, and semicircles at head, arms, and foot. The whole in a border, of which the inner line mitres with the

[1] xii, 412.

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semicircular ends of the cross. The field of the circle at the intersection is much below the general level.

Inscription † OSGYÐ below the arms of the cross, and the same name in runes above the arms, ᚫᛋᚷᛃᚦ (fig. 2).

iii. 11½ in. high, 7½ in. wide at base, tapering to 6³ in. where head begins, part of the upper dexter half of the stone broken away.

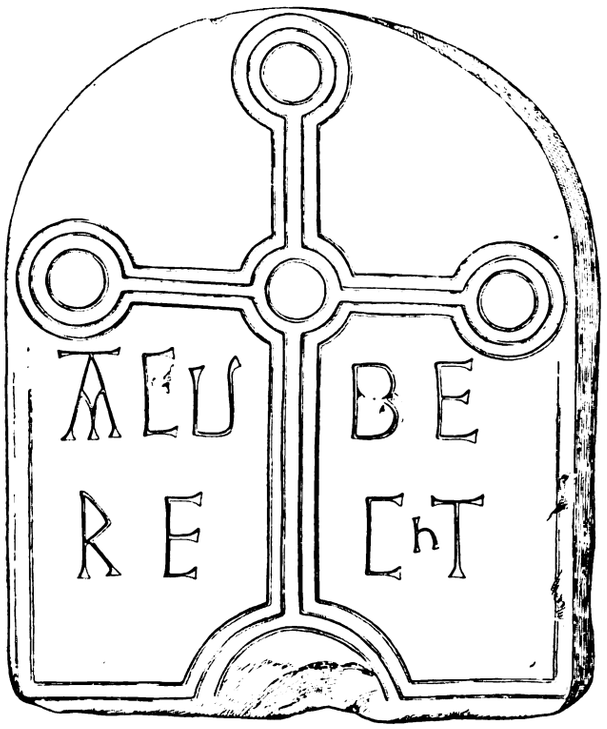


Fig. 1. AEDBERECHT.

Cross with circles at intersection, head, and arms, semicircle at foot, the whole in a border, with quadrants at the two lower angles of the stone. The circle at the intersection encloses a cross with expanded arms, the spaces between the arms sunk below the general level.

Inscription in Saxon letters below the arms of the cross, BEAN to right of stem, NA HIC PAUSIL in two lines to left. Above the arms, on right, [BEA]NNA in runes ᚹᚾᚾ, the first three letters broken away. No runes to the left (pl. XLIX, fig. 3).

The last two letters of the lower inscription are clearly IL, apparently in error for AT, 'Beanna rests here'.

iv. Upper right-hand part only; the stone had tapering sides, and measured 6¼ in. at start of the rounded head.

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Fig. 1. Hartlepool, now in the Castle Museum, Newcastle-upon-Tyne (from a cast)
ORA PRO UERMUND ⸗ TORHTSUID



Fig. 2. (As fig. 1)
HILDDIGYTH



Fig. 3
BEANNA HIC PAUSIL [*sic*]



Fig. 4
[E]ADWINI

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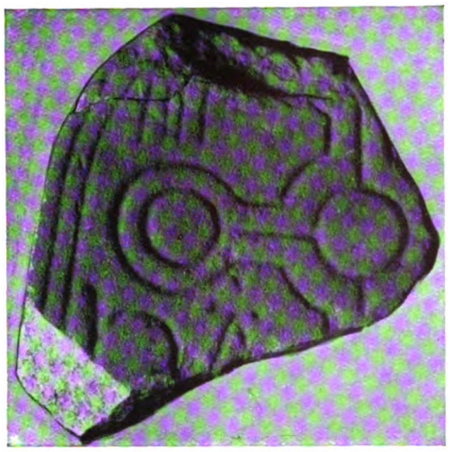


Fig. 1
HA · · ·

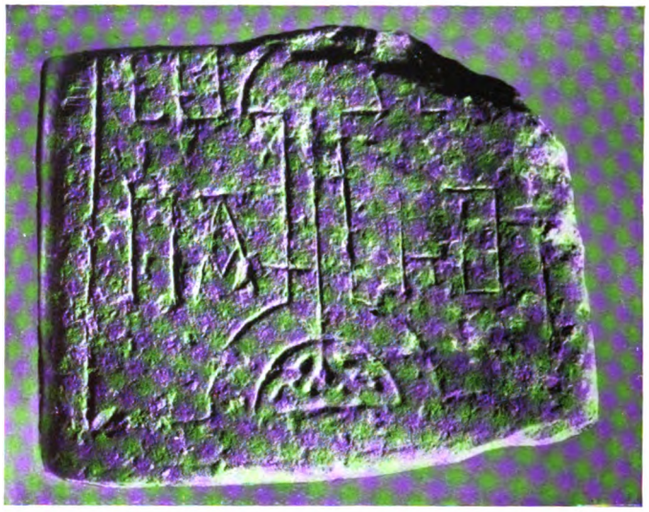


Fig. 2
EDELHARD

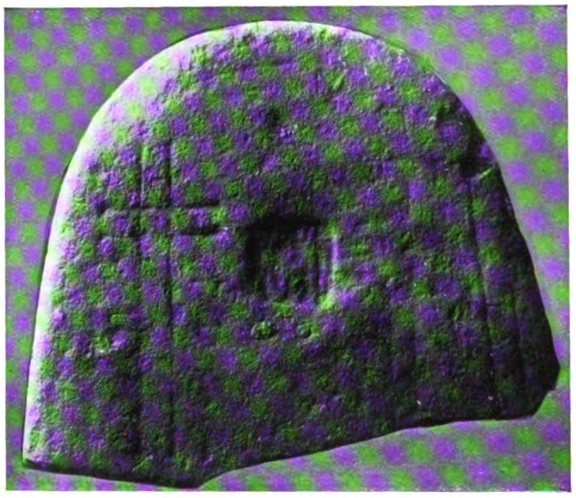


Fig. 3. Uninscribed

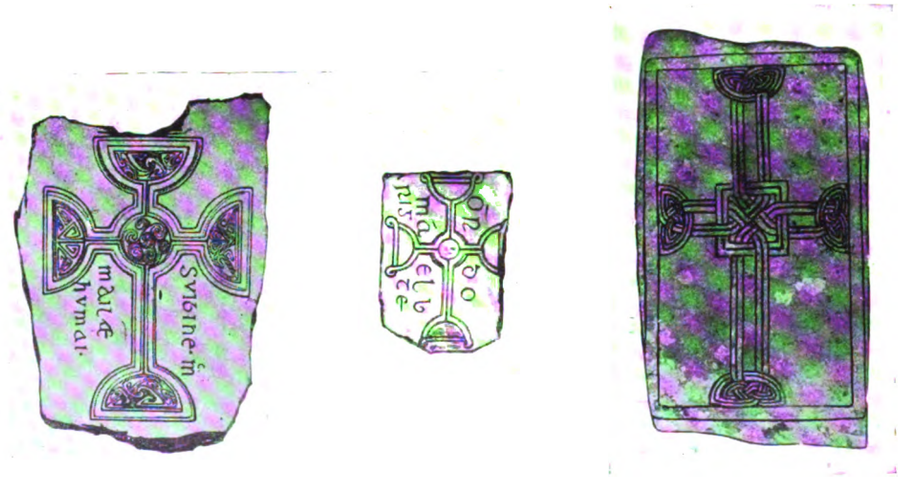


Fig. 4. Three slabs from Clonmacnois

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1925

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Cross with circles at intersection, head, and arms: within a border.

Inscription below arms in Hiberno-Saxon lettering HA.., above HA(L?) in runes ᚺᚺᚨ (pl. L, fig. 1).

v. Upper right-hand part only; width at start of head 6½ in., other dimensions



Fig. 2. OSGYTH.

uncertain. This stone differs from all the rest in having had crosses and lettering on both sides.

On one side the cross has circles at intersection, head, and arms, and a border. Above the arm on the right is AYD in runes, ᚨᛃᛞ.

The other side of the stone has similar circles, but with their fields sunk below the general level. Above the arm on the left is LAS in runes, ᚨᚾᛋ (figs. 3 and 4).

vi. Upper half only, much worn: tapering sides, 6 in. wide at start of head.

Cross with circles at intersection, head, and arms; in each circle four triple knots.

Traces of an inscription in Hiberno-Saxon letters below right arm, no signs of runes above (fig. 5).

vii. 9¼ in. by 7¾ in. wide at base, tapering to 7½ in. at start of head.

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Equal-armed cross with circles at intersection, head, arms, and foot: the shaft prolonged below foot and ending in a semicircle filled with knot-work. The whole in a border enriched with an interlacing pattern.

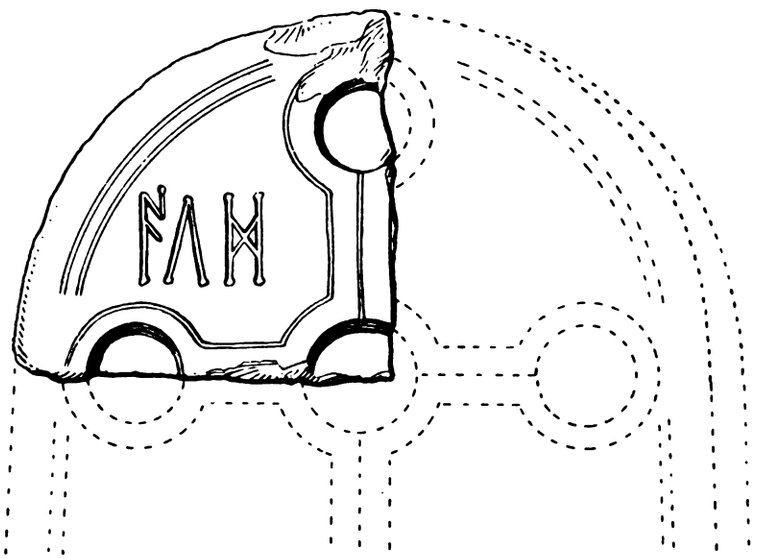


Fig. 7. AYD in runes.

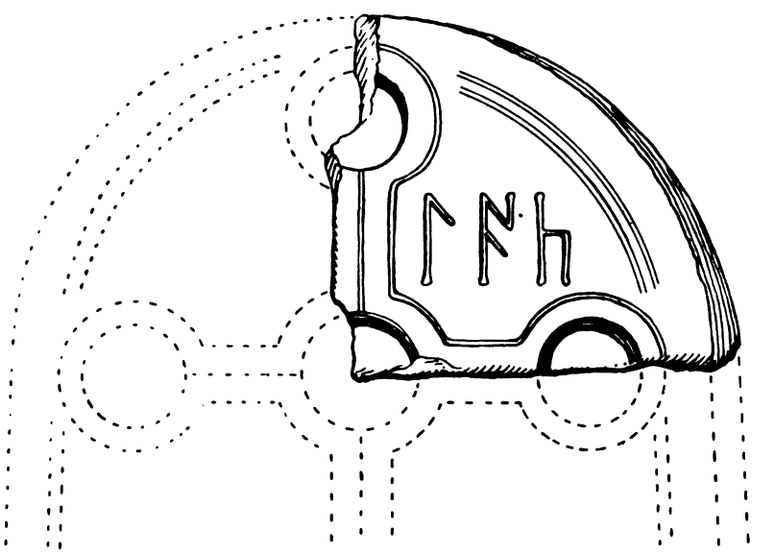


Fig. 4 (back of fig. 3). LAS in runes.

Inscription in Saxon letters below arms [E]ADWINI, above the arms IADWINI in runes, ᛁᚪᛞᚹᛁᚾᛁ (pl. XLIX, fig. 4).

viii. Upper half only, much worn. Traces of inscriptions above arms, and knots in ends of arms.

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ix. 9½ in. high by 7½ in. wide at base, 6¾ in. at start of head; much worn.

Cross with circle at intersection, and rectangles (potences) instead of circles at head, arms, and foot: the shaft has probably been prolonged to a second foot.

Traces of inscriptions above and below arms, too worn to be legible.

x. Lower half only; 8½ in. wide at base.

Head and arms of equal-armed cross broken away: semicircular foot

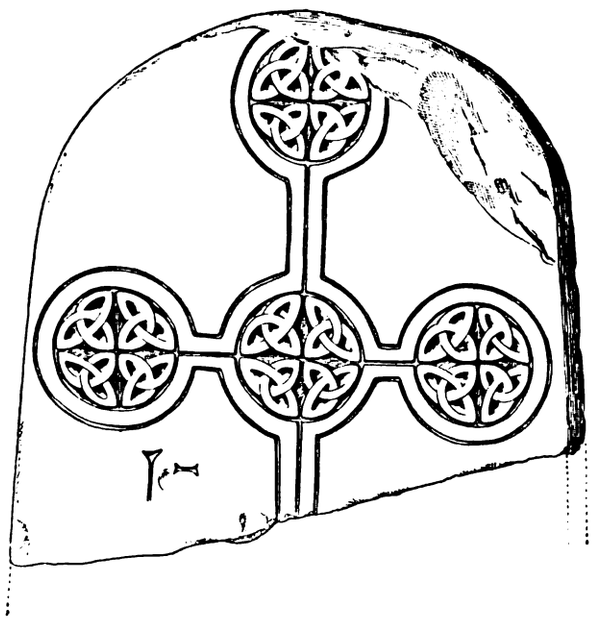


Fig. 5. Stone vi.

remains, with stem prolonged to a second semicircular foot[1] containing two triple knots: the whole in a plain border.

Inscription in Hiberno-Saxon letters in two lines on either side of stem, ED EL HA RD (pl. L, fig. 2).

xi. Upper half only: tapering sides, 6 in. wide at start of head.

Two plain Latin crosses, and between them a roughly rectangular sinking: traces of a border round edge (pl. L, fig. 3).

No inscription.

xii. 9 in. high by 6½ in. wide at base, tapering to 6 in. at start of head.

No traces of cross or inscription.

xiii. Fragment of a circular stone, which has had a diameter of about 16 in.

Much worn; no traces of cross or inscription.

[1] Compare for this form the cross facing the beginning of St. Matthew's Gospel in the Lindisfarne Gospels.

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xiv. Fragment of a circular stone, about 14 in. in diameter.
Faint traces of letters, in a border with interlacing ornament.

With regard to the names on these stones I have in a previous communication called attention to the fact that Osgyth is a woman's name, and a proof that there were women as well as men in the early monastery. The other persons commemorated cannot be identified, or provide an argument for a date for these stones. But it is tempting to see in the runes AYD on stone v the beginning of St. Aidan's name. He, dying at Bamburgh in 651, was buried in the cemetery at Lindisfarne, but after some time, when the greater church was built, was taken up and placed in a tomb on the right of the altar. A stone of this character may well have marked his grave in the cemetery.

With the exception of this stone, all the stones are worked on one face only, the other face being left rough, and not being intended to be seen. The stones must therefore have been laid flat,[1] and if the crosses on the two faces of no. v are not contemporary, it also may be a flat stone re-used.[2] If they are to be considered contemporary, the stone must have stood upright like a modern headstone, and have, it would seem, commemorated two persons.

The sinkings on stones ii, iii, v, and xi should be noted. If these stones lay flat on the ground water would lodge in them, and the question whether they were filled with some inlaid substance, by way of ornament, suggests itself. In this connexion it seems worth while to recall that in the remarkable little building at Poitiers, called the Hypogeum, there are certain carved slabs ascribed to the seventh century which have similar sinkings, in some of which pieces of glass, clearly meant as ornament, yet remain. One of the slabs so treated has figures of two archangels and two evangelists, inscribed with their names, which bear so close a resemblance to the figures on St. Cuthbert's coffin, now at Durham, and made in all probability by order of Bishop Eadberht of Lindisfarne in 698, that the coincidence, if it be nothing more, is worth recording.

These grave-stones, dating as they must from the early days of Christianity in Northumbria, have hitherto been found only at two monastic sites, both directly connected with Iona and the Scottish Church. Excavation may yet reveal more of them elsewhere in Britain, but if anything like a close parallel is to be found, it is to Ireland that we must go. A glance at a group of the flat grave-slabs from Clonmacnois (pl. L, fig. 4) will be enough to demonstrate their

[1] The effect of marking graves with small slabs laid flat on the ground may be seen to-day in the Cathedral Close at Lichfield, and very pleasant and restful it is. It is easy to see, however, how quickly such stones might be overgrown by the turf and lost.

[2] As, for example, after Aidan's translation to the church.

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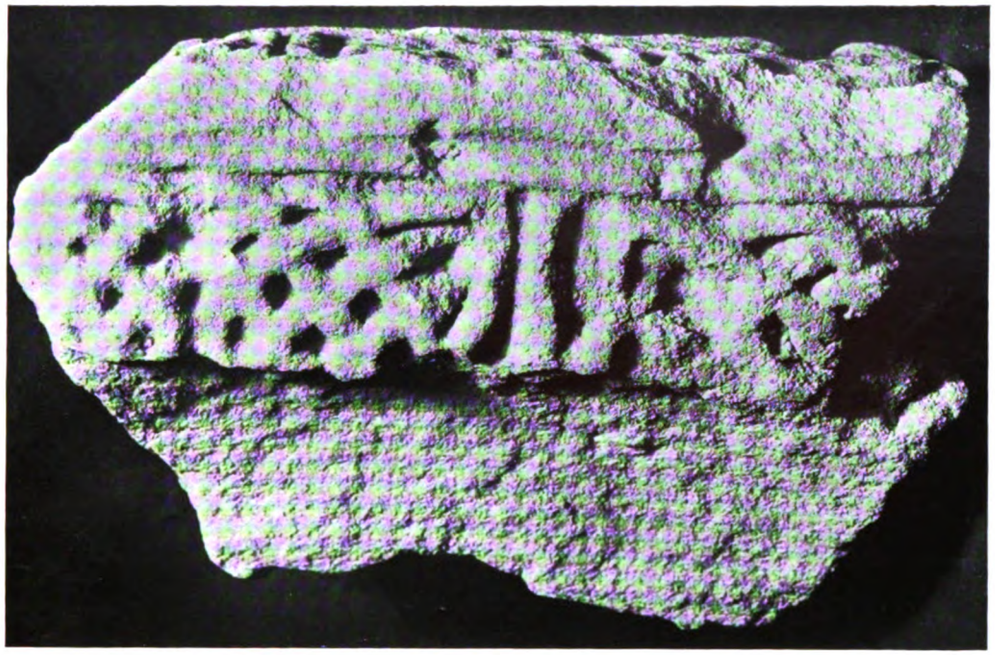


Fig. 3. Cross-shaft i: back

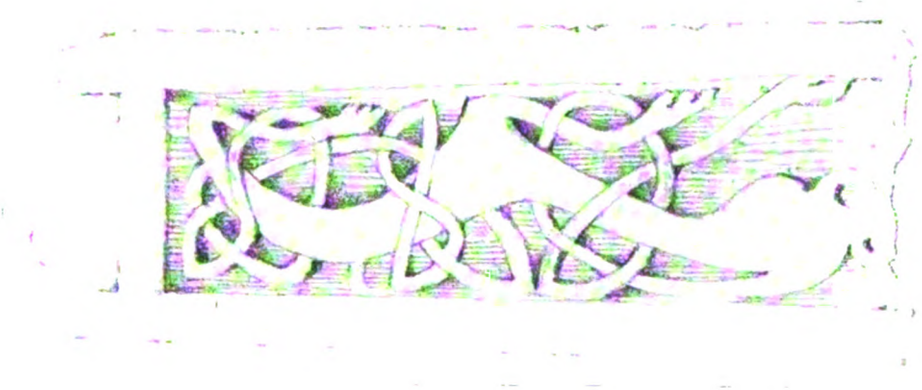


Fig. 2. Cross-shaft i: side

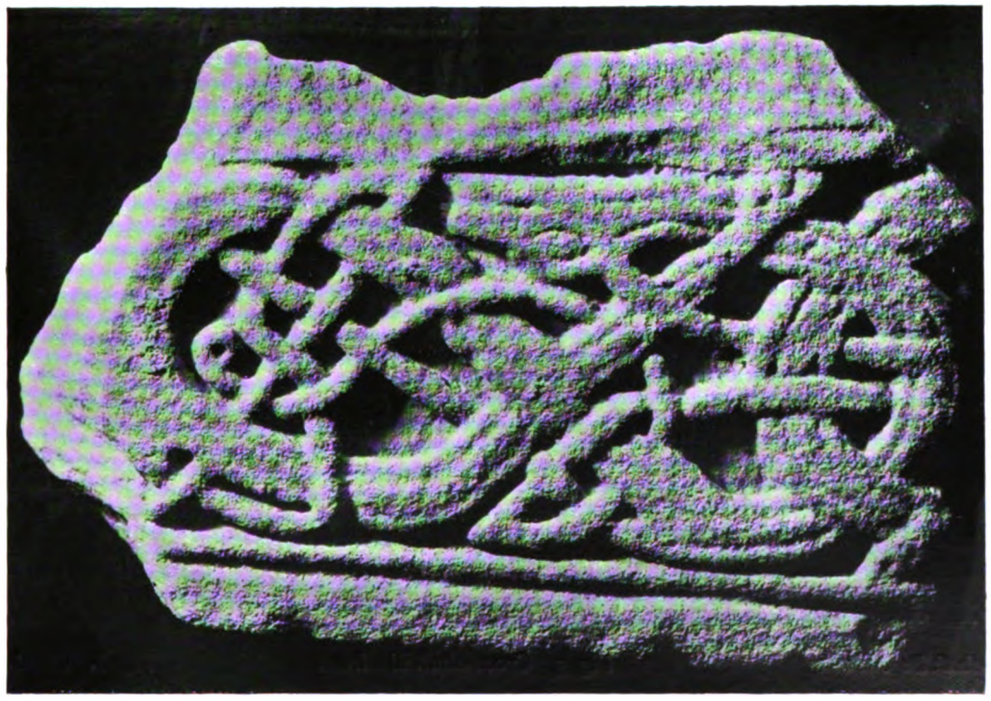


Fig. 1. Cross-shaft i: face

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Fig. 1. Cross-shaft ii: one side

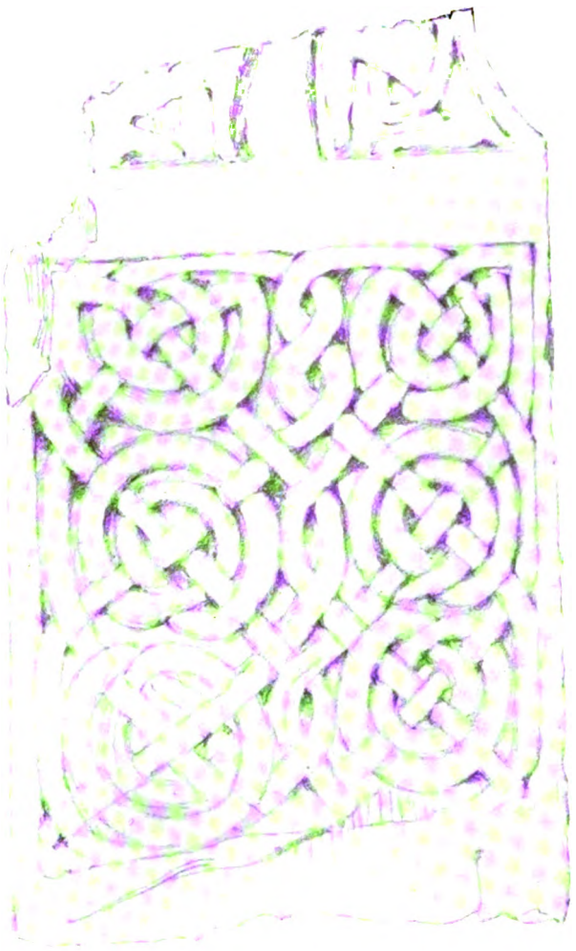


Fig. 2. Cross-shaft ii: face



Fig. 3. Cross-shaft ii: one side



Fig. 4. Cross-shaft ii: back



Fig. 5. Cross-shaft iii: front



Fig. 6. Cross-shaft iii: side

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kinship with the Northumbrian stones. But at the same time there are obvious differences. The Irish stones are of irregular shape, and generally much larger; and where, in a few cases, it is possible to date them with some confidence, the dates fall within the ninth and tenth centuries. That some of the stones are older than this is quite probable, and as Clonmacnois was founded in 547, a seventh or eighth-century date might reasonably be assumed in certain cases and the more so since no other form of early grave-stone is found there.

The earliest grave-stones extant at Iona are of the Irish type, with irregular outlines, and cannot be considered as prototypes of the Northumbrian stones.[1] Professor Baldwin Brown has shown[2] that it is possible to deduce the type of cross found at Hartlepool and Lindisfarne from Teutonic sources, and the possibility of an Anglian origin must be briefly considered.

If this be so, we should expect to find more of them, and of their derivatives, in Northumbria at least, if not elsewhere in England; but this is not the case. A fragmentary slab from Billingham (Durham), and another from Birtley (Northumberland), show a general resemblance, and two grave-stones from Wensley (Yorkshire) may be considered developments of later date.[3] But that is all; whereas in Ireland there are literally hundreds of flat grave-stones with crosses of the Lindisfarne-Hartlepool type, and this form of cross continues in use till the eleventh century at least. Are we to assume that an Anglian form died out in its native country, for no apparent reason, within 100 or 150 years of its origin, while it flourished for five centuries or so in a Celtic land, whither it had been transplanted in some unexplained fashion? On the whole, the theory of an Irish origin, through Iona, offers less difficulty than any other, and the disappearance from Northumbria is precisely what might be expected on historical grounds.

It is convenient here to notice a grave-slab found at Lindisfarne, which has some relation to the early stones in having a cross on one face, and a rough back which shows that it was meant to lie flat on the ground. Only the upper part of the cross remains, and the inaccuracy of its interlacing ornament suggests that it is not of early date. There is no sign of an inscription. The detail of its ornament must be discussed later on in this paper (see pl. LV, fig. 1).

It remains to add that a new name is wanted for these early stones. While those without cross or inscription—of which only one example is now extant—may have been placed under the heads of the dead, there is no real reason to

[1] It must be remembered that no systematic excavation of the early site at Iona has yet been attempted.

[2] *The Arts in Early England*, v, 96 seqq.

[3] The rectangular sinking at the intersection of the cross on one of the Wensley stones deserves to be noted, from its resemblance to the Lindisfarne examples.

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suppose that the carved and inscribed stones were placed anywhere but on the ground above the graves. The word 'pillow-stones' is therefore inappropriate. 'Ledger-stones' is already in use for slabs of quite another character, and I can only suggest that 'name-stones' may meet the case.

In addition to these grave-stones, a number of early sculptured stones have been found from time to time at Lindisfarne. From what has already been said of the history of the monastery, it will be seen that the dates between which such stones are likely to have been produced at Lindisfarne cover a period of nearly two and a half centuries—that is, from 635 to 875. After this time any further work of the sort seems unlikely till the end of the eleventh century. So it may be possible to make some contribution towards the difficult question of dating these carvings. And in saying this I wish to make full acknowledgement of the work of Mr. Romilly Allen, Prof. Baldwin Brown, and Mr. W. G. Collingwood, to name no others: the lines they have laid down must meet with general acceptance—but where style is the principal and in many cases the only criterion, anything like collateral evidence is of value.

In the seventh century, when Lindisfarne was first colonized by St. Aidan, there were several definite factors in contemporary art in the north of Britain.

The Irish mission to Iona, first established there in 563, must have greatly affected the art of Scotland, as Christianity spread over the country. Ireland and Scotland were at this time the last depositories of a school of ornament which had reached the shores of Britain some six centuries earlier, namely, that which we call the Late Celtic. Certain Gaulish tribes, taking refuge in Britain before the Roman advance in the last century B.C., had brought this art with them, and it took root and flourished till the better organized art of the Romans drove it north and west beyond the limits of their occupation. Here it survived and in due course played its part in the palmy days of linear art in the north—that is, in Scandinavia, Britain, and Ireland—which may be dated 600–800. It is, however, very rarely found except in manuscripts, where it may be taken as a hall-mark of Irish influence: it occurs on a few stones in Ireland and Scotland, and Mr. Clapham brought to our notice last year an example from Lincolnshire, unique so far for England (*Ant. Journ.* iii, 118).

Side by side with it the interlacing ornament, which, though common to all Mediterranean peoples, had a special attraction for the northern nations, had taken firm root in Ireland, and was there treated with a subtlety and certainty unequalled elsewhere. In North Britain it met with a third element, an art of higher descent, brought thither under the influence of Rome and the near East, characterized by floral ornament, animal forms, and sculpture of no mean order. Such art is to be directly associated with the seventh-century Christianity which gradually superseded the Irish missionaries, and drew its inspiration

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Fig. 1. Cross-shaft vi



Fig. 2. Cross-shaft vi



Fig. 3. Cross-shaft vi



Fig. 4. Cross-shaft v: face



Fig. 5. Cross-shaft vii: front



Fig. 6. Cross-shaft vii: back

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Fig. 1. Cross-shaft viii



Fig. 2. Cross-shaft vii



Fig. 3. Cross-shaft ix : side

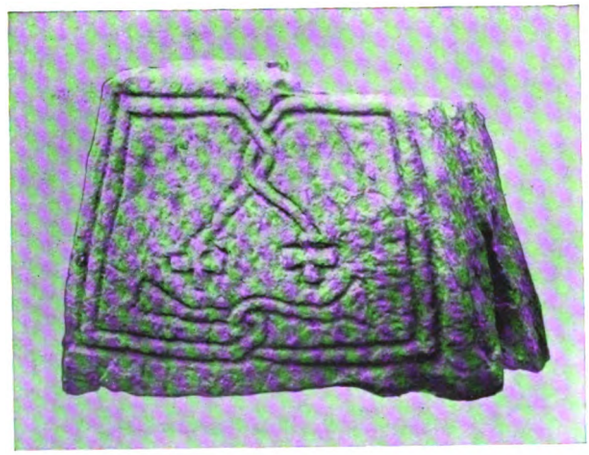


Fig 4. Cross-base

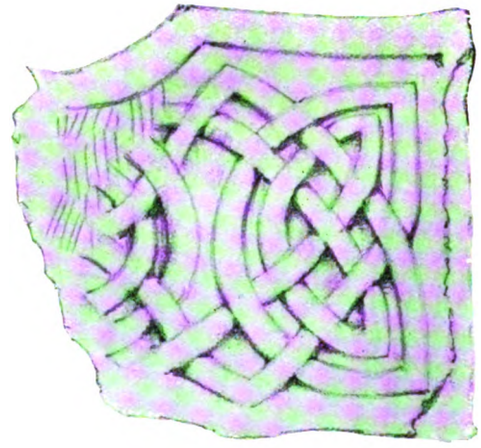


Fig. 5. Cross-arm

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directly from Rome, through the work of such men as Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop. There remains a fourth element, that introduced by the Teutonic invaders, the Angles, who had settled in Northumbria and formed the bulk of the population. It is easily seen from this that the art of Northumbria in the seventh century was an introduced art and not one which had grown up in the country. It follows that its earliest productions are likely to be the best, and this is precisely what we find.

The crosses of Ruthwell and Bewcastle, which may with some confidence be dated to the end of the seventh century, are finer than anything else of their kind, and the carvings of similar character at Jedburgh and Hoddam must be near them in date. And while no native craftsman is found equal to carrying on the figure sculpture of these crosses, the floral scrolls, animals, and interlacing patterns are copied in succeeding examples with different but always lessening degrees of skill.[1] Now Teutonic art, as represented for us by the works of the pagan Saxon and Anglian invaders of the fifth and sixth centuries, is decorative, as 'barbarian' art is wont to be, but is neither subtle nor fine, in a general way. Its zoomorphic ornament grows more and more chaotic in the hands of uncomprehending workmen, and its interlacings lack the subtlety and accuracy of the Irish. I wish here to disclaim any intention to deny to Anglian craftsmen skill and dexterity in execution: the Lindisfarne Gospel book, if Aldred's colophon is to be believed, is a sufficient answer to that; but the work there is not of Anglian inspiration.

The Lindisfarne stones, with only one exception, are parts of standing crosses, and may be classed under three heads:

a. Work of Irish type.
b. Interlacings of good style, with animal and figure subjects, and traces of Irish motives.
c. Rougher work, with interlacings, animals, and figure subjects.

Under the first head there is:

i. Part of a cross-shaft in a coarse-grained yellowish sandstone, having on one face a dragon with lappet and two legs, developed into cords entangling the body: on the other face interlacing panels of good style; and on the one edge which is preserved a much entangled dragonesque creature with lappet and legs (pl. LI, figs. 1, 2, 3).

This is the only stone which can be said to recall in detail the splendid ornament of the Lindisfarne Gospels: it is indeed a little disappointing that

[1] The cross-shaft in Auckland church, Durham, is clearly inspired by the Bewcastle and Ruthwell type, and the inferiority of its figure sculpture is most instructive.

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this is the case, but the fineness of the patterns is more suited to metal than to stone. The birds which are so characteristic of the Gospels occur, so far as I know, once only on stone, and that is on a cross-shaft now at Aberlady in Scotland.

To the second head belong:

ii. Shaft in yellow sandstone with interlacings on both faces: lower part of head remains showing a stem between two beasts on one face: a knot-work panel on the other: on one edge is a panel of two dragons with lappets and entwined legs, of Irish character, with a band of fine plait below: on the other an interlaced panel (pl. LII, figs. 1-4).

iii. Shaft with similar interlacings on one face—above is a rectangular panel having in a central ring a squatting figure with arms akimbo: the panel is divided into four by cross-arms from the central ring, and in the two upper compartments are two bearded figures facing each other, holding rectangular objects in one hand, and what look like trumpets in their mouths. In the two lower compartments are seated figures, holding in front of them curved objects like drinking-horns, the narrow ends of which rest on the ground. No satisfactory explanation of the design has been put forward. The other face of this slab is cut away. On the edges are panels of interlacings alternating with plain panels (pl. LII, figs. 5, 6).

iv. Part of a shaft with interlacings of similar character on one face; remains of a dragonesque animal above. The stone has been recut in the twelfth century, to serve as part of a half-round shaft, so that only one of its four original surfaces has survived.

v. Part of a shaft with a Greek fret on one face, and above it two animals with a stem between them, as on ii. On the other face is a similar fret. One side has an interlacing panel and a plain panel, the other side having now lost all its old surface (pl. LIII, fig. 4).

vi. Part of a similar shaft, which has had a fret on each face and panels with animals above, too broken to reconstruct. On the one remaining side are four panels—two interlacing, one with a fret, and one plain (pl. LIII, figs. 1, 2, 3).

To the third head belong parts of two shafts, of coarser detail than the preceding.

vii. Part of a shaft, on one face an interlacing design with birds' heads biting the twists: in the middle, on an arched base-line, one of the cords ends in a fork, like the legs of a human figure. Below is a panel with a four-legged beast at top, and one on each side, sitting up with legs held horizontally; between them rough interlacings (pl. LIII, fig. 5).

On the other face of the shaft is an interlacing panel with an arched base:

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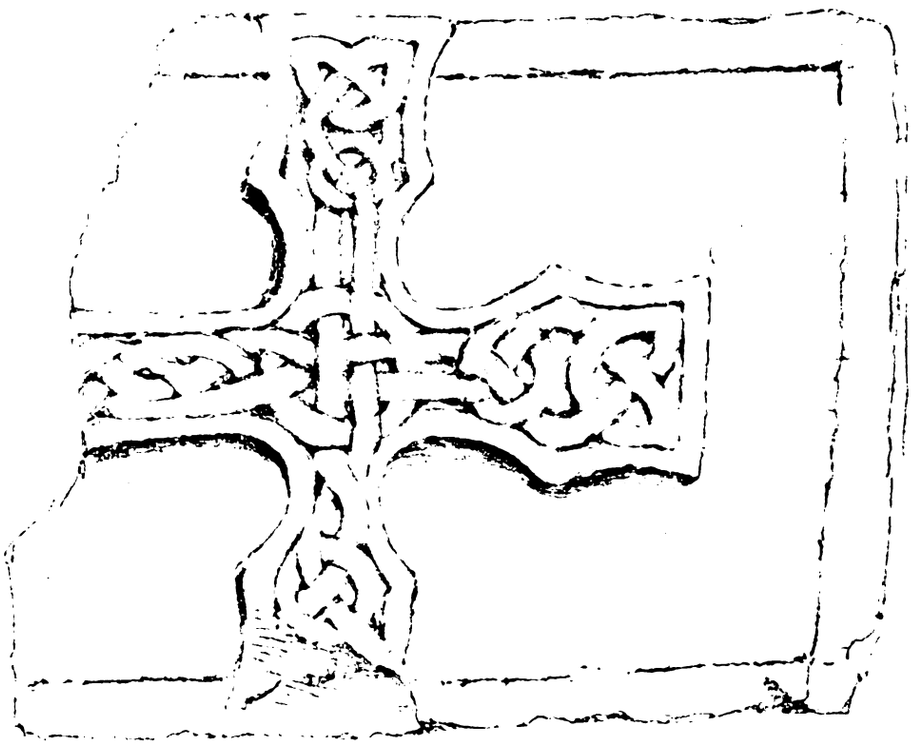


Fig. 1. Recumbent cross-slab



Fig. 2. Base-stone of cross *in situ*

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Fig. 1. Cross-slab with figures in adoration



Fig. 2. Back of cross-slab with procession of warriors

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below are serpentine coils (pl. LIII, fig. 6). On one side is an interlacing panel: the surface of the other side has been cut away (pl. LIV, fig. 2).

viii. Two bearded men facing each other, under round arches. The pillar between them has a rough capital, and the figures seem to be joining hands across the shaft. On the back is an interlacing design, much damaged. On one side is part of an interlacing panel, and below it a plain panel divided saltire-wise: the other side is destroyed (pl. LIV, fig. 1).

ix. Part of a large cross-shaft: all detail destroyed except two interlacing panels on one side (pl. LIV, fig. 3).

x. Part of plain shaft with triple beads at the angles.

xi. Small stone, perhaps part of a shaft, with an incised interlacing design of good style and probably of early date (fig. 6).



Fig. 6. Stone xi.

A few pieces of cross-heads remain. There is one arm (pl. LIV, fig. 5) with interlacings of good style and two of inferior work. There is also the carved boss from the middle of a cross-head, having a fret round it.

There are three cross-bases, only one of which has any ornament visible. This was found in two halves, one close to the north-west pier of the crossing, the other in a corresponding position near the south-west pier. It is of the usual tapering form, and has on one face two cords following the rectangular outline, returned across each other above and below: the upper ends terminate in crosses, the lower are simply expanded: the other face and both ends are merely bordered with a cord (pl. LIV, fig. 4).

It is worth noting that the base-stone of a cross was found *in situ* under the NW. pier of the crossing of the monastic church (pl. LIV, fig. 2).

The upper part of a standing slab with rounded head is of somewhat remarkable character. On one face is a plain cross with sun and moon above the arms and two figures in adoration below. On either side, level with the arms of the cross, two human hands issue from the raised margin of the slab: they suggest a comparison with the page in the Book of Kells with the representation of St. John, where the hands of a figure project on either side into the margin of the page, while a head appears at the top and feet at the bottom in like fashion (pl. LVI, fig. 1).

The other face of the slab shows a procession of seven figures, two brandishing axes and three swords: the leader, being circumscribed by the curve of the slab, holds his hands down, and has no weapon, while the last man,

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similarly cramped, puts one hand on the head of the man in front of him. All wear kilt-like garments banded horizontally. Such processions of warriors occur on several Scottish stones and elsewhere, and I doubt whether any precise interpretation can be attempted (pl. LVI, fig. 2).

The recumbent cross-slab already described demands a few words here. It is roughly drawn, and its interlacings are not accurately worked out: it also has rings intertwined, a feature which has been pronounced to be not earlier than the tenth century. But such rings occur in the Book of Durrow, *c.* 700, and are found in Scandinavian art of that period, and when the early shape of the cross is considered, there seems no reason why this stone should not be placed before the abandonment of the monastery in 875 (pl. LV, fig. 1).

A block of stone with two parallel cable moulds, roughly cut, may be an early architectural fragment, possibly of Saxon date.

It appears, then, on reviewing this series, that while those of better technique, and particularly those showing Irish influence, may with confidence be placed in the eighth century, those of rougher execution have features which make a ninth-century date more likely. There is, in fact, no decisively later detail on any of them, and the decrease in skill is only what must be expected here as in other parts of Britain.

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XII.—*An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Bidford-on-Avon, Warwickshire: Second Report on the Excavations.* *By* JOHN HUMPHREYS, *Esq., F.S.A.*, J. W. RYLAND, *Esq., F.S.A.*, F. C. WELLSTOOD, *Esq., F.S.A.*, E. A. B. BARNARD, *Esq., F.S.A.*, *and* T. G. BARNETT, *Esq., F.S.A.*

Read 20th March 1924.

THE further examination[1] of the site in the meadow at Bidford-on-Avon, belonging to the Bidford Co-operative Society, and the adjoining garden, the property of the Stratford-on-Avon Brewery Company, was carefully carried out during the summer of 1923. The survey plan (pl. LIX) made by Mr. Wellstood shows the direction of the trenches, and the position of each interment.

Work was resumed on 4th June 1923 with a trench 7 ft. wide running approximately 96 ft. NW. and SE. at the eastern side of the 1922 excavations. A second trench was then dug for the same distance; in this only one interment was found. A third trench of the same length proved completely blank, as did also a fourth, which was dug to a length of 40 ft. Further work on that side of the cemetery was therefore considered useless. The depth of the soil overlying the gravel had been gradually increasing until, at the point where the digging was suspended, we had to go down more than 6 ft. before reaching the face of the gravel bed on which the bodies were buried.

We were convinced that the cemetery did not extend any farther in that direction, and it was a remarkable fact that the last eighteen bodies on its eastern extremity were buried in a row, all carefully placed with their feet to the east or north-east. Only two of them (females) had the usual grave furniture, while a third had a single iron girdle-buckle; the rest were completely destitute of grave-furniture. One other noticeable find was made in this area—three *groups* of bodies buried together, with their limbs intermingled. The first two consisted of three bodies each, and the third of two. No other example of this method of burial in groups occurred in any other part of the cemetery.

[1] For the first report see *Archaeologia*, lxxiii, 89.

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We next proceeded to excavate the ground lying immediately north of the area previously examined, and a series of nine trenches, each 7 ft. wide and between 80 ft. and 90 ft. in length, and a tenth, 64 ft. long, were dug.

In this area thirty-nine interments were found; seven of them were in cinerary urns, and some of the bodies were rich in grave furniture. As we then seemed to have reached the northern extremity of the cemetery, digging was next carried out at the south side of the cutting made in 1921, where the cemetery was first discovered by the workmen engaged in making a new road.

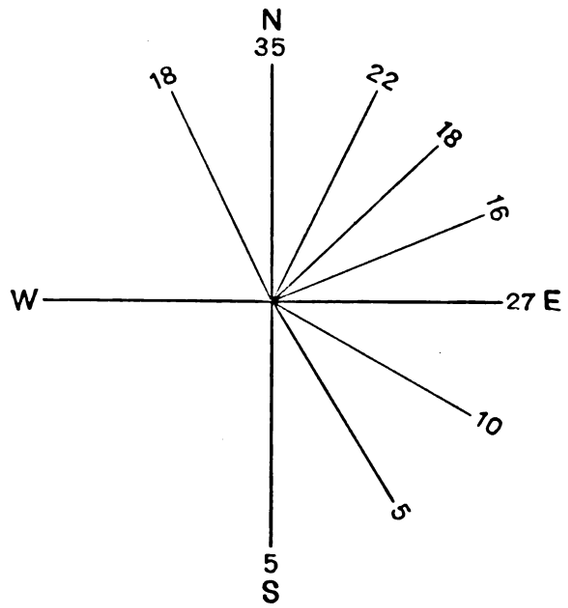


Fig 1. Diagram showing the points of the compass to which the feet of the bodies were laid, 1922, 1923.

In this area, which had evidently been much disturbed, only four interments were found, all buried with their feet to the east; there was nothing with these but two iron knives.

We then proceeded to the garden of the 'Mason's Arms', which adjoined the cemetery on its western side, and in this area we made some of our most valuable finds. Thirty-three interments, including four urn-burials, were uncovered, and, during the progress of the work in the garden, the strip of ground which had been left unexplored on the other side of the wall was examined, with the result that nine more burials, including two more urns, were discovered.

The total number of interments found during the work of 1923 was 102, of which thirteen were urn-burials. The average depths at which the interments were found was approximately the same as in the previous year—the bodies at 3 ft. 2 in. and the urns at 2 ft. 1 in. The greatest depth at which an interment was found was 5 ft., and the shallowest only 1 ft. 2 in. The urns already

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mentioned were more or less perfect, but innumerable fragments of others, which had been broken and scattered either by subsequent interments or by the plough, were recovered. Of seventy-six bodies of which it was possible to note the exact orientation, seven were buried with the feet to the NNW., forty-seven were between north and ENE., fourteen were to the east, and eight between east and south. As in the previous year no burial was found with the feet pointing between NW. and south, a direction which seems to have been religiously avoided, and the three with their feet to the south were the only ones in the half of the compass between NW. and SE. With the exception of the easterly row of skeletons already referred to, no regular plan or scheme of burial seems to have been carried out, and the urns were found dispersed irregularly among the bodies. There was no indication, either in 1922 or in 1923, that any mark or monument had ever been placed above the surface of the ground to show the position of the various interments, but it is probable that some such mark or monument formerly existed, as in only eight instances in the whole cemetery were bodies found placed so near to each other as to be touching, and not a single case of super-inhumation was met with. As we observed previously, charcoal, varying considerably in amount, was frequently found in the immediate vicinity of the remains, generally near the pelvis, legs, or feet.

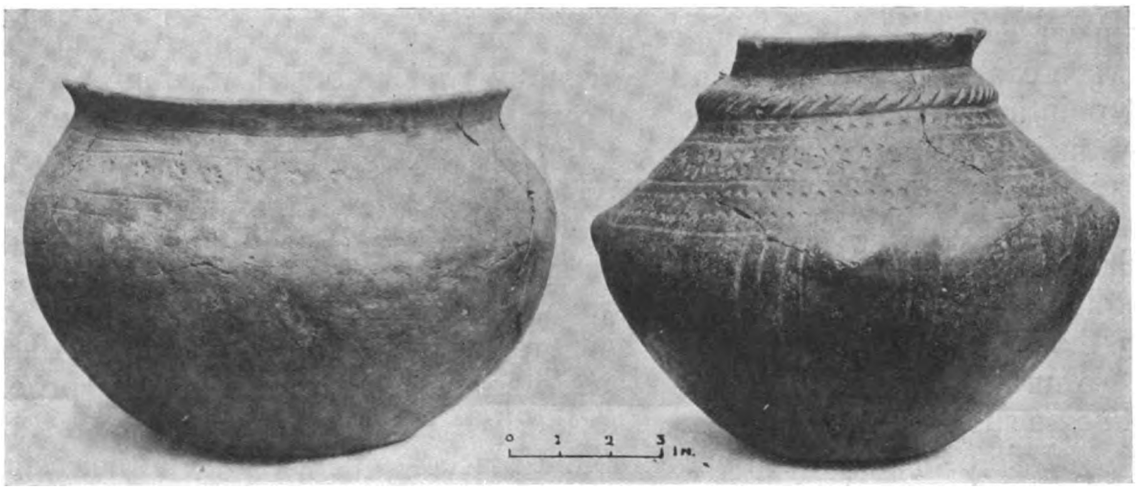
One peculiar form of burial was noted in the north-eastern corner of the cemetery. The skull of a female, with which were a bronze pin, a bronze tinned hair-ring, and a small crudely made vessel of black earthenware, was found buried at a depth of 3 ft. between three large flat slabs of limestone forming three sides of a square measuring about 2 ft. 7 in. At the southern corner of the cemetery was found a similar structure at a depth of 1 ft. 8 in. consisting of three large pieces of stone lying flat, with two others, 2 ft. 10 in. long, placed vertically above them, and underneath was a platform of stones measuring about 3 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 6 in., on which was a quantity of burnt earth and charcoal. No human remains, however, were found in the neighbourhood.

Cinerary Urns

The excavations of last summer disclosed only thirteen more or less perfect cinerary urns as against seventeen in the previous year. They were, however, of equal interest, and included some types which had not previously been found. All were fashioned of coarse black earthenware, and were hand-made; six of them were badly damaged. Of the others, which vary considerably in size, three were ornamented with impressed lines or markings arranged in simple linear patterns, formed either by incisions or shallow grooves, made with the

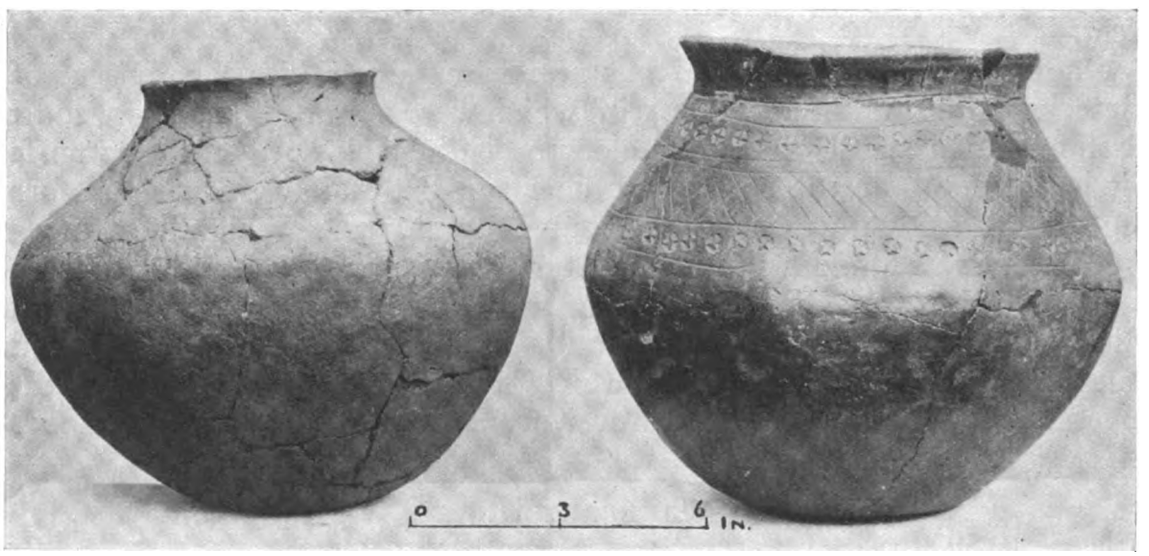
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shaped end of a piece of wood, and the spaces in between filled with impressions of a stamp in the shape of rosettes of different patterns (fig. 2, *b*). One of them (no. 133) is of rather unusual form (fig. 2, *a*), and approximates more nearly in



a *b*

Fig. 2. Cinerary urns.



a *b*

Fig. 3. Cinerary urns.

shape to the cinerary urns occasionally found in Belgian and Saxon cemeteries on the Continent. It is shallow, only $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, and very broad mouthed ($6\frac{7}{8}$ in.) in proportion to its height. With the ashes inside were a bronze riveted girdle-plate and a small fragment of a bone comb. Another wide-mouthed urn, but of more usual proportions, is handsomely decorated with a zone of diaper-pattern

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between two rows of rosettes, and with nine protuberances or bosses on the shoulder at its largest diameter (fig. 3, *b*). The third ornamented urn is a beautiful specimen of fine proportions. It has four projecting bosses on the shoulder and is the only specimen found with a projecting band or rib, which is ornamented with sloping lines round the neck. The rest of the ornamentation consists of rosettes or stars with eight points, and horizontal, vertical, and wavy lines.

Two other plain cinerary urns of good shape were found, one (no. 137) 9 in. in height and 11 in. in diameter (fig. 3, *a*), the other (no. 146) only $5\frac{1}{4}$ in. high.

Other Vessels

In addition to the cinerary urns other vessels of earthenware were found, some of them decorated with impressed and incised patterns similar to the urns. These vessels were buried near the head, and were probably used, as Mr. Reginald Smith suggests, to contain a supply of food or drink for the deceased during the journey to the next world. Whether it has been found to be the case in other cemeteries we were unable to ascertain, but in the cemetery at Bidford-on-Avon these vessels apparently only occurred in the graves of females, being placed in every instance in close proximity to the skull. The only definite exception was the large bronze bowl, which was found over the head of a warrior to whom reference will be made later.

The first (no. 138) of these vessels was a small hand-made, wide-mouthed vessel of earthenware, very crudely fashioned and measuring only $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. in height and 3 in. in diameter at the mouth. The second (no. 152) was also a small vessel without ornamentation, and badly damaged. The third (no. 155) was also of small dimensions, measuring only $4\frac{5}{8}$ in. in height, ornamented with a row of four-leaved rosettes between horizontal lines, and with vertical lines between the twelve projecting bosses on the shoulder. The fourth (no. 124) was of similar type, measuring only $3\frac{7}{8}$ in. in height, with nine projecting bosses on the shoulder, ornamented with a circular stamp and horizontal and vertical lines.

The most interesting specimen of this type of vessel was that found with the skeleton of a female (no. 187). It was a fine unornamented vessel $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. high, of well-baked earthenware, and so well made as to suggest that it had been turned on a potter's wheel. Inside it was found a small earthenware cup, $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. high, of dark-coloured pottery, ornamented with horizontal lines and impressed designs and slightly projecting bosses on the shoulder. The grave was rich in other grave furniture—a knife, a pair of square-headed brooches, some paste beads, a bronze wristlet clasp, a ring, and other personal ornaments.

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Weapons

The weapons found during the work of 1923 numbered only ten spear-heads and one javelin, all of iron and much corroded. All had the typical cleft socket, and in some cases the iron rivet which fastened the shaft was still in place, together with fragments of the wooden shaft itself. In addition, thirty iron knives of various sizes were found, one or two of them still retaining the ferrule of bronze and most of them covered with the remains of a wooden or leathern sheath. Other iron objects included numerous buckles, large rings, a curious spatula-like implement, and a small key measuring $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length.

Four iron umbos or shield-bosses were found, two of them being of the ordinary mammiform type, and the other two, one of which is of exceptional size, possessing the disc-shaped flattened apex, together with their handles and some of the iron shield-rivets. A careful examination of one of these umbos made by Mr. Reginald Smith, who kindly took the trouble to come down and see the excavations, disclosed the method of construction of the shield, and showed that the wooden shield itself was half an inch in thickness. The handle consisted of an iron plate, covered on the inner surface with wood and the whole handle bound round with some woven fabric, fragments of which were clearly discernible. The rivets which secured the umbo to the woodwork of the shield were outside those which held the woodwork to the handle, showing that the handle had been fixed to the wooden part of the shield before the umbo itself was riveted on.

The last of the shield-bosses to be mentioned is that of the warrior already referred to. In uncovering this grave we first found at a depth of only 2 ft. 3 in. a fine large bronze bowl in a wonderful state of preservation (pl. LVII, fig. 3). It is beaten out of a single sheet of bronze, and the process of fabrication is exhibited in the varying thicknesses of the metal, which is much thinner on the shoulder and base of the vessel where the superficial extension is greatest. The sides are turned over and outwards at the top to form a rim, and on opposite sides this rim is widened into two triangular extensions, which are turned upwards and pierced through the centre with a circular hole to receive the ends of the handle. This handle, which was originally of iron, had completely disappeared except for a few traces of rust. The bowl was resting on a piece of wood, probably oak, measuring about 6 in. by $1\frac{1}{4}$ in., and some few inches deeper we came across the remains of a skull stained green from the bronze bowl above it. The body proved to be rich in grave furniture. In addition to the bronze bowl it was furnished with an iron knife on the waist, an iron spear-head at the left shoulder, and over the left elbow were the remains of a shield, including

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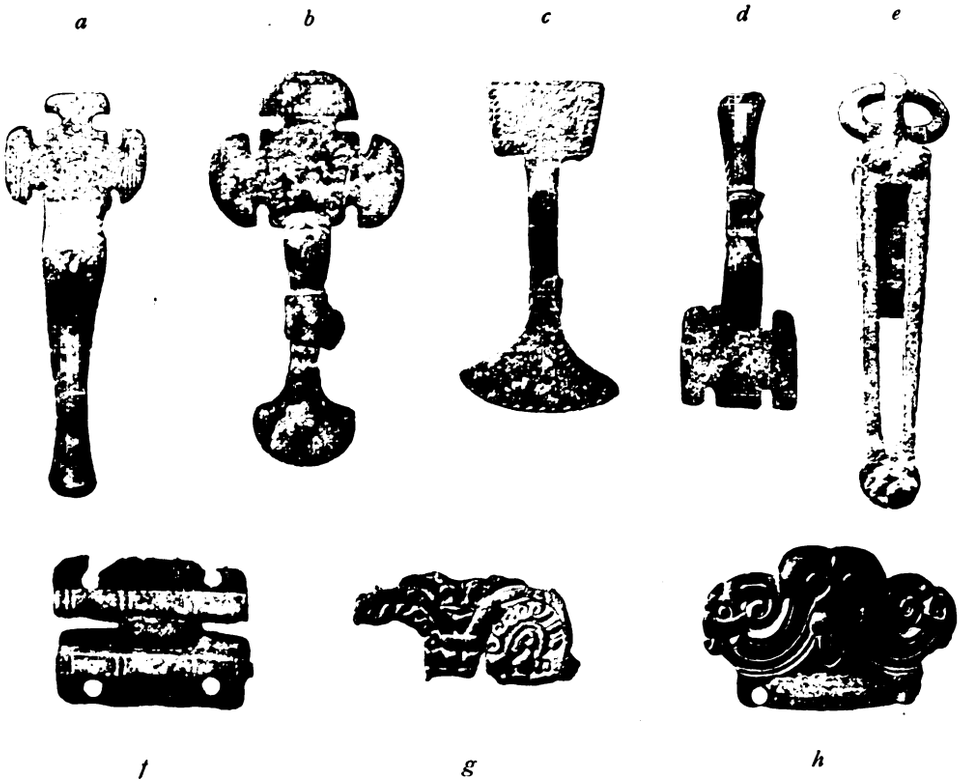


Fig. 1. Various bronze objects (⅓)

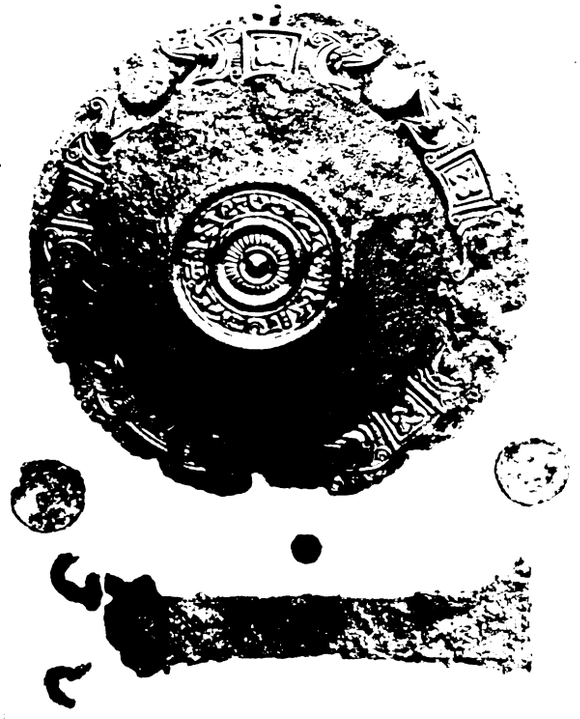


Fig. 2. Ornamented umbo, with gilded bronze plates

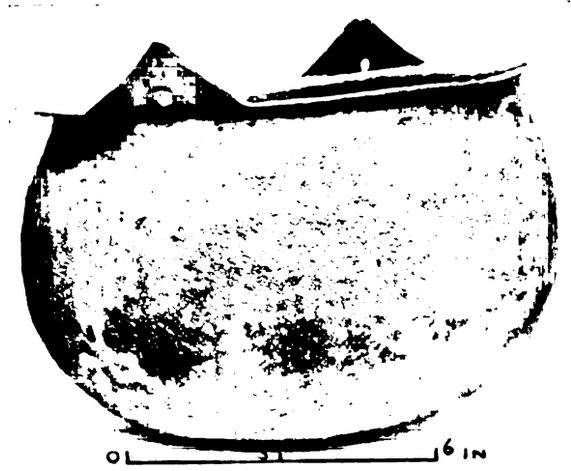
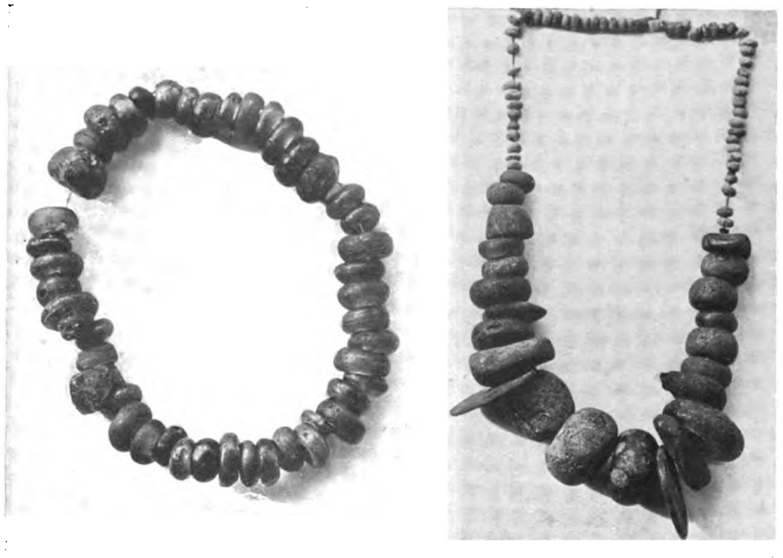


Fig. 3. Bronze bowl

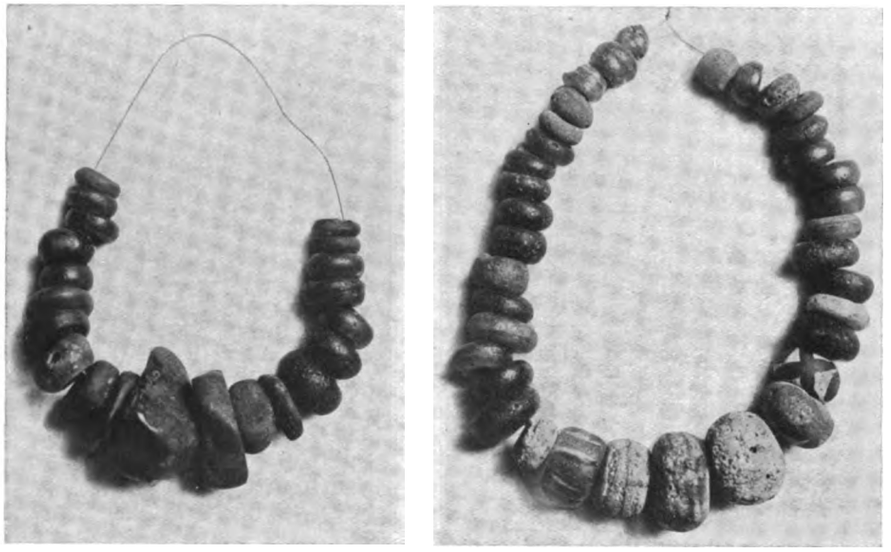
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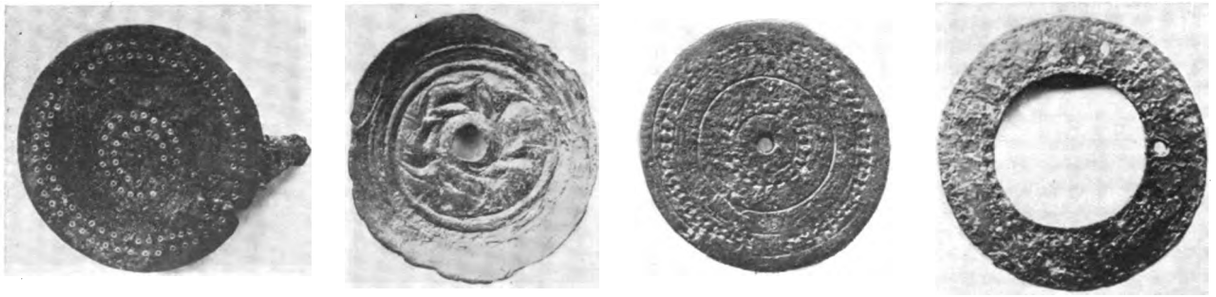
a *b*

Fig. 1. Necklaces



a *b*

Fig. 2. Necklaces



a *b* *c* *d*

Fig. 3. Bronze brooches (about $\frac{2}{3}$)

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the umbo, the handle, two iron rivets with tinned or silver-plated tops, and a smaller iron rivet. The apex of the umbo (pl. LVII, fig. 2) is flattened out into a disc-shaped terminal to which is affixed a circular bronze casting, tastefully decorated with a debased zoomorphic pattern and heavily plated with gold. Around the rim, which was fastened to the wooden shield by five iron rivets the tops of which were plated with silver or tinned, are five ornamental plates of cast bronze also heavily plated with gold, each fastened to the rim by two iron rivets the caps of which had been tinned or silver-plated. Two of the plates have a second pair of rivet-holes nearer the centre, as if they were intended for use or had been used in a different position. All five plates seem to have been cast in the same mould. They consist of a centre panel containing an interlaced knot-pattern and flanked by symmetrical terminations in the form of a conventional boar's head with open mouth, the eye, the upturned snout, and a curling underlip being plainly discernible. The whole umbo is in a wonderfully good state of preservation.

Only two instances are recorded of umbos being found with the button worked with ornament in relief and gilded—one from Cottesmore, Rutland, and the other from Barton Seagrave, Northants, and, according to Professor Baldwin Brown, this sort of ornamentation is most common abroad on the shield-bosses of the Lombards. No specimen, however, with the ornamented rim plates seems to be recorded, and in this respect the umbo is pronounced by Mr. Reginald Smith and Professor Baldwin Brown to be unique. As it was one of the latest of our finds so it must be regarded as the gem of the collection, in that it produces new and valuable evidence of the artistic skill and wonderful craftsmanship of our Anglo-Saxon forbears.

Bronze Articles

These include a bronze buckle, 3 in. long, of an uncommon form (pl. LVII, fig. 1, *e*). The buckles found in 1922 were of iron or bronze, with an iron tongue, of which a similar specimen was found this year. Numerous holed pins, resembling Roman pins of the same character, were met with. An object of much interest is the portion of a small ingot of bronze, fractured across the middle. It is square ended, with a rib running the length of the upper surface, and is much thicker at the end than in the centre, namely, $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch and $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch respectively. The fragment measures $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. long by $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. broad. Does it suggest that bronze objects may have been made locally as in the case of Viroconium, where small crucibles with globules of bronze attached were found during the excavations of 1912–14? Among other small bronze objects were several finger-rings, ferrules, and a large ring, together with

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numerous portions of bronze strips, which may once have encircled a wooden bucket or a mead cup; the wooden staves have perished.

Other articles include a pair of tweezers with **S**-like ornament, and an instrument supposed to have been a nail cleaner, ornamented with slanting lines, measuring 2 in. by $\frac{1}{8}$ in., flat on the under surface, rounded on the upper, with a groove running down its length terminating in a notch.[1] On the end is a ring, probably for attachment to a chatelaine.

Bronze strips with foliated pattern were fortunately rescued, but though

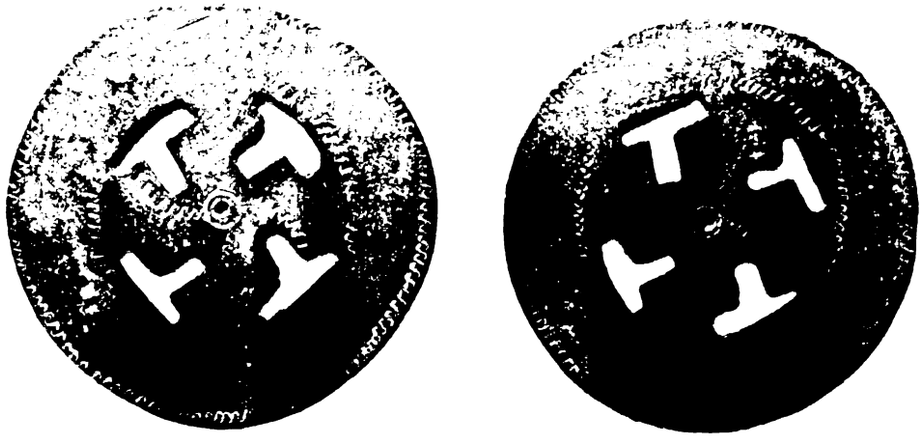


Fig. 4. Bronze brooches with swastika pattern ($\frac{1}{1}$).

a prolonged search was made, these were the only portions found; the third tiny fragment shows the twisted cord pattern very clearly.

Another valuable fragment exhibits two rounded arches springing from a central square abacus, the space between the arches being occupied by a human face; the design under each arch consists of spirals above a zoomorphic pattern (pl. LVII, fig. 1, *g*). There is an almost exactly similar object shown by Professor Baldwin Brown in his *Arts in Early England* (pl. LXXVII, p. 361), which was found at Lewes, and is attributed to the middle of the sixth century, A.D.

A remarkable ornamented bronze plate is an attractive object, which originally formed part of a large brooch measuring $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. The plate is deeply cut, the centre showing a human face with large, prominent eyes, and long hair parted in the middle (pl. LVII, fig. 1, *h*). The pattern is intensified by appearing in dark relief upon a gold ground. It is a beautiful example of Anglo-Saxon decorative art.

The bronze clasps (pl. LVII, fig. 1, *f*) were probably used as wristlets for fastening the sleeves of a garment.

[1] See similar article in Brit. Mus. *Guide to Anglo-Saxon Antiquities*, fig. 47.

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Brooches

The brooches were not as striking in appearance as those found in 1922, but were welcome additions to our knowledge of Anglo-Saxon jewellery.

Two flattened ring brooches with ornament of pits and dots, resembled those of last year (pl. LVIII, fig. 3, *d*).

There were four square-headed brooches, two with rounded terminations and dot ornament, the others with the ends expanded (pl. LVII, fig. 1, *c*). Similar brooches have been found in Kent and Cambridgeshire. They are of simple pattern, and of early sixth-century date.

The four trefoil-headed brooches represent forms found at Bifrons, Kent, and a pair of similar articles came from Stapenhill, by Burton-on-Trent. They are adorned with the tongue and line decoration (pl. LVII, fig. 1, *a*, *b*).

Only one saucer-shaped brooch was unearthed, with concentric lines surrounding a zoomorphic design, in the centre of which formerly was probably a polished stone (pl. LVIII, fig. 3, *b*).

Two bronze disc brooches $1\frac{7}{8}$ in. in diameter, with ring-and-dot pattern, are very good examples, and similar to those found last year (pl. LVIII, fig. 3, *a*, *c*).

The most notable pair of brooches are disc-shaped, $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. in diameter, with a swastika in open-work cut out in the centre, surrounded by two rings of ornament like the letter **S**, which also adorns the four arms of the symbol (fig. 4).[1]

Beads

The beads are of various designs, such as long spiral cylinders of green, blue, or yellow glass, small pearl-like beads united in sections of three or four, and paste beads decorated with sinuous or intertwined lines, with eyes represented in the spaces between.

A light green glass pendant picked out with gold is very attractive; two other large coloured pendants—one green and the other blue—are attached to bronze rings.

A little heart-shaped paste pendant ornamented with crossed lines is a rare object. When unearthed, the setting in which it was fixed fell to powder; three minute metal settings with spiral lines externally for holding a cement are worthy of notice.

The small oblong stone with flattened end was probably used for sharpening small tools; the bronze coin of Constantine II is one of the few Roman coins

[1] See fig. 105, *Guide to Anglo-Saxon Antiquities in the British Museum.*

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found at Bidford; some much-worn specimens turned up last year attached to necklaces.

During the excavations a bronze pendent bell of seventeenth-century date was also discovered.

Necklaces

These numbered five.

No. 1 is a small necklace of six amber beads, irregular in shape, together with fifteen ultramarine blue glass beads (pl. LVIII, fig. 2, *a*).

No. 2 consists entirely of forty-two blue glass beads (pl. LVIII, fig. 1, *a*).

No. 3 is formed of a mixture of glass and paste beads, thirty-six in number, the glass beads coloured blue or green, and the paste red, yellow, or white, with concentric rings, or sinuous pattern, in white or blue (pl. LVIII, fig. 2, *b*).

No. 4 is composed of fifty-five minute green glass beads, and twenty glass and paste beads of various colours and designs; two small bronze coins, worn and undecipherable, form part of this necklace (pl. LVIII, fig. 1, *b*).

No. 5. 106 beads, glass, amber, and paste, twenty-four fragments of others, and one large bead of rock crystal.

Bone Combs

1. A bone comb, 8 in. long, with bone strengtheners on either side fixed with nine iron rivets, and decorated with ring-and-dot ornament.

2. Fragment of comb, $5\frac{1}{4}$ in. long, with nine rivets, with ring-and-dot ornament, found with ashes in a cremation urn.

Conclusions

The conclusions suggested after investigation in the field and subsequent study of the objects discovered during the two years' excavation, is that the burial ground probably marks an early settlement of Anglo-Saxons who penetrated into the Midlands by means of the river-valleys, and ultimately seized and occupied Bidford, the original Roman ford, where the Rycknild Street crossed the Avon on its way northwards to join the Watling Street at Wall. In seizing the ford at Bidford, the invaders established themselves upon a most important strategic point in the West Midlands which controlled further advances to the north and west. The burials do not mark the site of a battle, as practically all the bodies are interred in an orderly manner and represent one race, with skulls typical of the conquering Anglo-Saxon. The occupation was accomplished apparently at an early period in the sixth century. More-

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over, it marks a large settlement of the invaders in the West Midlands, before the arrival of Augustine.

Thanks are due to the Bidford Co-operative Society for permission to continue the excavation in their fields; to the Stratford Brewery Company and to Miss Holder for allowing the exploration of the garden belonging to the 'Mason's Arms'; and to all the generous donors for financing the enterprise.

The Bidford Co-operative Society has placed the various articles discovered on loan at the Museum, Stratford-on-Avon, and has kindly presented the skeletal remains to the University of Birmingham.

APPENDIX I

NOTES ON THE BONES RECOVERED DURING THE 1923 EXCAVATIONS

By Professor James C. Brash, *University of Birmingham.*

The following foot-note was added to the Notes on the Cranial and other Skeletal Characters in Appendix I of the previous publication in *Archaeologia*. 'As a result of the further excavations in 1923, the number of individuals represented by skeletal remains has been greatly increased. Unfortunately, however, the condition of the bones is not nearly so good as in the two previous years, and they are not expected to yield much additional information.' This impression has been confirmed by a more detailed examination, and, in addition to corrected tables of the age and sex distribution and of the stature of the total number of individuals represented by skeletal remains from Bidford, only a very few remarks are necessary.

Numbers, age, and sex. The following table is drawn up on the same basis as that for 1921–2 given in the previous communication.

Bidford-on-Avon, 1921–2–3.

Age	*Male*	*Female*	*Sex?*	*Total*
6	—	—	20	20
12	—	—	16	16
20	2	5	—	7
Mature	34	20	27	81
Mature+	17	7	10	34
Old	6	4	2	12
				170

The difference between the number of graves excavated and the number of individuals represented by bones is, as was previously stated, to be accounted for by the presence of urn-burials and the almost complete disintegration of some of the skeletons. The total number of individuals represented by bones given in the table in the previous notes was 93; this number included the bones of 23 individuals collected during the cutting of the new road in 1921 and of 70 individuals from the 112 graves excavated in 1922. From the 102 graves excavated in 1923 bones representing 77 individuals were recovered, and it is an indication of the much poorer condition of the bones as a whole that no fewer than 41 of these are in a fragmentary condition. There are only seven reasonably complete skulls among the whole 77.

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The complete table does not disturb the relative proportions of ages and sexes as previously determined for the 1921–2 remains, but it is to be noted that on account of the poor condition of the bones there is a greater proportion of undetermined sex. The conclusion previously drawn, 'that we are dealing with the burial-place of a community with a considerable proportion of children', may however be considered to be clearly established.

The skulls. The small additional number of skulls does not warrant any further remarks on their general characters, but it may be stated that the general conclusions previously drawn have been confirmed.

The limb bones. All the features previously mentioned are again in evidence—supra-trochlear foramen of the humerus, third trochanter and hypotrochanteric fossa of the femur, platymeria and slight platycnemia. In addition to the last two characters, evidence of the squatting habit is again to be found in the facets previously described in the bones of the lower limbs.

Stature. The preservation of limb bones that can be 'sexed' and measured from twenty individuals of mature age gives a basis for checking the previous estimate of the average stature; it is found that there is no appreciable difference in the results. The mean statures as estimated from the whole series may now be stated to be—for the Males 171·22 cm. (5 ft. $7\frac{2}{5}$ in.) and for the Females 156·08 cm. (5 ft. $1\frac{2}{5}$ in.). The corresponding figures for the 1921–2 series alone were: Males, 170·64 cm. (5 ft. $7\frac{1}{5}$ in.); Females, 154·9 cm. (5 ft. 1 in.). Pearson's estimate for general Anglo-Saxon stature, quoted in the previous notes, is 170·9 cm. Male, and 156·0 cm. Female.

Pathological conditions. Osteoarthritic changes are again found to be very common; there are several examples of dental abscess from wear of the teeth, with exposure of the pulp cavities; and there is a healed fracture of the nasal bones of one of the male skulls.

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APPENDIX II

DETAILS OF GRAVES AND GRAVE-FURNITURE

No.	*Depth.*	*Feet to*	*Sex.*	*Spear or Javelin.*	*Knife.*	*Umbo.*	*Brooches.*	*Beads.*	*Rings.*	*Toilet Implements.*	*Other Furniture and Remarks.*
113	4′ 8″	E.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Iron buckle, left side of pelvis.
114	4′ 8″	E.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
115	4′ 8″	E.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	These three bodies (nos. 113–15) were buried in one group.
116	4′ 5″	ENE.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Age *c.* 35.
117	4′ 5″	ENE.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Age under 12.
118	4′ 5″	ENE.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Nos. 116–18 formed a second group buried together.
119	3′ 9″	E.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
120	3′ 6″	E.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
121	4′ 0″	ENE.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Two fragments of bronze lying on skull.
122	4′ 0″	ENE.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Nos. 121 and 122 were buried together.
123	3′ 7″	ENE.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	The beads of blue glass, lying on breast with brooch.
124	3′ 8″	ENE.	F	—	—	—	1†	46	—	—	
125	3′ 6″	E.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
126	4′ 2″	E.	F	—	K	—	—	106	—	—	Beads of glass, amber, and paste, and 24 fragments of others, and one large bead of rock crystal. A bronze clip with one rivet and some fragments of iron, inside left femur.
127	3′ 0″	NE.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
128	3′ 0″	NE.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
129	2′ 10″	ENE.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	A large amount of charcoal was found in vicinity at a depth of 4′ 3″.
130	3′ 0″	NE.	—	—	K	—	—	—	—	—	A child. Several fragments of pottery, charcoal, and bones of ox and boar near by.

† Cruciform.

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No.	*Depth.*	*Feet to*	*Sex.*	*Spear or Javelin.*	*Knife.*	*Umbo.*	*Brooches.*	*Beads.*	*Rings.*	*Toilet Implements.*	*Other Furniture and Remarks.*
131	2′ 10″	E.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
132	2′ 0″	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
133	2′ 0″	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Shallow urn, ornamented with rosettes, containing a bronze plate from a girdle (?) and a small fragment of a bone comb.
134	1′ 9″	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Cinerary urn, only base remaining.
135	2′ 9″	E.	F	—	K	—	2 **	1	—	—	One amber bead. Charcoal near left elbow and at side of left leg.
136	3′ 0″	N.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	An iron spear-head was found in this trench.
137	2′ 1″	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Large cinerary urn, plain.
138	3′ 0″	E.	F	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	A bronze eyed pin: and bronze tinned hair-ring: a small hand-made vessel of earthenware close to skull. Charcoal in neighbourhood. Skull only, placed between two flat stones set edgewise against a third.
139	2′ 2″	NNE.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
140	2′ 10″	NNW.	—	—	K	—	—	—	—	—	
141	3′ 4″	SE.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
142	4′ 0″	NE.	F	—	K	—	—	—	—	—	Bone comb at right shoulder. Buckle inside left of pelvis.
143	2′ 7″	NNE.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Bronze buckle with bronze back-plate and rivet and a silver-plated boss on breast.
144	1′ 9″	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Cinerary urn.
145	2′ 0″	—	(F)	—	—	—	1*	—	—	—	Large cinerary urn, ornamented with rosettes, etc. Portion of a bronze saucer-shaped brooch, marked by fire.
146	2′ 0″	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Small plain urn.
147	3′ 6″	S.	F?	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
148	1′ 3″	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Child under a year old. Small piece of bronze ornamented with incised pattern of dots.

** Annular

* Saucer-shaped.

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No.	*Depth.*	*Feet to*	*Sex.*	*Spear or Javelin.*	*Knife.*	*Umbo.*	*Brooches.*	*Beads.*	*Rings.*	*Toilet Implements.*	*Other Furniture and Remarks.*
149	2′ 7″	S.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
150	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Cinerary urn, much broken.
151	3′ 2″	S.	F?	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Elderly person.
152	3′ 2″	NNE.	F	—	—	—	2§	36	—	—	Beads of glass and paste: bronze eyed pin on right shoulder: bone comb on left elbow: iron buckle on pelvis: a piece of bronze with a double row of punched dots at sides: a small earthenware vessel much broken.
153	2′ 7″	NNW.	F	—	K	—	—	—	—	T. I.	Bronze tweezers embedded in decayed leather (?) between femora, and with them a round object of bone. Charcoal between femora.
154	2′ 6″	NE.	F	—	K	—	2‡	21	—	—	Six amber and fifteen blue glass beads: a buckle on pelvis, charcoal under the feet.
155	2′ 3″	NNE.	F?	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	A small ornamented earthenware vessel near top of skull.
156	2′ 1″	NNE.	F	—	—	—	2†	76	—	—	The beads of glass, paste, and amber, with two perforated bronze coins, illegible: a bronze clip under left-hand brooch. The brooches cruciform with crescentic terminals.
157	3′ 3″	NNW.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
158	2′ 3″	ENE.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Child about five years old.
159	3′ 4″	ENE.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
160	2′ 4″	NNW.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
161	2′ 0″	NNW.	F	—	K	—	—	—	—	—	The knife has a bronze ferrule: a bronze nail-cleaner embedded in a mass of badly corroded iron: a bronze ferrule and some bronze fragments near left knee. A small child.
162	2′ 2″	ESE.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Two fragments of iron on breast.
163	2′ 5″	E.	M	S	K	—	—	—	—	—	A buckle on pelvis.

§ Disc-shaped. ‡ Square-headed. † Cruciform.

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No.	*Depth.*	*Feet to*	*Sex.*	*Spear or Javelin.*	*Knife.*	*Umbo.*	*Brooches.*	*Beads.*	*Rings.*	*Toilet Implements.*	*Other Furniture and Remarks.*
164	1′ 9″	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Skull and part of right shoulder only.
165	2′ 3″	NNE.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
166	2′ 3″	ENE.	—	—	K	—	—	—	—	—	
167	2′ 4″	NNE.	F	—	K	—	—	5	—	—	Beads of paste and glass, also portions of two melon-shaped metal beads: an iron object (? key). Two ornaments with the beads—one a large paste bead on a bronze ring, inside which was a pear-shaped piece of paste cemented into a setting of (?) silver—the other was a paste bead on two or more bronze rings.
168	2′ 3″	NNE.	F	—	—	—	2§	6	—	—	The brooches were disc-shaped, perforated so as to form a swastika in centre of broad rim, with punched chevron decoration round edges. The beads were two glass, one paste, and three amber, one of the latter a fragment only.
169	1′ 3″	E.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
170	2′ 0″	E.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
171	2′ 6″	E.?	M	—	K	—	—	—	—	—	
172	1′ 7″	ENE.	—	—	K	—	—	—	—	—	
173	2′ 0″	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Cinerary urn, top missing.
174	3′ 0″	N.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
175	3′ 0″	NNE.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
176	2′ 6″	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Cinerary urn, badly broken, much missing.
177	3′ 10″	NE.	M	S	K	—	—	—	—	—	A bronze ferrule on knife.
178	3′ 7″	ESE.	F	—	—	—	1*	3	—	—	Two glass and one amber bead—the latter broken but re-drilled. The brooch had a glass or garnet centre-piece which was unfortunately lost later.
179	4′ 0″	ENE.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Two flat stones superimposed over lower part of body. Charcoal in evidence.

§ Disc-shaped. * Saucer-shaped.

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No.	*Depth.*	*Feet to*	*Sex.*	*Spear or Javelin.*	*Knife.*	*Umbo.*	*Brooches.*	*Beads.*	*Rings.*	*Toilet Implements.*	*Other Furniture and Remarks.*
180	3′ 2″	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	A small child.
181	3′ 8″	—	F	—	—	—	1†	—	—	T.I.	Cruciform brooch with crescentic terminals, original clasp missing but repaired. Part of a pair of tweezers, a fragment of a bronze pin, and a fragment of iron under chin.
182	3′ 6″	N.	M	S	K	U	—	—	—	—	On left elbow a fine umbo, ornamented with cast bronze-gilt ornament on flattened apex and five bronze-gilt plates terminating in a boar's head at each end round rim, with five tinned or silver-plated rivets. Handle of iron at back of umbo. A large bowl beaten from a single sheet of bronze, with out-turned rim and triangular ear-pieces for iron handle, resting on a piece of wood over remains of skull.
183	3′ 6″	—	M	SJ	K	—	—	—	—	—	
184	4′ 2″	NE.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	A child: iron girdle-buckle on waist.
185	4′ 3″	NE.	M	S	K	—	—	—	—	—	
186	2′ 6″	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Cinerary urn, much broken and a great part missing.
187	3′ 10″	NNE.	F	—	K	—	2‡	4	—	—	The beads of paste. On the breast was a bronze-gilt ornament forming originally one of the limbs of a large cruciform brooch provided with two rivet holes for attachment: some small pieces of bronze, a cylindrical bronze object with iron point (?) and wood inside socket: a broken ring of twisted bronze, a bronze wristlet clasp. Near skull a fine earthenware vessel, inside which was a small black cup of earthenware, ornamented.
188	4′ 3″	NNE.	M	S	K	—	—	—	—	—	

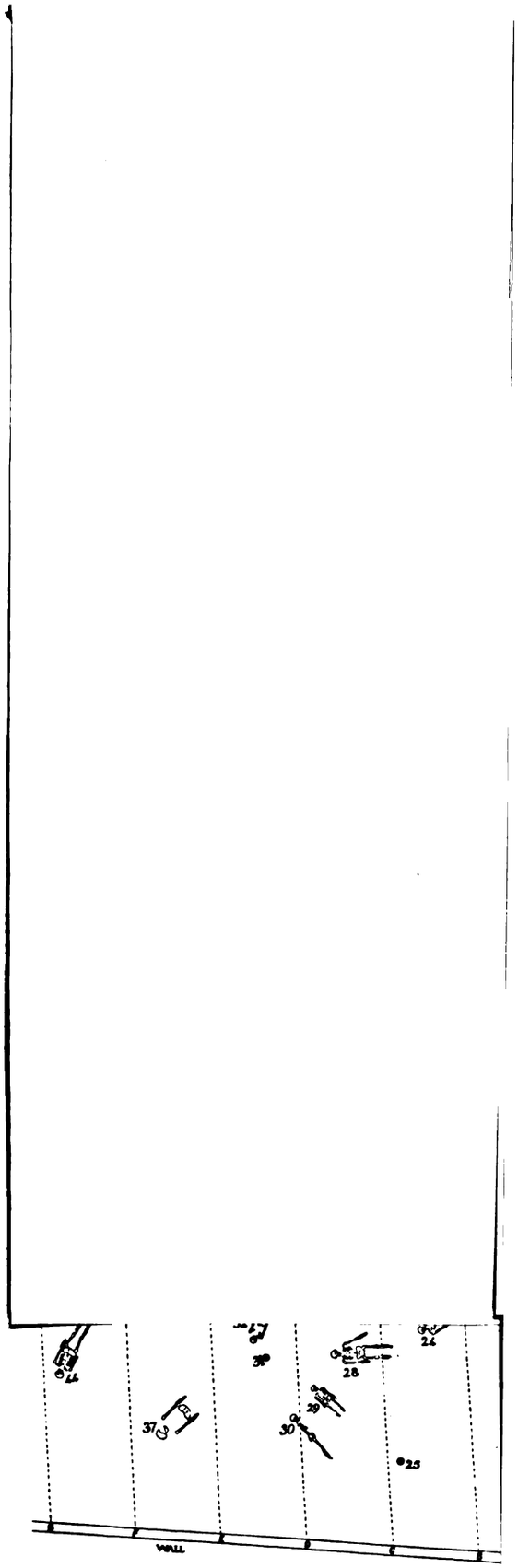
‡ Square-headed. † Cruciform.

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No.	Depth.	Feet to	Sex.	Spear or Javelin	Knife.	Umbo.	Brooches	Beads.	Rings.	Toilet Implements.	Other Furniture and Remarks.
189	3′ 10″	NNE.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
190	3′ 5″	ENE.	F	—	—	—	1††	—	—	—	Only back-plate of applied brooch and two small fragments of bronze: a small iron object (? key) inside left femur.
191	4′ 2″	SE.?	—	—	K	—	—	—	—	—	Bronze eyed pin on presumed position of breast.
192	3′ 3″	NE.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	A child.
193	3′ 3″	NE.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	A child of four.
194	3′ 10″	NE.	(M)?	(S)	K	—	—	—	—	—	Near this body was an iron spear-head.
195	4′ 0″	—	(M)?	(S)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Near this body was an iron spear-head.
196	3′ 0″	NNW.	—	—	K	—	—	—	—	—	An iron object, circular, with smaller one inside it.
197	1′ 2″	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Cinerary urn, much damaged.
198	2′ 7″	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Skull only.
199	2′ 10″	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Fragmentary.
200	2′ 9″	—	(F)?	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Portions of skull only found. Above them were six pieces of bronze, the bands of a situla, and two other pieces of bronze, one a wrist-clasp decorated with a mask between two arches, the other a portion of a girdle-plate.
201	2′ 2″	NNW.	—	—	2 K	—	—	—	—	—	
202	3′ 9″	NNE.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	A child. An iron object on breast.
203	2′ 4″	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Cinerary urn.
204	4′ 4″	ENE.	—	—	K	—	—	—	—	—	
205	2′ 6″	NE.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
206	—	—	—	—	K	—	—	—	—	—	A skull only.
207	4′ 8″	—	M	—	—	U	—	—	—	—	Umbo with handle and three rivets.
208	4′ 0″	—	—	—	K	—	—	—	—	—	
209	5′ 0″	ESE.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	A fragment of bronze.
210	4′ 2″	ENE.	M	S	K	U	—	—	—	—	
211	3′ 7″	NE.	—	—	K	—	—	—	—	—	
212	4′ 11″	N.	M	—	K	U	—	—	—	—	
213	2′ 9″	—	(F)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Cinerary urn, ornamented. Part of a bone comb inside.
214	2′ 0″	NNE.	F?	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Small earthenware vessel at left side of skull.

†† Applied.

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XIII.—*Medieval Tallies, Public and Private.*

By HILARY JENKINSON, *M.A., F.S.A.*

Read 31st January 1924.

INTRODUCTORY.

IT is now almost exactly twelve years since I first introduced this subject to the notice of the Society[1] in connexion with a then recent deposit of medieval Exchequer Tallies at the Public Record Office; and though I subsequently communicated two further notes[2] upon it, I may plead that even since those were made ten years have elapsed. During that time there has been a great change in our knowledge of Exchequer procedure. Two or three notable books have appeared and a considerable amount of work has been done,[3] though not all of it has yet been printed, upon the neglected Exchequer Records. Already we begin to look with quite different eyes at medieval financial problems, even though our knowledge of the great mass of the Memoranda Rolls, Receipt and Issue Rolls, Wardrobe Accounts and subsidiary documents still owes practically nothing to any publication of texts from those Records. I have accord-

[1] *Archaeologia*, lxii, 367.

[2] *Proceedings*, xxv, 29, and xxvi, 36.

[3] R. L. Poole, *The Exchequer in the Twelfth Century*; T. F. Tout, *Chapters in English Administrative History* and *Materials for the History of the Reign of Edward II*; Conway Davies, *The Baronial Opposition to Edward II*; J. F. Willard, *Introduction* to the Surrey Record Society's volume of *Taxation Returns*; C. Johnson, *System of Account in the Wardrobe of Edward I*, in the Royal Historical Society's *Transactions*, 4th ser., vol. vi; Miss M. H. Mills, two articles on the *Adventus Vicecomitum* in the *English Historical Review* and a volume dealing with *Pipe Rolls* for the Surrey Record Society; H. Jenkinson, *The Financial Records of the Reign of King John* in the *Magna Carta Commemoration* volume of the Royal Historical Society and *Records of Receipts from the English Jewry* in *Transactions* of the Jewish Historical Society, vols. viii and ix.

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ingly thought it worth while to submit to the Society a further stage in our knowledge of the financial system, public, semi-public and private, of which Tallies formed so important a part. I have fortunately little to retract from what I said in my previous papers, but there are a few new points to note, some remarks to be extended, and a selection to be offered from a considerable accumulation of further illustrations.[1] In addition, there has very recently become available, from hitherto unsorted Miscellanea at the Public Record Office, a much larger collection of private tallies than had been known to exist anywhere before—a collection so large as to make possible deductions of some importance regarding a very widespread custom. These are dealt with in the second part of the present paper and analysed in detail in an Appendix.

It is to be feared that even now we shall not come to the end of Exchequer Tallies. The fact is that the more we examine financial conditions in medieval England and the *minutiae* of Financial History, as they are beginning to discover themselves through patient study of the Records, the more do we find that all development of this kind—development of the system of Public Accounts, of Exchequer Bills and their discounting, of Public Loans and Public Credit—is conditioned at every turn, to a greater or less degree, by that system of tally-cutting which was already well established in the twelfth century and which continued in action with very little alteration down to the nineteenth. Such investigations as I have suggested are in the province, it is true, of the Economist rather than the Antiquary: but it is not out of place to think of them here, because all must be based on an accurate understanding of the technique which governed the cutting of the original little slips of hazel; their importance and extent is therefore a measure of the value which a comparatively simple piece of antiquary's work may possess for students in other fields. I hope, however (though perhaps I am optimistic), that with the present note we may come near the end of the Antiquary's part in this matter of tally-cutting; and that the derivative questions (probably a large number) which will remain still to be treated may be more properly dealt with elsewhere.

It may perhaps be proper to recall here that my original paper was mainly devoted to examining the medieval Exchequer Tallies, then newly discovered, in the capacity of illustrations to a well-known but difficult passage in the *Dialogus de Scaccario*. It was possible to explain by their aid almost every

[1] I am indebted to various friends for their contributions, but particularly and very greatly to my former student, Miss M. H. Mills, to whom I owe my information as to the Dividenda Tally (which she first investigated in the course of her own work) and the Dating of Tallies, as well as numerous other notes.

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point in this and to show that the system of cutting Exchequer tallies practically did not vary at all between the twelfth century and the date of our examples, and again between that and the nineteenth century; and for convenience the plates in the present paper have been chosen so as to repeat that illustration,[1] very nearly in life size. It was possible also to show that the rules governing the inscription on the Exchequer tallies were equally rigid and almost equally unchanging; and to a certain extent to relate such small alterations as did occur to changes in Exchequer administrative procedure and to the Receipt Rolls upon which the tally inscriptions were copied. The paper dealt also with the enormous influence exercised by the tally form on every kind of financial development in this country; and finally attempted to examine, on the basis of a rather exiguous supply of illustrations, the technique of private tally-cutting.[2] Small additions to most aspects of the Exchequer tally previously treated, but especially to that of the development of assignment by tally and that of tally-procedure at a later date (the seventeenth century), were made in a subsequent note.[3]

Some Small Points.

It will be well to dispose first of a few questions arising out of these previous papers. Such are the matter of Nomenclature; the question why the tallies which have come to us survived in the Chapel of the Pyx; the reason for their survival elsewhere; further points about the Record Office collections; and some new points in the technique of writing and cutting.

Nomenclature.

Mention of this may be justified by the fact that a new volume of the *Oxford Dictionary* has appeared since I first wrote. The word *tally*, in spite of its various Latin spellings, is well established: and so is the word *contratalea* or *contre-taille*[4] as an alternative for *folium*, the foil; where *contra* has that sense of a checking which we find in *counter-roll* and *controller*. *Contratalea*, by the way, must be distinguished very carefully from the *tally contra*, with which we have to deal below. One or two other forms, such as *dica*, have also been dealt with,

[1] Thus we have illustration of the marks for £1,000 (pl. LXII, no. 9); £100 (pl. LXI, no. 8); £20 (*ibid.*, no. 11, and pl. LXII, nos. 3 and 7); £1 and half a pound (*ibid.*, nos. 4 and 6, and pl. LXI, nos. 1, 6, and 9, and LX, no. 4); shillings and pence (*ibid.*, no. 6; pl. LXI, nos. 3 and 4; pl. LXII, upper side of no. 7, &c.): the angles of the half-way cut and the right-hand end are well shown in pl. LXI, no. 11.

[2] Private tallies were also dealt with in my later note in *Proceedings*, xxvi, 36.

[3] *Ibid.*, xxv, 29.

[4] The parts remaining with the Chamberlains of the Receipt are described as *countretailles* and also as *escaches des tailles* in the ordinances of 19 Edward II (*Red Book*, p. 964).

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but it is worth noting here that the confusion due to the fact that tally nomenclature includes the words *eschasse*, *scaccia*, scatch, scotch, scratch, score, and stock is one which even our best authority has not been able materially to improve. *Scotch*, we are told, is of obscure origin but probably not to be identified with *scorch*; though, without desiring to enter the field of Shakespearian criticism, I would venture to put forward the claims for consideration, in connexion with the second of these two words, of the Latin *cortex* and its derivative the French *escorcher* (*écorcher*). *Scorch*, according to authority, in the sense of incising is an alteration of *score*, perhaps after *scratch*; *scratch* is synonymous with *scrat*; and *scrat* is an Early English word of difficult etymology. As to the use, in connexion with money, of the word *stock*, the *Dictionary* gives us a derivation from two senses of the word—that of *trunk* (which is undoubtedly the sense intended by the tally-maker, who used the word as a translation of *stipes*) and that of *base*. I still cling to the belief that *stocks*, in the sense of the Funds, may be derived from the tally; and some of the *Dictionary's* quotations, notably one of 1763, support this suggestion.

The Chapel of the Pyx.

As a location this presents no difficulty, since the Chamberlains of the Receipt were the proper custodians of tallies and the Treasury of the Receipt the proper place for them to be kept in. The reason for the survival of this particular collection (with two exceptions[1] all stocks) is more obscure. We might infer from Agarde's Compendium[2] that they represent a known collection, set aside long ago for some purpose of which no record now remains. On the other hand, the highly miscellaneous character of the fragments of documents[3] which came to us with them seems to suggest a purely fortuitous sweeping together of accidental remainders. The truth perhaps lies midway between these two suppositions.

Exchequer Tallies in Private Custody.

The Birmingham Free Library possesses no less than thirty, of which nine show Jewish script;[4] there is a good specimen at Manchester,[5] a tally of the

[1] See below.

[2] Published in Palgrave's *Antient Kalendars*, vol. ii : see particularly pages 311 *et seq.* The work was compiled in 1610.

[3] Two sets of these have furnished respectively material for an article on the *First Parliament of Edward I* (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xxv, p. 231) and illustrations for a book on *Palaeography and the Study of Court Hand* (Cambridge, 1915); and there are many others.

[4] Among the Stone MSS., I am indebted to a former student, Mr. Leonard Chubb, of the Birmingham Library, for calling my attention to these tallies.

[5] See Professor Willard's note in the *Bulletin of John Rylands Library*, vol. vii, no. 2, to be mentioned again below. I showed a tally of the elder John d'Abernon in my first paper.

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younger John d'Abernon; another is in the Medieval department of the British Museum; one was brought to me only recently from a private collection in Wales;[1] and I know of two (purchased, I believe, at a London dealer's) in the possession of a Fellow of this Society. There can be little doubt that before the tallies were transferred to the Record Office, and before the Chapel was thrown open to the public, both were not infrequently exposed to visitors and that a certain amount of straying occurred; and we may be thankful that the collection remained as complete as it did. At any rate, no medieval Exchequer Tallies have come to light in private hands which were not of one of the dates represented in the Record Office series. On the other hand, we know that on occasion the medieval Exchequer was put out by accountants who had paid their debts and received their tallies, but who would not be troubled to come up and get their accounts acquitted[2] (which meant, incidentally, that the stocks were not returned to be tied up with the foils at Westminster); and it is therefore not absolutely impossible that a tally might have remained, generation after generation, in the private muniments of a family, to reappear as an antiquity in our own day. One other private collection—that of the Bank of England—is dealt with below; and another was referred to in my first paper.[3]

The Record Office Collection.

This has been re-examined in some detail for the purposes of the present paper. It is now divided so as to preserve separately Tallies of the three periods; Tallies having added notes; Jewish Tallies (subdivided according to their several subjects); and Jewish Tallies with Hebrew script upon them. In each of these six classes there has been set aside also a tray of good specimens, and there are further special divisions containing tallies relating to a single county (Surrey), tallies *contra*, and curiosities of various kinds: these special divisions and specimen trays containing all the tallies illustrated here and practically all those reproduced in previous articles.[4] The arrangement, with the numbers in each division, is shown in Appendix I: the total, including the larger fragments, is 1300.[5] Appendix I contains also details of the arrange-

[1] This has since been exhibited to the Society.

[2] We know that about 25 Henry III (e.g.) the Exchequer was finding it necessary to distrain accountants to come up for audit: cp. notes on L. T. R. Memoranda Rolls 13 (mm. 14, 15, and 16) and 14 (m. 14 *d*).

[3] The early 18th-century tallies at Martin's Bank.

[4] *Archaeologia*, lxii; *Proceedings*, xxv; Jewish Hist. Soc., *Transactions*, ix; and *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, xxiii: one plate from the last-named is also reproduced in the Surrey Record Society's *Pipe Roll* volume.

[5] I am indebted for some assistance in sortation to a small class of students, especially Miss D. M. Broome, Miss H. M. Chew, Miss M. H. Mills, and Miss C. A. Musgrave.

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ment of a number of late Exchequer Tally stocks derived from other sources, to which we shall refer again below.

An Exchequer Tally Foil.

The chief result of the re-examination has been to produce one complete foil (pl. LXI, no. 1), the first of medieval date I have seen.[1] This is valuable as confirming my reconstruction, based on a badly split stock (pl. LXII, no. 2), of the way in which the writing was done; and because it shows (an important matter, as will be seen when we come to the Private Tally) that at the Exchequer the foil had the same inscription as the stock, in the reverse position as regards the notches: this is clear, though we have not, unfortunately, been able to find the corresponding stock. The conclusions drawn from it are also confirmed by the fragments of fourteenth-century and Jacobean foils,[1] discovered elsewhere in the Record Office since this paper was read, which will be described later.

Date of our Collection of Exchequer Tallies.

Another result of re-examination has been to reveal some further[2] tallies which, to judge by their writing, are of an earlier date than the bulk of the collection: five are illustrated here (pl. LX, nos. 1–5), two of them showing slight variation from the normal form of wording (nos. 4 and 5). It may be convenient to add here that the collection as a whole dates from the reigns of Henry III and Edward I; the two later of the three main classes dating apparently from a period of Exchequer reform (about 1280 to 1295).

The Technique of Tally-Cutting at the Exchequer.

Our knowledge has been further increased during the re-examination by discovery of tallies bearing the mark for a halfpenny. We knew before that this—a punched hole—existed in the nineteenth century, but it is not mentioned in the *Dialogus* and no medieval evidence for it had been discovered. Curiously enough, one of the tallies shown[3] in my first article had this mark, but it escaped notice at the time and the printer successfully banished it from the picture; the hole in this case is round, but in a number of others the tool has not been held quite straight or was of a different shape, and the mark has come out as a semi-circle (pl. LX, nos. 6–9). No attempt was made to split through it (the split in no. 9 is clearly accidental) and presumably it was repeated on the foil. That it

[1] Now in E. 402/3 A, first tray.

[2] One was reproduced in *Proceedings*, XXV, where it was conjecturally assigned to the reign of Richard I or John.

[3] No. 23 in the article in *Archaeologia*. The accuracy of the reading of the amount has been established by tracking it on to the *Receipt Roll* in each case.

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must have been not infrequently in use is shown by the fact that the Receipt was prepared even, in case of need, to issue a tally for a halfpenny and no more;[1] and we may note in one of our examples (pl. LX, no. 8) the precision which places the greater amount (pennies) on the lower edge of the stock and the halfpenny by itself on the upper.

A further point to be noticed is that the pound notch came gradually to be made with two cuts of unequal length, presumably to distinguish it from the shilling (contrast, in pl. LXI, nos. 1 and 6 with no. 9). The tendency may be seen in practically all the medieval Exchequer Tallies except some of our earlier examples; but it was not till later that the longer of the two strokes became exaggerated.[2] There is no sign in the medieval tallies of the enlargement of the shilling notch which is another late feature.

The Memoranda Tally.

With another point in tally-making which was left doubtful before I have not been so successful: I am still unable to explain the passage in the *Dialogus* regarding the Memoranda Tally. This was a device employed in connexion with the assaying of certain of the sums due on account of farms at the annual audit: as a tally was struck when the cash was paid in, and as the sum's value changed after 'blanching', some arrangement had to be made if the accountant's tally was to agree with the amount actually credited to him in the end: but the statement of the *Dialogus* does not make clear what this arrangement was. We have one possible suggestion to make in this connexion later, when dealing with added notes on Tallies. The matter is not very important, as actual 'blanching' died out at the end of the thirteenth century,[3] a conventional shilling in the pound for blanching-money replacing the assay in practice.

The Gold Mark.

Another small curiosity in the *Dialogus* description is a statement according to which[4] the gold mark is indicated by an ordinary one pound notch placed by itself in the middle of the upper edge of the tally—not, one would think, a very distinctive arrangement, as ordinary pound notches are often in very much the same position; while the gold penny (presumably the besant) is to have the ordinary penny notch,[5] but cut straight, not obliquely (but the inter-

[1] Cp. the case of Walter Hereman on Receipt Roll 123.

[2] See below the notes on a Jacobean and later Exchequer tallies: see also below, p. 316.

[3] We have not been able yet to fix any exact date: indeed the process seems to have been gradual.

[4] *Marcam autem auri in medio talee sicut libram vnam incidas. Dialogus*, Oxford edition, p. 74.

[5] *Aureum vero vnum non prorsus vt argenteum set ducto directe incidentis cultello per medium talee non obliquando sicut fit in argenteo. Ibid.*

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pretation of this passage is doubtful). As the ordinary penny notch is cut straight across the edge of the tally, this can only mean that the cut was normally inclined inwards; whereas my experience is that it is not inclined at all (cp. the penny cuts on no. 7 in pl. LXII), or only so slightly that differentiation between the normal and abnormal would be impossible. We have here illustrated what might[1] be a mark of gold (pl. LXII, no. 3)—the only one I have been able to find, in spite of a special search. The matter is not, perhaps, of great importance; for, although debts were frequently collected in gold, or gold purchased, in the reign of Henry III,[2] we hear little of it afterwards; and when it did occur it would probably, we may conjecture, be represented by its current price (which varied[3]) in ordinary pounds shillings and pence.

Notes added to Tallies in addition to the Ordinary Inscription.

I did not refer to these in my first paper, but have since identified them on about eighty examples—six or seven per cent. of the collection. They may occur, as will be noticed (pl. LXI, nos. 3 to 11), on any part of the tally, but the most usual place is the lower edge of the stock, where, in the later stage of tally development, the date is placed (pl. LXI, no. 3: also nos. 7 and 9). The most common is the statement *alloc[andum] vic[ecomiti]* etc. (pl. LXI, nos. 3 and 4), indicating that the payment made by some one else is one for which the sheriff or some other official had been charged and which must be allowed to him on the Pipe Roll: we have a number of cases of Essex tallies with the note *alloc' H. vic'*—one of the small indications that make me think the survival of these particular tallies was not due completely to chance, but that some of them had been set aside quite early for some special purpose or purposes.

Of the other notes illustrated here, one, *lib' blc'* (pl. LXI, no. 8), may possibly be important: a similar entry (*li. ars.*) is used on the early Receipt Rolls (see App. II); and while it undoubtedly means that the sum in question is in blanched money it is possible that it also represents the later stage of that Memoranda Tally of the *Dialogus* which puzzled us earlier. The note *de Itinere G. de Preston'* (pl. LXI,

[1] The possibility is slightly increased by the fact that the tally records a receipt from a Jew and that it was not uncommon for gold coins to be procured through the Jews; but the point cannot be verified as the Receipt Roll for the Jewish talliage in question is missing.

[2] See the printed *Close Rolls*, *s. v.* Edward of Westminster and others, who are frequently found handling marks' worth of obols of musc and besants (cp. pp. 232, 277, etc., under date 1244/5).

[3] Thus in 15 Henry III (Pipe Roll 75, Oxford membrane) the *Telarii* of Oxford pay 6*l.* for a gold mark and the *Cornesarii* 16*s.* for an ounce of gold. In 42 Henry III the *Pipe Roll* (Sussex, *Nova Oblata*) shows Geoffrey de Cruce owing 5 marks for a fine of half a mark of gold; while in 26 Henry III Edward of Westminster is paying at the rate of a shilling of silver for a penny of gold, silver itself having its face value (Issue Roll 1205).

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no. 6) is again one of a number; it serves to refer the transaction to its particular place on the Pipe Roll.

The remaining notes illustrated were probably all put on at the Receipt, being small memoranda touching the actual payment; one (pl. LXI, no. 11) indicates, perhaps, the identity of the hands which actually paid,[1] two (nos. 9 and 10) are anticipations of the later conventions which put county and date on the tally as a matter of rule.

Abnormals.

Finally, we have to show a few examples of what can only be called abnormals. One (pl. LXI, no. 2)[2] has lost all trace of writing and we have therefore no means of saying that the hopelessly irregular cutting is certainly what it appears to be—that of a private tally. Another (pl. LXII, no. 1) is a definite Exchequer tally and the only example I have seen among 1,300 of desertion of the rules for placing the notches: probably the clerk who cut in a moment of carelessness went counter to the clerk who wrote; but, even so, he made a poor business of it.

We may add, in concluding this section, that re-examination of the tallies has shown no indication of any varying of the rules of cutting between the three different periods; with the possible exception of the rule which, if there were no pennies, left the penny space bare. This rule certainly fell into abeyance later.[3] The foregoing remarks may suitably lead to one or two regarding the

Meaning and Use of Exchequer Tallies.

My excuse for inserting them must be that private tallies are still mistaken for Exchequer ones, in spite of the fact that genuine specimens of the latter are distinguished by six unmistakable marks which are never found all together, so far as our present knowledge goes, in any private tally;[4] that Exchequer tallies are still misread; and that they are still spoken of as though they might conceivably be something other than what they originally were and always remained—receipts for payments. It is the failure to recognize this last very simple fact which has led distinguished authorities to misinterpret them. It is true, of course, that a receipt may become (as the tally became) hardly distinguishable from a cheque payable to bearer: but that does not alter its

[1] We have other examples with the addition *per manus* before the name.

[2] Note the wrong angle of the central cut and the irregular and wrongly-placed notch.

[3] See below, p. 308.

[4] The marks of the genuine Exchequer tally are the angles of cutting at the centre and right-hand end, form and position of wording, and shape and position of notches: for which see my first paper.

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essential character nor the fact that the enrolment of the tally on the Receipt Roll means that the person concerned is credited with a payment at the Exchequer; and that is the key to the understanding of any transaction, however complicated,[1] in which the tally figures. I may add, by anticipation, that a similar key, firmly held, should be applied to the private tally.

The Receipt Roll.

Since we have mentioned this we may go on to dispose of one or two small points in connexion with it. Without, at present, going in detail into the history[2] of this form of Record we may recall that there are four chief stages in its development: first we have a primitive single-column roll arranged under counties; then multiple column rolls, also arranged under counties, first without, afterwards with, added 'sums'—we shall have to return to these later; then there comes the final form of a single-column roll arranged under dates, which persists from 21 Henry III till the end of the eighteenth century; the only important modification being the introduction of a series of notes on the right margin to show whether the transaction was or was not in reality an assignment—these at times assume the dimensions of an extra column. Throughout the character is or ought to be the same—that of a register of receipts, i.e. of tallies struck: one line on the roll should mean one tally.[3] Moreover, the stages of development in the Receipt Roll should undoubtedly reflect or be reflected by those similar stages in the growth of the tally form which we have already observed: the change which adds the name of the county to the inscription on the tally should indicate some change in the machinery of the Receipt Roll; and when we have settled the exact date (some time in the reign of Edward III) at which *pro* begins to appear on the right-hand margin of the Receipt Roll

[1] For examples of complication the student has only to look under the Wardrobe headings in the double-columned Issue Rolls of Edward II or at the *pro* column in the later Receipt Rolls. Cp., e. g., the Issue and Receipt Rolls published in facsimile in Johnson and Jenkinson, *Court Hand Illustrated*, pls. XXII A, XXXV, and XXXIX.

[2] See my paper in Jewish Historical Society *Transactions*, vol. viii, with the facsimile in vol. ix; and cp. Appendix V to my *Manual of Archive Administration*, to be cited again below, p. 309.

Since the above was written a number of very early fragments of Receipt Rolls have come to light among previously unsorted Miscellanea at the Public Record Office. As any new document of the reign of Henry II is of importance I have thought it worth while to summarize briefly in the present paper (see Appendix II) the state of our knowledge of the early Receipt Rolls as it now stands. I shall hope to deal with the new documents in more detail elsewhere: they do not upset my previous theories as to the development of this type of Record.

[3] Occasionally this is not so, and the fact is duly noted: see the *per duas tallias* notes in (e.g.) Receipt Roll 12 of 21 Henry III.

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we should be near to solving the question when *pro* and *sol* tallies were introduced. One or two minor points concerning the Receipt Roll, such as the elaborate checking, indicated by a large spot or comma in the left margin,[1] which is given at certain dates to the Treasurer's copy, are also connected undoubtedly with Tallies;[2] but the habit of adding in the roll the name of the Teller concerned does not seem to affect them.[3]

Dating.

Apropos of the Receipt Rolls a small question of some difficulty arises owing to the confusion between the calendar year, the ordinary regnal year, and the artificial Exchequer year of Edward I: the first Exchequer year of Edward I began technically at the last Michaelmas of Henry III, because Edward came to the throne in the middle of a Michaelmas term. Professor Willard[4] has connected the Manchester d'Abernon tally, which is dated Michaelmas 22 Edward I, with the Receipt Roll of 21/22 Edward I and the year 1293. This may be so, as the sum in question was paid in by d'Abernon both in that and the following Exchequer year; but other cases are in less doubt, and a number of them[5] makes it clear that tallies dated Michaelmas 22 Edward I refer to transactions of the year 22/23 Edward I and may be paid in as late as March 1295; and the same of course applies to other Michaelmas tallies of this reign. On the other hand, at least one example[6] has been noted of payment in advance.

It may be well here to insert a warning (since there has been some confusion) that the 'Exchequer year' is merely a modern phrase of convenience

[1] E. 401/376, a roll of 18 Edward III, is notable; fictitious loans (see below under 'Assignments') and an advance which had been returned are not marked with this marginal—a clear indication of the stage of procedure at which the checking took place. Compare the remarks above as to the correspondence of a single line in the Roll with a single tally levied, and see the note on later (17th cent.) procedure in *Proceedings*, xxvi.

[2] Cp. Receipt Roll 147 of 27/28 Edward I, where we are told that a certain entry *punctuabitur* although *ignoratur si tallia fit vel non*—clearly an exceptional step. The forms of 'punctuation' on Rolls 139 and 140 are interesting.

[3] See below, p. 307.

[4] *Bulletin of John Rylands Library*, vii, 2, p. 270.

[5] Robert de Glamorgan's tally, for example, for 27*l.* 8*s.* figured in *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, xxiii, is dated Michaelmas 22 Edward I, but was, as a matter of fact, paid in on the feast of St. Hilary 1295 (E. 401/132): cp. in the same plate another Glamorgan tally for 22*l.*, paid in on 19 March 1295 (same Receipt Roll). Similarly a Glamorgan tally for 11*s.* 8*d.*, dated Michaelmas 21 Edward I, is for an amount paid in Jan. 1294 (E. 401/127).

[6] See Receipt Roll 151 of 30/31 Edward I, where Ralph de Hengham pays four sums amounting to 666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, one of which (336*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) is stated to be *de termino Sancti Michaelis proximo futuro*. One would like to see the tally for this.

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invented to cover the facts as to the beginning and end of the yearly activities of the Exchequer; that body would itself describe the Michaelmas Term (for example) of 1273, 1274 as *de anno primo finiente, secundo incipiente*,[1] when heading its rolls.

The Dividenda Tally.[2]

We come now to a quite distinct variety of tally, our knowledge of which is derived from the Receipt Roll only; whose history we must accordingly investigate in further detail. This *dividenda* must be distinguished from a document also known by that name which was no more than an indenture beginning with the words *Hec est dividenda inter*.[3] . . . The *dividenda* tally seems to appear as early as 15 John:[4] certainly we have it in the Pipe Roll of 22 Henry III, where we are told that a long list of debts was paid in *per duas tallias*:[5] I first had my attention called to it as a mysterious entry *dd* in the right-hand margin of Receipt Rolls: the extension is given us by the Statute of Rhuddlan.[6]

The *dd* tally is indirectly one of the results of the legal reforms of Henry II. The Pipe Roll up to then had been a list of the debts and payments of people of some importance: but once the issue of Chancery writs to call cases into the King's Court became common, the Pipe Roll was threatened with submersion by a flood of small debts from small debtors for amercements, fines, and so forth; and while the officials of the upper Exchequer were finding the difficulty of adjusting their primitive machinery to changed conditions, those of the Receipt were being overwhelmed no less by the task of making out an ever-increasing quantity of tallies.[7]

The first attempt to meet this difficulty from the point of view of the audit was to devolve upon the Sheriff the task of collection. Locally the result was

[1] Mr. H. G. Richardson has, I understand, a paper on this subject in preparation for the *Transactions* of the Royal Historical Society.

[2] See note on p. 290 above.

[3] Examples will be found in E. 101/282/23.

[4] Receipt Roll 1564, m. 4*d*, *et omnes talee iste facte fuerunt de veteri dividenda*. The practice actually appears in the Pipe Rolls of 1206 and 1207, but without the word *dividenda*.

[5] Pipe Roll 82, Devon, *Nova Oblata*.

[6] Item volumus et prouidemus quod Camerarii non faciant de cetero vicecomitibus seu aliis quibuscumque balliuis tallias diuidendas nisi receptis prius ab eis particulis summas et occasiones debitorum et nomina ea soluencium continentibus (Close Roll 101, m. 7*d*): cp. L. T. R. Memoranda Roll 51, m. 9.

[7] For Yorkshire alone, and in respect of amercements from a single Eyre, the Sheriff received in 2 John, 972 tallies; and about 120 more were required for individual payments: see Pipe Roll 46.

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to set up ultimately an elaborate sheriff's office with full machinery of private Receipt Rolls[1] and private tallies:[2] centrally, we get, from the first beginning of a regular class of Receipt Rolls, the many-columned Receipt[3] Roll containing a certain number of groups of small receipts; for each of which groups the sheriff would receive one collective tally, which he had (morally) to split up among the debtors in the county, presumably by giving them private tallies of his own. The next development is the appearance of a single-column Receipt Roll[4] arranged under dates, in addition to the many-columned one: in these rolls appears the entry *per dd*.[5] which continues till the year 12 Edward I.[6] Now if we turn from these to the many-columned rolls[7] we find that these are changing their character and generally contain now only particulars of small debts. In other words, we have reached a system under which the single-column roll gives us all the receipts, the older form contributing the details of such of these as were *dividende*.[8] This older form is now known as *Particule* (*diuersorum*) *comitatuum* or *Rotulus de particulis*, while the single-column roll is simply *Recepta* or *Rotulus Recepte*.[9]

We have said that the Sheriff must have kept an elaborate system of records in his local office. In the next stage we find these, or fair copies of them, being utilized apparently to save the Exchequer the task of compilation. This came as a result of the Statute of Rhuddlan in 12 Edward I;[10] rather curiously, for though the desired result was attained—the submitting to the Exchequer by the sheriffs of proper lists of the debts they had collected—an

[1] For examples (which have survived to us as vouchers to accounts) see L. T. R. Misc. Rolls 5/68 to 70 and E. 101 (K. R. Accounts) 505/6.

[2] See the statute of Rhuddlan, quoted above.

[3] Cp. Receipt Roll 4, of 5 Henry III. In Receipt Roll 5 we have a marginal *De itinere H. de Burgo totales*, which shows how close was the connexion of these rolls with the needs of the Pipe Roll: on the other hand the double character of the Receipt Roll (showing receipts issued to small debtors through the Sheriff) is well illustrated by the form of (e. g.) E. 401/11 B, which may be contrasted with that of 3 B.

[4] e. g. Receipt Rolls 12, 13, 15, and 17 of the years 21 to 30 Henry III.

[5] Or *per diuid'*, *per diuidend'*, *per particulas*.

[6] Receipt Roll 103.

[7] Receipt Rolls 22, 53, 54, all *circa* 38 Henry III.

[8] Thus on Receipt Roll 76 we get, under Wiltshire, a list of small debts amounting to 46*l*. and 1 mark paid by Hildebrand de London: in Receipt Roll 75 we have simply *de Hyldebrando de London' vicecomite xlvj. li. j. marc'. per d'd'*. Cp. the case of Thomas de Normanville's payments of 600*l*. and 200*l*. in Receipt Roll 88 and the long list of debts to his name in Receipt Roll 87. Note that the Receipt Rolls were kept normally in triplicate and that only the Treasurer's roll can be relied on for the *dd* note. The *dividenda* habit spread also to the Jewish Receipt Rolls (e. g. no. 1579). Very good examples will be found in Receipt Rolls 96 and 97.

[9] See Appendix II.

[10] See passage quoted above.

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additional and unforeseen effect was the disappearance of the *dividende*;[1] and with this went also the abolition of the many-columned Receipt Roll.[2]

The new records, compiled in the Sheriff's offices, which now make a brief appearance, are called *Particule totales et parciales* (i. e. particulars of wholly and partially paid debts) and seventeen of them have survived in the class of K. R. Sheriffs' Accounts.[3] In these the *tallie dividende* are replaced by tallies *de debitis plurium*, of which we have here (pl. LXII, nos. 4–7) some illustrations, showing slight varieties of phrase: *debitis plurium* (in the abbreviation *deb' plur'*, as a rule) was the final form, and many of our tallies bear that inscription. In one roll[4] which has survived we see the substitution of these for the out-of-date *dividende*.

The period covered by the rolls is very short—probably 1284 to 1287,[5] during which time we find on the Receipt Rolls[6] marginal notes of *sine tallia* (generally struck through at a later stage) which seem to indicate the process of transition. What happened after 1287? Within a few years the Sheriff was keeping for himself a definite roll *de debitis plurium*, a type of which fragmentary remains have recently come to light: and this may probably be regarded as a final form. At the centre, the principle of the Sheriff's responsibility for small debts had been recognized in theory at the Exchequer of Audit[7] as well as that of Receipt. Gradually the result was felt in practice: in time the rule became universal of omitting the long lists of names from the Pipe Roll as they were omitted from the Receipt Roll and a regular system of Estreats—lists of debtors of the Crown extracted from the Records of the various Courts—took their place. But with this we are not concerned: we need only note that the Receipt Roll and the Tally now reached their final form—saving always the later *pro* and *sol* additions.

[1] I have found no more of them on the Receipt Roll after 16 Edward I.

[2] The last is one of 15 Edward I—E. 401/105, which is called *Rotulus parcialis diuersorum comitatuum de debitis plur'*; it has marginals, *totales* as well as *parciales*—an important point, since it foreshadows the later Sheriffs' accounts.

[3] Nos. 8/1 to 3 and 5; 19/2; 22/3 to 5; 29/7 and 8; 39/2 and 3; 41/2 and 3; 42/2; 46/1; and 47/8. In no. 8/2 we have one tally *de debitis plurium* for the *totales* (76 items) and one for the *parciales* (58).

[4] *Ibid.*, 47/8: also Receipt Roll 97, where *dd* entries are struck through and *de debitis diuersorum* and *habet talliam* added later; but see more particularly Exch. of Receipt Miscellanea 5/23, a roll of 19–21 Edward I, called *Rotulus diuidendarum*, in which we see numerous officials, sheriffs, or bailiffs, all of whom appear to have held office before the statute (1284), receive new tallies for old. Cp. the *Tallie Innovate* Roll (Receipt Roll 1756).

[5] At the outside 1280 to 1287.

[6] 104, 105, 107, 109, 110: cp. Exch. Acc. 238/9. But note that this inscription appears also on Receipt Rolls of an earlier date (nos. 14 and 15 of 26 and 27 Henry III).

[7] Cp. the Ordinances *de statu Scaccarii* on Patent Roll 54 Henry III, m. 22.

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Two Small New Points.

Two small new points remain to be considered—the entries *de eodem* and *de crementis talliarum* on the Receipt Rolls. The first appears in the earliest of the Receipt Rolls[1] and simply marks an attempt to save time by adding a subsequent payment to an entry already complete.[2] There is a fair presumption that the original tally would be taken back and altered. The second[3] is more complicated. It occurs quite frequently in the Receipt Rolls of Henry III and Edward I, being substituted, opposite the name of a county, for the normal entry of the name and payment of an accountant. We have generally *talliarum*, but sometimes *tallie*, the amount varying from a halfpenny[4] upwards. Occasionally the number of tallies altered is mentioned. The natural explanation would be that in some way this is connected with the payment of blanching money,[5] but the largeness of some of the amounts[6] makes this difficult, and besides the usage occurs in connexion with amounts which would not be subject to blanching.[7] It occurs sometimes so frequently[8] that we can hardly put it down to a correction by the Exchequer of its previous arithmetic. Perhaps the explanation given above of the phrase *de eodem* is correct for this also and we have here merely a slipshod method, due to pressure of business, which disappeared after the reforms following on the Statute of Rhuddlan. Thenceforward we can safely rely on a normal equation between the number of tallies struck and entries made on the Receipt Roll.[9]

Assignments.

We cannot here go deeply into the matter of assignments; indeed it is, as has been said, an Economist's subject. But as the matter was first put forward, at any rate with emphasis, in my previous papers, it may be permissible here to outline some of the problems; one or two of them, also, are largely matters of tally technique.

[1] Nos. 1 and 2; and in the Northampton *Donum* (E. 101/249/2).

[2] Thus in Receipt Roll 1 we have after an entry in ordinary form the addition *De eadem .iiij. s. In eadem tallia.*

[3] It has been noted in the forms *crementis*, *cremento*, *incrementis*, and *incremento*. A parallel, but more exact, method, where we are told the exact sum which has been added to a specific entry, will be found under Notts. and Derby in Receipt Roll 117 of 19 Edward I, at the end of the period here treated.

[4] Under Dorset in Receipt Roll 44 of 45 Henry III.

[5] Above, pp. 295, 296.

[6] e.g. 74*s.* 2*d.* under Suffolk, Receipt Roll 19.

[7] *De Judeis de Stamford*': Receipt Roll 12 of 21 Henry III.

[8] Fifteen times in Receipt Roll 12 of 21 Henry III.

[9] See above, p. 298. The entry has practically disappeared from the Receipt Roll by 13 Edward I.

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Development of the Practice.

Assignment, or anticipation of the Crown Revenue, was practised as early as the reign of Henry II, as I have pointed out in an article on a Flemish money-lender, William Cade, of that period. The King borrowed from Cade (and by the way a private tally may well have figured at this stage [1]) and repaid him by authorizing him to draw on Royal debtors in the Counties; the authority being probably always a writ to the debtor. Professor Willard, who furnished me with much illustration of this point on a previous occasion,[2] has lately worked out [3] the more fully developed system of the early fourteenth century in connexion with payments made by the Collectors of Taxation,[4] showing three stages. In the first of these a writ, whether under the Great or Privy Seal or out of the Exchequer, ordered the payment, directing the Collectors to take letters patent of receipt; in the second stage they were ordered to take letters patent on surrender of which the Exchequer would levy a tally for them; and in the third they were ordered to pay, taking in exchange a tally which had already been levied at the Exchequer and entered on the Receipt Roll under the same date as that of the writ sent to the Collectors and had also under that date been entered on the Issue Roll.

Note that in all these processes the writ or letter as well as the tally played a part.[5] The final stage would be reached when the writ dropped out. It is not perhaps inappropriate to recall here that we are working up a state of affairs when practically all payments will be made by assignment and the number of tallies so issued will be so large as to compel the conclusion that private firms must have undertaken the discounting of them; which (since we must suppose they exacted a consideration) gives us of course a starting-point for very wide deductions as to the state of the Public Credit.

Assignment and the Wardrobe.

I venture on another illustration. Professor Tout has suggested that the practice of the Wardrobe was responsible for the origin of assignments by

[1] *E. H. R.* xxviii, p. 209. Some of the original bonds of Cade's other debtors have survived, which I hope later to publish; but it appears from the roll that, instead of such parchment documents, he sometimes used tallies.

[2] *Proceedings*, xxv, p. 29.

[3] Surrey Record Society, xviii, *Surrey Taxation Returns*, Introduction, p. xv, and documents quoted.

[4] Another good example for working is furnished by K. R. Subsidies 161/6, an account of the collection of the 15th in Oxfordshire in 30 Edward I, which should be worked in conjunction with the Receipt Rolls.

[5] In 13 Edward II the amounts paid out by Collectors on a writ are respited because they have not yet received their tallies, the Treasurer being away (L. T. R. Memoranda Roll 90, m. 146).

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tally; and since one of the earliest beginnings of what is afterwards the *pro* entry in the Receipt Roll is the appearance of the word *Gard'* (for *Garderoba*) in that position he has attributed to the Wardrobe's activities the inauguration of the system. Examination of the documents,[1] however, during (e.g.) the last years of Edward I, will show that this *Gard'* must not be taken as marking an assignment of revenue to the Wardrobe: rather the Exchequer was here recognizing the *fait accompli*.

What happened was this. The Wardrobe armed with the power of buying necessaries one of its officials, who obtained what he required from X, say in January, giving a chit or private tally in exchange for the value—say twenty marks: X, if this was not a Wardrobe *billa* in the strict sense, presently exchanged it for one, and, armed with this *billa*, approached (say in March of the same year; but probably it was often much later) the Exchequer of Receipt.

As the Wardrobe had a general writ upon the Receipt for perhaps 10,000*l*., that body would debit twenty marks to it upon the Issue Roll, describing this as paid *per manus X*. It might choose to pay cash, in which case there would be no entry on the Receipt Roll: if, however, the method of assignment was to be used, as, of course, it might quite well be, twenty marks would be credited to some Accountant on the Receipt Roll, a note *Gard'* written in the margin of that Record, and the tally for the amount handed to X. Note that under this arrangement the date of the Receipt and Issue Roll entries would be after that of the Wardrobe *billa*; and long after that of the Wardrobe's general writ for 10,000*l*. This fact, of course, strengthens the case for the independence of the Wardrobe, which clearly had no hesitation in incurring the liability first and authorizing payment out of the money due to it at the Exchequer afterwards; but the peculiarities of the procedure have nothing directly to do with the starting or encouraging of the assignment method of paying; which was being used in plenty of cases[2] which had not the *Gard'* or any similar note against them in the Receipt Roll.

It is to be observed, by the way, that the political significance of the comparative positions of Wardrobe and Exchequer may very easily be exaggerated. In any time of war the department which deals with Munitions will inevitably escape from control by the department of pure Finance; and with equal inevitability, so soon as a suspension or end of hostilities comes about, the Financial Department will be found taking control again and trying retrospectively to straighten things out. We need not necessarily assume a violent antagonism between the two; but only that Supplies could not wait upon

[1] Cp., e. g., Receipt Roll 1660 and Issue Roll 112.

[2] See Issue Rolls 54, 57, and 59, and Receipt Rolls 94, 110, and 112 (16-18 Edward I) for some examples.

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Arithmetic, nor even upon the expert's evidence as to available resources. In point of fact the origins of Assignment go deeper than Wardrobe procedure: apart from the primary reason (the need to anticipate revenue), difficulties of coinage, of transport, and of the machinery of local Administration have probably far more to do with it.

Further Questions concerning Assignments.

To other matters concerning Assignment we must not devote more than a passing mention. The method, viewed the naturally simple and straightforward character of the Receipt Roll, led to endless confusion; to cancellation of entries when assignments had gone wrong, replacement of them by other entries, additions of notes of subsequent payment to rolls of an earlier date, and so forth: even when the clerks were careful it was a clumsy affair; and when they were not[1] the complications almost defy elucidation. The method of 'squaring' a muddle by means of a fictitious loan has been alluded to in an earlier paper: but to this has to be added the possibility of loans that were genuine[2] being mixed in with the fictitious; not to mention a puzzling series, recently noted, where loans were apparently made in the morning and paid off in the evening or on the next day;[3] loans, too, by small officials and other unexpected people. The solemn use of a clumsy machinery for purely book-keeping purposes is perhaps seen at its best when we get the assignment of a tally for the benefit of the person supposed to be making the payment:[4] there is humour also in the case where on the same date two different authorities[5] assign the same debt to different people.

Later Exchequer Tallies.

A few facts have recently come to hand concerning late tallies which shed light on the continuation of the medieval practice into modern times. In the

[1] Cp. Receipt Roll 606 (20 Richard II) with the Issue Roll for the following year: cp. also Receipt Roll 639 of 8 Henry IV, where cancelled assignments are not struck through, with Issue Roll 596.

[2] Examples in Receipt Roll 606 of 20 Richard II under date 22 August: cp. the case of Henry Beaufort's loan in the Receipt and Issue Rolls of 9 Henry V, an example for which I have to thank Mr. W. T. Waugh.

[3] Cp. Receipt Roll 725 (9 Henry VI) under date 12 October with Issue Roll 696 under date 13 October. I am in hopes that the problem may presently be worked out by Miss D. M. Broome, who first noted its occurrence in the reign of Edward III.

[4] Examples have been noted in (e.g.) Receipt Rolls 150 and 153 (*temp.* Edward II) and 747 (Henry VI): see also Receipt Roll 672 and Issue Roll 624, of 4 Henry V, under date May 11.

[5] In 4 Edward III, one by a letter of privy seal and one by tally: see *Calendar of Close Rolls*, p. 91, and cp. p. 366.

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first place two fragments of Exchequer tallies have been discovered among the unsorted Miscellanea of the Exchequer. One of them is too small for any certain inference to be possible; but is probably part of an Exchequer tally (apparently a foil) of the fourteenth century. The other is much more interesting, being part of a foil of the Easter term of 8 James I.[1] The Receipt Roll[2] gives us the complete description.

Wiltes'	De Richardo Goddard armigero nuper vicecomite ibidem —— Cliiij^{li} ij^{s} viij^{d} videlicet de exitibus juratorum lvij^{li} viij^{s} ij^{d} et de Remanentia compoti sui iiij^{xx} xvj^{li} xiiij^{s} vj^{d}	sol	Watson[3]

Enough of the tally remains to show (1) that there is no alteration in cutting conventions except that the £1 notch has already attained the wide modern shape: it had always tended to be made with one short and one long cut, though nothing is said of this in the *Dialogus*; (2) that the day of the month is given as well as the term; (3) that, though the small amounts are written in, the total received is still expressed in notches only; (4) that the word *sol* is apparently not written on the tally; (5) that in all ordinary respects it conforms to our known rules and our inference that the foil reproduced the wording of the stock.

The second point to be noticed is the interesting discovery at the Bank of England[4] of a number of late eighteenth-century tally stocks. Belonging to the period before 50,000*l.* was fixed as the maximum to be notched on any one tally, they attain to an enormous size, one being 8 ft. 6 in. long. They apparently remained at the Bank (i.e. were never returned to the Exchequer) because they record an uncompleted transaction, being receipts for part of the original Government Debt,[5] which, of course, has never been repaid!

A collection of rather dirty and illegible stocks of a very late date (some are actually of the year 1826) exists at the Public Record Office and was alluded to in my former papers. A re-examination of these[6] has not yielded much of importance. There are a number of fragments and over 160 complete stocks. The latter include twelve preserved with draft accounts touching Gibraltar, to

[1] This does something to fill a considerable gap. It has now been possible to examine in these papers Exchequer tallies of the early and late 13th century, the early 17th century, the early, middle, and late 18th, and the early 19th century.

[2] E. 401/1367, under date 8 July.

[3] The Teller's name; I do not think this ever appears on the tally: it is a modern device, the Tellers having become persons of importance, to put it in the roll.

[4] I am indebted to Mr. H. G. de Fraine for an opportunity to inspect these. He has published an account of them in *The Old Lady of Threadneedle Street*, vol. ii, no. 13.

[5] The familiar 11,015,100*l.* of the Weekly Bank Return.

[6] See list in Appendix I to this paper.

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which they relate, for the years 1749–1760; twenty-eight with accounts of tax collecting in Berkshire, being almost[1] the only ones marked with the name of a county and not *Magna Britannia*[2] (the modern equivalent of the medieval *Anglia* on tallies of a non-local character): a few relating to Civil List accounts of the earlier part of George III's reign and still dated by the regnal year (an old fashion which seems to have been superseded by the use of the month and year date about 1802);[3] two having an established connexion with proceedings[4] in the Land Revenue Department; and a quantity of early nineteenth-century tallies relating mostly to a few matters only, such as Excise, the sale of Exchequer Bills, the Civil List, Naval Works at Leith, and Conscience Money[5] paid on various accounts. In addition to the points noted, they serve to establish the fact that *sol'* and the date were written in after the notching but before the splitting; that the shilling notch had now grown to the size of the original pound and more, the pound (as we saw in the case of the Jacobean foil above) being distinguished only by the uneven length of its cuts; that a farthing might appear in accounts and not on the tallies;[6] that the word *sol'* was sometimes omitted on the late tally; that the space for pence was not left blank when no pennies were to be cut; and that in other respects the rules of cutting were singularly close to the original medieval.[7] A late tally for one penny is curious because of its size. This and other typical specimens may be seen in the Public Record Office Museum.[8] A tally with the amounts written in beside the notches is probably a freak.

The provenance of these late Exchequer Tallies is doubtful: in the case of a few there are, as has been seen, some indications; but it is possible that the collection as it stands has been made up from several smaller ones. Clearly they represent, like the earlier examples, exceptional cases: otherwise we should have had foils, or foils and stocks, not stocks only.

[1] One for Rutland is practically complete, and there are a few other fragments.

[2] One or two of the collection show a variant of this—*Brit*[*annia*] *sept*[*entrionalis*].

[3] At which date a similar change may be noted in the Receipt Books.

[4] Revenue of Leases on Crown property.

[5] Two of these, dated 3 April 1806, are remarkable for having an inscription which begins *De J. Alcock* and then drops into English, the details of conscience money paid to the late William Pitt (in one case from America!) being too much for the clerk's Latinity: cp. the Receipt Book (E. 401/2216), where they are marked with the word *Anglic'*. Another (of 1809) relating to surplus fees in the Land Revenue Office is also in English; but the use is rare. Another occasional abnormality is the use of an inscription beginning *De pecunia* . . .

[6] Two of the amounts in the Gibraltar Accounts contain a farthing but are reckoned to the next halfpenny on the tallies.

[7] See my first paper, where Chisholm's Appendix to the *Report on Public Income and Expenditure* (1869) is quoted. Chisholm, by the way, appears to have had a foil before him when he wrote.

[8] The Museum contains also a few specimens of medieval private tallies, to which it is hoped later to add some of the medieval Exchequer ones.

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Note.—Since the above was written my attention has been called to yet another Exchequer Treatise, written by William Lowndes in 1691 and now among the Lowndes papers at the Public Record Office.[1] It resembles others of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but throws some fresh light on the practice of his time with regard to Assignment Tallies.

Later History of the Receipt Rolls and Books.

It is impossible here to investigate this matter in any detail, but for completeness it may be worth while to mention that since my earlier papers were written it has been possible to work out to some extent[2] the highly complicated adventures of the Receipt Rolls (which we have had occasion to quote so freely) and Issue Rolls. The splitting up of their series, their re-union, the division of a triplicate series into an unintelligible duplicate one in modern times, and so forth, with some account of alterations in administration made in the time of the Tudors, are matters of real importance because they often affect interpretation.

The last Receipt Roll is for Michaelmas Term 22 George III; the Receipt Book, which had grown up beside it, went on to the end of the old Exchequer system in 1834. Tally-making, it will be recalled, ceased in 1826.[3]

Miscellanea.

Before leaving the Exchequer Tally, we must mention what may be called the Miscellanea of the subject—notes which have accrued from time to time from various sources and will presumably go on accruing: information as to the writing of tallies;[4] new examples of attempts at forging[5] them, and what befell the offenders; fresh illustration of what occurred when a tally was lost or

[1] T. 48/6. I have to thank Mr. R. D. Richards for the reference.

[2] See Appendix V to my *Manual of Archive Administration* (Clarendon Press, 1922).

[3] Recently I have discovered some examples of the 'indented cheque receipt' which was substituted for the tally in 1826: they will be found in E. 181/90.

[4] Notes like the following (from Receipt Roll 119, of Edward I) are probably not uncommon. *Hic incepit Radulphus de Manton' clericus domini Johannis de Theford' scribere tallias . . . quia dictus dominus fuit infirmus.* The *scriptor talliarum*, becoming a regular official, subsequently blossoms into the Auditor of the Receipt, an important person under the Tudors and later.

[5] e.g. L. T. R. Mem. Roll 109 (11 Edward III), m. 15: in 5/6 Edward I we have a description of how the tallies necessary for a sheriff's accounting could not be found in spite of much searching; how they were innovated, so as not to delay the account, and then *casualiter* found again in their proper place; and how the Barons of the Exchequer *huiusmodi mutacionem et translacionem talliarum suspectas habentes et sinistrum inde suspicantes* arrested William de Bradecote, one of the Chamberlains of the Receipt (Anc. Corr. 17/14 and K. R. Mem. Roll 5/6 Edward I, m. 3 *d*). I am indebted for one of these references, and for some others, to Mr. R. J. Whitwell.

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mislaid,[1] or having been mislaid was found again; cases of the emendation of tallies;[2] curious points of procedure[3] (including the treatment of the apposite clerks) when an accountant in the fifteenth century was getting his tallies through; and the like. All these are interesting, occasionally illuminating; and perhaps I may venture to say that I am always glad to hear of them, for their appearance is sporadic and cannot be predicted. In concluding this part of the subject we may comment on the lack of evidence of any parallel development of the tally outside this country. That is very curious, and, considering the importance of the tally in England, even confirmation of its unimportance elsewhere would be of value.

Private Tallies.

Introductory.

In my former paper I utilized very few private tallies and rather came to the conclusion that the subject was not one on which very many definite deductions could be attempted. At the time, the largest file of such tallies with which I was acquainted was one of fourteen, some of them fragmentary. After my subsequent supplementary notes and in time only for a brief postscript I heard of a file of twenty-seven; and had since then wondered from time to time, rather regretfully, whether some attempt at an analysis of them was not desirable—some effort to establish for ourselves what in the case of the Exchequer Tallies is given us by the *Dialogus*. The matter was clinched by the quite recent discovery, during the examination of hitherto unsorted Miscellanea at the Public Record Office, of three bags of the fourteenth century containing between them nearly 140 private tallies and fragments. As the matter stands at present I have been able thus to examine and classify nearly 250 separate

[1] Cp., e. g., *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 14 Edward I, p. 384; Ryley, *Placita*, 450; *Rot. Parl.* i, p. 317 *b*; Receipt Roll 905 (11 Edward IV), under date 28 October; *ibid.* 913, under date 2 March, containing a note of the elaborate precautions in case certain *pro* tallies, lost and innovated, should subsequently be found; and so forth. A writ ordering the arrangements for 'innovations' will be found on Receipt Roll 1756, m. 1 *d*; cp. *Cal. of Close Rolls*, 1286, p. 385. The *Red Book*, p. 973, quoting Memoranda Rolls, says the Chamberlains might make no charge for searching for lost tallies; cp. *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1278, p. 487: but see note 3 below.

[2] See *Tallie Innovate* Roll (Receipt Roll 1761), *temp.* Edward II.

[3] *In expensis ad portam Westm' pro clericis Camerarii Scaccarii scrutantibus in les foyles* . . . MSS. Lord DeLisle and Dudley, i, 211 (*c.* 1460)—a reference for which I have to thank Mr. C. L. Kingsford. Such 'expenses' are the subject of an Exchequer poem printed not long since by Professor Haskins and Mrs. George (*E. H. R.* xxxvi, p. 58). I hazard the suggestion that at Westminster Gate there was a place of entertainment, which would give point to a line in the poem (*ibid.* 65). Compare also Chancery Miscellanea 34/1/10.

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tallies and fragments,[1] dating from the reigns of Henry III, Edward I, Edward II, and Edward III, with three of Richard II's reign, one of Henry V's, and one or two of later date. Most are from the reign of Edward III, round about 1350, but a reasonable proportion (about eighty) are of the earlier dates and clearly some more definite views should be possible.

Source of our Collections.

Thirty-three different tallies or sets of tallies are described in Appendix II to this paper. Of these some are disconnected ones. In the case of those from the Record Office[2] it is possible to make some guess at their provenance and the official connexions which may have brought them there; but those from the British Museum[3] are more genuinely isolated.

More satisfactory specimens are the tallies which are preserved in contemporary bags of leather (pl. LXIII) or sacking[4] (pls. LXIV and LXV), having writing upon them, and are themselves as a rule on their original twisted parchment filing strings,[5] perhaps with a descriptive parchment label in addition (pls. LXIV and LXVI). These labels and writing on the sacks are nearly all, unfortunately, rather difficult to read; but they give us clues as to the nature of the tallies, the reason for their preservation, and their approximate dates. Thus the largest sack[6] (pl. LXIV) has a label which conveys to us that it has to do with the accounts of . . . de Manton', Keeper of the King's Wardrobe. This cannot be Richard de Manton', cofferer of the Wardrobe in the reign of Edward I, for so far as we know he never attained to the higher office; and we must accordingly relate it to William de Manton' who was keeper about 35 Edward III; a date which the tallies found in the bag, and presumably belonging to it, at least do nothing to contradict, while one of them actually supports it.[7] One of the parchment labels[8] (pl. LXVII) tells us the number, date, subject, and amounts of the tallies:

[1] See list in Appendix III. Since this paper was read the number has been swelled by the discovery of another file of sixteen private tally foils. As they do not introduce any modification of what I had already deduced from the others, I have added them under sub-numbers in the Appendix to save alteration of the numbers cited at numerous points in the text and foot-notes.

[2] Nos. 1 and 2, 3-6, 229 and 232.

[3] Nos. 170, 217, 226, 231.

[4] Nos. 29-31; 73-143 and probably 144-169; 171-201 and probably 202-216; 218-224. These are in two sacks with contemporary parchment labels attached and three leather bags, of which two are particularly fine specimens in white leather.

[5] Most of those enumerated in note 3 above; also nos. 32-45.

[6] Containing eight original files and a number of loose tallies and fragments: this is E. 101/678/2. Two large leather bags are related respectively to the accounts of Thomas de Chubham sheriff of [E]ssex in xxxij. and xxxiij. [Edward III] and to those of Nicholas Raunche, reeve of Estwod'.

[7] No. 92.

[8] Attached to nos. 32-45.

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In isto filacio sunt decem et quatuor tallie de vino capto ad expensas domini Edwardi Principis Wallie Annis regni regis Edwardi filii Regis Henrici xxj° xxij^do xxiij° xxiiij^to et xxv^to—Continentes viginti duas libras et duodecim denarios Item in isto filacio sunt nouem tallie continentes septem libras et sexdecim denarios debitos pro . . . de annis predictis.

Other labels[1] are similar though not so full of detail.

Thirdly, we have the tallies which are actually preserved with the accounts to which they belong,[2] giving us invaluable information. Among these[3] I have been so fortunate as to find some foils and stocks preserved together; which, as will be seen below, has made it possible to clear up several difficulties. The first collection is in Exchequer Accounts 261/21,[4] where we have Rolls and Counter-Rolls of Accounts, two sets of Tallies (stocks and foils) corresponding with the writings of the two accountants, and the original canvas sack (pl. LXV).

Lastly, it is to be observed that our Tallies come from widely separated districts. Even among the Tallies found in the Manton sack a number of different counties are represented as well as a number of different hands.

Use and Importance of the Private Tally.

In the first place we have to note the extreme popularity of the private tally. A curious example of the everyday nature of tally-cutting as a practice is furnished by an inquisition[5] of the thirteenth century which tells us, without thinking it necessary to give any elaborate explanation, that two men, Henry and Walter, were lifting a table in the hall of William de Furnivall at Wytstan, and Hugh de Chertevill, William's servant, was making tallies, holding his knife upright in his hand. Walter stumbled and fell on the knife—hence the inquisition; for us, the story is interesting for the suggestion it makes that an ordinary piece of stock work about the house would be the making, from time to time, of a bundle of tallies, perhaps even the splitting of them, ready for the use of the reeve or other official of the estate when he made his rounds. In this connexion we may note the number of tallies in our present collection (10 per cent.) which have the inscription roughly scratched on them,[6] with very often

[1] Attached to nos. 73–83; 171–187; 188–201; 218–224: the last-named is inscribed *Tallie reseruande super compotum Nicholai prepositi de Estwod' anno xxxiiij.*

[2] Nos. 7–12; 19–24; 25 and 26; 27 and 28; 46–72; 225; 230.

[3] Nos. 7–12 and 46–72: see also nos. 218–224.

[4] Nos. 46–72. Note that the fashion of cutting the tallies also differs, one set being abnormal, Exchequer fashion.

[5] See *Calendar of Miscellaneous Inquisitions*, i, no. 2169.

[6] Examples of scratching without ink are nos. 73–81; 83: see pl. LXVI.

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an ink inscription written in afterwards.[1] Another small indication is the spelling of the word tally in Latin[2]—clearly it is treated as if it were a vernacular word Latinized; and yet another is the fact (proved by the large square holes they were able to punch in them) that medieval folk must have used the wood green.

Nor are copious references to the use of tallies lacking. Money-lenders, we know, habitually used them from the earliest times[3]—the Jewish Plea Roll is full of references to them; and other passages[4] make it clear that the tally was a most ordinary accompaniment of all kinds of business. We note too that it was a general custom[5] at one time for the Crown, in making an order for the delivery of timber out of a Royal forest, to specify that a tally should be made between the forester and the recipient. The general use of tallies was, as we have seen, definitely recognized by the Central Administration, and on occasion regularized, in connexion with the collection of the King's revenue by subordinate officials; both by statute[6] and by special arrangement made from time to time.[7]

The use of private tallies was, in fact, fairly universal in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. When this popularity began and when it waned it is more difficult to say. We know that it has not entirely disappeared even in our own time; but on the other hand we may safely conjecture that it began to give way before the more finished form of a parchment or paper receipt such as we find mixed with wooden tallies serving the same object on some of our files[8] (pl. LXVII), at a date a good deal earlier than was the case at the Exchequer; where, whatever the officials might say[9] as to its necessity for the safety of the King's revenue, a good deal of the tally's popularity was based on the vested interests of the people who made it. We must not press unduly any inference from the lack of examples of the private tally after the fourteenth century, and the examples given above of its mixture with parchment receipts is perhaps a little

[1] The ink in some cases has run into the scratches.

[2] *Talea, tallea, talia, tallia, taill'*, all appear: even the Exchequer's spelling is uncertain.

[3] Cp. the case of William Cade, *temp.* Henry II, already quoted; and see the Jewish Plea Rolls, *passim*. A Jewish money-lender's tally is shown in the lower right-hand corner of pl. LXVII.

[4] e. g. Curia Regis Roll 26, m. 4, in an action over the sale of some salmon, *et inde producit sectam et talliam ostendit.*

[5] Numerous examples will be found in the Record Office volumes of *Close Rolls*, Henry III (e. g. 22 Henry III, p. 28, which mentions tally and counter-tally) and some later.

[6] Stat. of Westm. 3 Edw. I, c. 19, *q' les Viscontes facent tailles a tuz ceaux q' li pacront la dette le Rey*: we have dealt above with the statute of Rhuddlan (12 Edw. I).

[7] For documents touching inquiry as to Sheriff's Tallies which were out in the country see, e. g., K R. Miscellanea, 24/17/3 and K. R. Sheriff's Accounts, 3/2 and 3/3.

[8] Nos. 25 and 26: cp. nos. 188-201.

[9] Cf. the 17th cent. treatise quoted in *Proceedings*, XXV, p. 31.

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early; but we may conjecture a zenith of popularity in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries and imagine that about the year 1350 old-fashioned officials would be grumbling that in their day the scratch of a knife on a slip of hazel was good enough for any man, but nowadays every knave who sold a few oats for the king's service must have parchment and ink and wax to content him. It is at least noteworthy that only two tallies[1] with an English inscription have so far come to light.

The matter is really worth study, for we have here, if we can establish the existence of a widespread system, a piece of the scattered and obscure, but valuable, evidence[2] for the activities, capabilities and fashions of a very important person, the *laicus litteratus*, the man of education who was not a cleric. The existence of a large body of such men, equipped as we know they must have been with what we should now call a commercial education of quite considerable range and finish, has a significance for the student of popular education and all it implies, which gives a value to any fresh addition to our knowledge on the subject.

Stock and Foil, Debtor and Creditor.

With that preface we may turn to practical points concerning the private tally; which are many. The first which comes to mind is that of the connexion, if any, between the relation of stock and foil on the one hand and that of debtor and creditor in the transaction on the other. From this point of view it is to be noted that a large number of our private tallies are for goods (grain, forage, &c.) supplied for the King's needs; and since the persons who caused their preservation were Royal Officials, accounting at the Exchequer, we may take it that tallies represented commodities collected by those officials from the other persons named; whose claims for payment, for which these tallies were vouchers, the Exchequer, through the Officials, had met or was presently to meet. Now, in all but a few special cases it is the foil that is thus preserved[3] and we are therefore entitled to argue that frequently, at any rate in the thirteenth and four-

[1] Nos. 231, 232. One would not, of course, expect English on early tallies.

[2] Other sections of the evidence are furnished by examination of the methods of the men who compiled the enormous mass of private Court Rolls, Accounts and Deeds of which a relatively small part has been preserved to us; together with Public Records of such a demonstrably local provenance as Sheriffs' Accounts, Inquisitions, and Assessments for Taxation. The wide distribution of knowledge of the elaborate rules for compiling such documents has not been sufficiently appreciated.

[3] The reason for the additional preservation of the stocks in a few cases (Appendix III, nos. 7–12, 46–72) may be sought in the Accounts to which they belong: it naturally implies that they have been audited. Here we have only to take advantage of what is (it will be seen) a very lucky accident. We have altogether 34 stocks out of 248 examples.

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teenth centuries, private tallying followed the Exchequer rule by which the payer took the stock and the receiver the foil. The suggestion is supported by cases (e. g. no. 25) where we have both parties mentioned in the wording; and there is nothing anywhere to contradict it. It is to be remembered that in the case of the Exchequer Tallies the preservation of our collection of stocks is due to pure accident; but for the fire of 1834 we should have had a collection of matched foils and stocks (since the Exchequer exacted a return of the latter at Audit), *plus* some extra foils, these being the part which remained in the Exchequer's possession throughout.

Shape of the Private Tally.

The distinguishing marks of the Tally's shape are four. First is the fact that the complete tally is formed of two parts of uneven size by having a cut made half through its thickness (generally at a distance of a quarter or a third of its whole length from one end) and being split longitudinally from the other end down to this point: this characteristic is universal with English medieval Tallies both Exchequer and Private. Next we have the fashion of making the half-cut just described. Third is the fashion of trimming the end which is common to both stock and foil (the trimming of the butt end of the stock has not been considered; as a matter of fact it seems to know no rule). Finally there is the question of the position of the writing—the question which of the two edges through which the split goes will be the upper and which the lower if we hold the tally in a position for reading its inscription; or, to put it in another way, whether the writing will run towards or away from the half-cut. In the case of Exchequer Tallies all these are matters of immutable rule. What of the Private Tally?



In Appendix III the shape of the Tally has been marked as N. (Normal), A. (Abnormal), S.A. (slightly Abnormal), and A.E. (Abnormal: following Exchequer fashions), and it will be seen at once that there is a very great preponderance of Normals—190 out of 248, not to mention 16 fragments. This 'Normal' shape of the foil (as has been remarked, most of our specimens are foils) is here illustrated. The writing is on the face (the unsplit side): the half-cut across the tally forms the left end of the foil and is distinguished not by its angle to the edges of the face but by its angle to the horizontal plane, being sloped inwards from right to left: and the right-hand end is trimmed by a single

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cut making an acute angle with the upper edge of the foil. Further, it is to be observed that of the Abnormals twenty-one are only slight variations, due probably to carelessness or accident;[1] twenty-eight show evidence of Exchequer influence in one point or another;[2] and only nine[3] are thoroughly abnormal. These figures are striking.

Shape and Position of the Notches.

In the matter of *the shape of the notches* we have once more a marked normality: they are of the shapes and sizes (whatever they may have been meant to indicate) which were in use at the Exchequer. Thus we have the halfpenny mark,[4] the penny mark, and the shilling and pound notches (see pls. LXIII to LXVII); and a smaller, but still decisive, quantity of 20*l.* notches[5] (pl. LXV). We have also the usual halves, but in addition a habit of halving the shilling mark, which is not done at the Exchequer but which is so common[6] in private tallies as to become a normality: in one case[7] it is used definitely for 6*d.* in money. There is distinct trace of the larger 1*l.* notch,[8] an exaggeration of the original one long and one short cut (examples on pl. LXV); but that is at most an anticipation of later Exchequer practice.[9] Against these we have to set only six[10] cases where something like half a penny cut is used; and one absolute abnormal,[11] being a penny cut made obliquely across the tally edge.

In the matter of the *position of the notches* we have no such attention to rule. In certain cases where only one denomination (money) is involved and where there is an approximation to Exchequer form we get some trace of the Exchequer system of position, but for the most part the use of upper or lower edge and the position of the notches on it seems to have been at the will of the clerks: largely, this would result from the habit of putting more than one transaction on to a single tally[12] (note the uppermost file in pl. LXVI). We must

[1] Cp. no. 102 in the Appendix, a case where careless cutting has made what should have been the stock into the foil.

[2] There are some whose resemblance to Exchequer Tallies is only belied by their wording.

[3] The first total shown in the list was 232; to which must be added the sixteen extra tallies mentioned above (p. 311, note 1).

[4] Appendix III, nos. 27, 229, and 230.

[5] Nos. 46-57; 227.

[6] Nos. 28, 74, 76, 78, 81, 111, 112, 115, 118, 122, 123, 125, 132, 133, 137, 140, 141, 142, 143, 175, 189, 211, 212, 215, 216, 217.

[7] No. 229.

[8] Nos. 19-24; 46-72; 218-224.

[9] We have seen that it occurs in the Jacobean tally.

[10] Nos. 44, 112, 115, 125, 217, 229.

[11] No. 129.

[12] A remarkable example is no. 230, where two distinct sums of money are put on the same tally; but to put on two or more commodities is common.

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also note a tendency to reverse Exchequer practice by putting the smaller notches on the left of larger ones on the same edge.

As to the meaning of the notches we shall have more to say later: but may remark here that when money is indicated the usual Exchequer senses are given to the different notches; and that there is even clear evidence of their being used in the nearest possible sense when commodities are to be indicated, a shilling being twelve times the penny cut and so forth.[1] Needless to say, the possibility of notches being used for varying purposes at once introduces an element of extreme uncertainty.

Writing.

Here a glance at the Appendix will show that we have anything but a steady Normal: nor, indeed, would it be reasonable to expect it. The use of the face of the tally is regular enough, cases[2] where this is left blank and all writing put upon the edges being probably due to accident or carelessness. Nor is the commoner practice of continuing the inscription from the face on to the lower edge[3] very unreasonable: it is contrary to Exchequer practice, but then the Exchequer had always much the same thing to say and made the size of its tally accord. The use of the edge for a date or a place-name[4] or some special note[5] is quite natural: and granted the use of notches for more than one denomination, and sometimes for more than one on the same tally, it is logical to write on the edge for the purpose of distinguishing groups of notches,[6] for that of giving the price or the commodity[7] (whichever is not expressed in notches), or even for that of making it quite clear what the notches do mean[8] (see pl. LXV and the tally across the lower part of pl. LXVII: edge inscriptions may also be seen in pl. LXIV). The last-mentioned information may equally well be given on the face,[9] indeed it is merely a continuation of that part of the writing. Similarly the edge writing may actually repeat the information given on the face.[10]

[1] Appendix III, nos. 62-66. There is also clear evidence of the penny cut being habitually used for bushels and the shilling notch for quarters (nos. 121, 125, 217). Note however no. 228, where the pound notch is clearly used for twenty units but a score notch is used not for twenty times this but for 100 units.

[2] Nos. 113, 123.

[3] Nos. 1, 13, 14, 15, 23, 25, 27, 28, 96, 127, 226.

[4] No. 137.

[5] No. 2.

[6] Nos. 8; 11; 35-37; 44, 45; 92-94; 106, 107; 109-113; 118; 123; 141, 142; 228.

[7] Nos. 87, 88-94, 97, 119.

[8] Nos. 46-57 (money); 58-71 (minerals); 217 (grain).

[9] Nos. 135-139, etc.

[10] Nos. 98, 100, 103, 104.

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Wording.

In all this there is, it is true, a considerable falling off from the staid following of what appear to be well-known rules; but that is, in a way, the logical result of multiplying the meanings which may be expressed by the notches: the Exchequer is only better off because it had practically abolished payment in kind before the date when its tally forms grew fixed. But it is when we come to consider the actual wording that we get the widest differences. Our Table shows us seventeen distinct forms, without going into the variations produced by the presence or absence of edge writing: forms which vary from the barest statement of a place-name to an elaborate explanation of the circumstances and which may equally well be introduced by *pro*, *contra* or *de*. The situation is complicated by the fact that in a large number of cases[1] we have an initial scratched[2] wording which is generally different, sometimes[3] very much so, from the inked inscription subsequently added (see the uppermost tally in pl. LXIII); that marked differences exist between tallies on the same file[4] and even between some which appear to be in the same hand; and that later additions[5] to an original inked inscription are also not infrequent.

On the other hand we find that, of 17 forms, 14 are distributed between only 51 tallies, whereas out of a total of 183 tallies three forms appear in, respectively, 83, 31 and 18 cases. The first of these is the form *Contra* (so and so) *de* (such a thing); the second is the same, substituting *pro* for *de*; and the third is the simplest form—that which begins (and sometimes ends) with a name. Clearly we have a wide choice of wordings but a great preponderance in the popularity of *Contra*; and this is well distributed over the whole collection and the whole period covered: several examples may be seen in the plates.

With regard to *contra* I have to confess to an error in my first paper, where I assumed that it must mean *against* and consequently refer to the position of debtor and creditor. The discovery of three sets[6] of tallies which include both stock and foil has proved not only that, contrary to the Exchequer custom, inscriptions on the two parts of the tally are not, or need not be, the same, but also that it is possible for *contra* to be used with the names of both parties to the transaction,[7] implying a check on both rather than a debit on one. This gives

[1] Appendix III, nos. 140; 175, 176; 178; 180; 183; 190, 191; 198; 202; and eight fragments.
[2] Probably with the point of a knife.
[3] e. g. nos. 183, 198, 202.
[4] e. g. nos. 114–131.
[5] Nos. 171–174; 179; 185–187; 195; 229.
[6] Nos. 7–12; 46–72; 218–224.
[7] Nos. 46–72 afford particularly good instances: the difficulty of interpreting *contra* when we had only one part of the tally was increased by the fact that the phrase *de . . . ab eo recept'*, which frequently follows it, might mean receipts *by* him or receipts *from* him.

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us the further inference that in the large number of cases where we have a foil lettered *contra* (so and so) *de* (such a commodity) this is the receiver's counter-foil to an acknowledgement of goods received from the person 'against' whom it purports to be: which takes us a long way forward in the understanding of private tallies.

Dating.

It is remarkable how generally we have been able to date our tallies and how seldom this has been on information supplied directly by the tally itself. A large proportion give, it is true, some information, but comparatively few [1] of these go so far as to mention the King's name; and only seven [2] give the exact date: the rest of them are content with such phrases as *anno ix.* It is true that in practically all the remainder we can get a probable date either from the fact that dated and undated are filed together,[3] or that a file or sack has a label on it. But there is hardly any sign of a date, even in the most abbreviated form, making a regular part of the inscription; much less is any regular position on the tally assigned to it, as was done at the Exchequer; and, as we have seen, in a single file some tallies may have it while others do not. Clearly the tally-writer relied generally upon his memory, or upon the order or position in which he kept his tallies, to give them a date: clearly also he had little conception of a date as essential to authenticity.

This may lead us on to the question of

Interpretation.

It is clear from what we have said that the idea of the Private Tally as a thing to be read off by any one (in the way in which the Exchequer one can be read off) was by no means absolute, or even general. Private tallies, as we have them here, were very much things to be read in the light of a person's own knowledge or of accounts to which they might be attached or of a label attached to them.[4] The consequence is that though amounts, as we have seen, bear a pretty regular relation to the size of notches, *once we know what denomination is being used*, there are no cases where we can be sure of this from the

[1] Appendix III, nos. 1; 19; 20; 22, 23; 25 28; 89; 92; 96; 119; 131; 213; 217; 223; 226; 229, 230; 232. The habit of mentioning the King by his initial only, without any distinction, is of course not infrequent in other locally made documents.

[2] Nos. 1; 92; 213; 226; 229, 230; 232.

[3] Original files are nos. 32-45; 73-83; 84-88; 89-93; 94-101; 102-113; 114-131; 132-139; 171-187; 188-201, 218-224.

[4] Such as that which tells that nos. 73-83 should amount to so much; giving us the inference that the notches represent shillings and pence.

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notches alone: nobody troubled to devise a system which would give us a difference between loads of hay and quarters of corn—probably nobody could. There is a fair number of cases (much larger than is usually assumed) where the meaning of the notches is made clear by what is written on the tally; either because the actual amount is given,[1] or because the wording makes it clear in other ways[2] (e.g. by using a phrase like *de denariis*); or because we act on inference, as for example when, price and commodity being both named, we find that the notches make an impossibly large number of bushels or an impossibly small number of pence. But there is also a considerable remainder where, in the absence of external evidence from accounts or a label, it is really impossible to settle the denomination of the notches with certainty—good examples are those which come from the sack of the sheriff of Essex.[3] In fact while it is true, as we have seen, that the tally-maker who puts more than one commodity on a tally will generally feel it wise to distinguish, by writing on the edge, the little pigs from the corn; while, also, there is a reasonable probability that by a shilling notch and a penny cut he will usually mean to indicate 13, it is only on rare occasions that a meticulous official will think it necessary to make it clear to the outside world that he means thirteen pence and not thirteen piglets.[4]

Conclusion.

It would be unreasonable to expect private tallies to be governed by rules as fixed as the Exchequer ones; because the Exchequer (1) was dealing always with the same type of transaction in the same denomination (money) and (2) was a body of formalists: the *antiqua consuetudo* was, we may guess, a fetish already at Westminster in the thirteenth century. Still we can get from Exchequer practice a standard of comparison.

Let us summarize. The medieval Exchequer has absolute rules governing (1) the size of the tally; (2) the use of stock and foil and their relative size; (3) the way in which the tally was cut half through and (4) at the right end; (5) the size and (6) the position of the notches; (7) the way it was written on the face and (8) on the edge; (9) the form of wording employed, both on face and edge; and (10) the way in which it was split. The Private Tally-maker (allowing for abnormals)

[1] Appendix III, nos. 1; 30; 38; 46-57; 218–227 (money): 25; 26; 117; 121; 125; 135–138; 141; 217 (grain): 60–71 (minerals): 228 (sheep).

[2] Nos. 3–6; 16–24; 27, 28.

[3] Nos. 188-216, two files relating to hay and litter: cp. the preceding file (nos. 171–187) relating to oats.

[4] No. 101.

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(*a*) Agrees with the Exchequer in having rules for (1), (2) and (10) and, what is more, follows the same rules.

(*b*) Agrees with the Exchequer in having rules for (3), (4), (5) and to some extent (7), but has other, though similar, rules.

(*c*) Differs widely from the Exchequer in the matter of (6), (8) and (9) though he shows some tendency towards certain specially popular conventions.

A few inferences seem possible. First, it would appear that some considerable time before the *Dialogus* was written tally-making was a widespread custom in England and had reached a stage of considerable regularity in the matter of the size of the tally, the habit of making two parts of unequal length, and possibly the size of the notches. Secondly, we may infer that later (but again some time before the *Dialogus*; which speaks of an annual tally-season having existed before the *Scaccarium* system was invented) there had arisen a custom of deliberately differentiating the King's tallies, by certain peculiarities of cutting, from those made by the rest of the world: it was probably about this time that, contributions in kind becoming more and more commuted for money payments, it became possible for the Royal Officials to standardize the notches, and in particular the position of them, upon their tallies; giving a special significance to the upper and lower edges.

Finally, we may conjecture that the writing [1] on the tally (and its standardization at the Exchequer) was developed quite independently; and indeed it seems quite clear that in this matter the Exchequer, which had settled some of its forms early in the thirteenth century and practically all before the fourteenth, was far ahead of the private-tally maker, who is still using very primitive forms in many even of the fourteenth-century tallies in our collection. We can understand that the Exchequer official might adopt the opening preposition *De* to distinguish his tallies, just as he had adopted special angles of cutting at the ends: the curious thing is, not that other tally-makers did not use this form, but that they used so many others.

At the same time it is also an interesting comment, either upon the exclusiveness of the Exchequer or upon the strength of local tradition and training, that persons so closely connected with the Exchequer as most of those who have left us our private tallies, should have been so little influenced by its chosen forms.

[1] The *Dialogus* tells us that there was writing on the Exchequer Tally and (inferentially) that it was placed in the way familiar to us later; but says nothing of any standard form of wording.

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The Tallies *Contra Edwardum de Westmonasterio.*

I have left to the end consideration of the thirteen[1] tallies belonging to this section, two of which are shown in pl. LXII (nos. 8 and 9), because as a problem they seem to be between the Exchequer Tallies and the private ones. What is to be said of the tallies which are Exchequer in form, were found among the Exchequer specimens, and yet begin with the word *contra*? Seven of these tallies are for large amounts (they run into thousands): one of them (pl. LXII, no. 9) gives us a clue as to date, being annotated *post Pasch' anno xxxvj^to^*: and they are all stocks, i.e. (if the usual rule was observed[2]) belong to the person who had paid.

In the first place we may dismiss the idea that these are ordinary Exchequer Tallies. The Exchequer rule that a tally begins with the word *De* is by now too firmly established for us to discredit; but by way of extra precaution the Receipt Rolls covering the probable dates have been searched and revealed practically no payments made by Edward of Westminster, certainly none of these sums.

We turn to the word *contra* for light. A good deal has been already said about this in its purely private capacity. A certain number of references have been collected where it is used in connexion with Exchequer business, but here we only find either that the use is complicated by memories of local custom[3] or that a tally which we know to have been *De* so and so for money which he had paid in is spoken of quite literally as being *contra* the Exchequer. Can this be the clue? Can it be that Edward was being paid money, that we should look for these sums not on the Receipt but the Issue Rolls?

Here again the result of a good deal of search is disappointing: we have not found our sums on the Issue or Liberate Rolls. On the other hand we have found an extremely large number of other issues to Edward.[4] For years he is unfailing in his appearance on Issue Rolls and elsewhere[5] as a recipient of Royal moneys from the Treasury. The line of inquiry shifts accordingly to his biography.[6]

No attempt can be made here to give even a regular sketch of this owing to the fullness of the material. He was by profession a melter and the son of

[1] Four are fragments.

[2] See above, p. 314.

[3] e.g. in the curious document K.R. Subsidies, 161/6, where Exchequer Tallies which were perfectly normal (they have been duly followed on to the Receipt Roll) are spoken of as being *contra* the sheriff who had paid the money in.

[4] In one roll, that of 24 Henry III (E. 403/1204) we find well over twenty, ranging from sums of shillings up to scores of pounds.

[5] See the printed volumes of Close, Liberate, and Patent Rolls from the year 1240.

[6] He does not appear in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

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a goldsmith, Odo, and appears acting in his professional capacity at the Exchequer in 1240[1]; and a first conjecture (discredited because the sums seemed too big) was that our tallies might refer to coin handed to him for melting. But he (and Odo too) had many other connexions with the Crown service. The two appear first together in 24 Henry III when we find them in charge of the King's wine and King's houses. But Edward is soon on his own feet. From a multitude of small jobs[2]—the provision of robes and vestments and gold cups and wood and candles and houses and obols of musc—we find him progressing to work more important and nearer to the King's heart; he buys land *ad opus Conversorum* in 1243[3]; he feeds 4,000 poor on an anniversary[4]: the forward step to borrowing the necessary money to feed 10,000 poor[5] is easy. Soon after[6] he has the difficult task of settling the King's debts *ne in aduentu nostro London' super hoc possimus inquietari.* He is appointed with others to tallage the City of London in 1252[7] and has many other financial offices entrusted to him such as that of talking[8] to the foreign money-lenders and persuading them to a gift, or at any rate a loan, in 1245. He is continually in association, official or unofficial, with the treasurer and continually figuring in Henry III's numerous shifts to get money and gorgeous plans for disbursing it.

But one employment in particular may engage our attention; both in general as antiquaries and for the purposes of the present paper. Edward was intimately associated with the King's work at Westminster Abbey, as apparently his father had been before him.[9] Large grants were made to him in this connexion about the year 1246[10] and he was appointed, with the Archdeacon, treasurer of the New Exchequer which the King had established for this purpose at Westminster.[11]

These references are merely, it must be repeated, a fraction of what might be brought forward concerning the mixture of craftsman, financial agent, and clerk of the works that was Edward son of Odo; but perhaps they are enough.

[1] Printed *Close Rolls*, p. 169: he may have succeeded John le Fundur, who was dead in 1235 (*ibid.*, 114).

[2] See e.g. *Close Rolls* for 1240 and 1241, pp. 179, 253, 254, 255, 258, 266, 306, 308, 309, 310, 312.

[3] *Ibid.*, 22.

[4] *Ibid.*, 140.

[5] *Ibid.*, 1243, p. 145.

[6] *Ibid.*, 1245, p. 309.

[7] *Patent Rolls*, p. 142.

[8] *alloquamini et modis quibus poteritis inducatis diligenter* . . . but the letter is headed *De pecunia* . . . *extorquenda* in the roll (*Close Rolls*, 1245, p. 314). The charm of language of Henry III's letters has not yet been properly appreciated.

[9] Issue Rolls, 1201–1203.

[10] Patent Rolls, 475, 478.

[11] *Ibid.*: cp. Brayley and Britton, *History of the Ancient Palace* . . ., p. 53.

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I read them in connexion with the passage in the *Dialogus*[1] which tells us how, at an earlier period, the officials of the Exchequer dealt with cases where money had to be paid out without a writ. The Chamberlains (the officials who were responsible for the ordinary tallies) made tallies for these issues; and I suggest that our thirteen *contra* tallies are parallel to these—evidences of sums issued to Edward of Westminster for which he may have been responsible to the King, but for which he certainly rendered no account at the Exchequer, and for which he probably had no writ.

Edward was living in 1264 and had apparently died before 13th March, 1265.[2] Some day I hope it may be possible to work out fully the career of this remarkable man: it should illustrate admirably the very curious qualities of his still more remarkable master; and perhaps throw light on artistic development in England in the thirteenth century.

[1] Oxford edition, p. 88. *Item sunt ad Scaccarium liberationes constitute que statutis terminis sine breui regis soluuntur. Qualis est liberatio naucleri. . . . De qua et consimilibus talee fiunt a camerariis quia de hiis breuia non habent.* Cp. the Introduction to *Calendar of Liberate Rolls*, p. viii.

[2] *Patent Rolls*, pp. 245, 413. I have been indebted to Miss I. M. Cooper, Miss C. A. Musgrave, and Miss D. L. Powell for some notes on Edward of Westminster.

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APPENDIX I

SUMMARY LIST OF EXCHEQUER TALLIES PRESERVED AT THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

Reference.	Description.	Number of Tallies.
	EARLY TALLIES.[1]	
E. 402/1. Tray 1	Tally stocks: no County or Date given. *Specimens.*	16
	Tally stocks: County, but no Date given. *Specimens.*	16
2	Tally stocks: no County or Date given.	180
3	" "	165
4	Tally stocks: County, but no Date given.	108
E. 402/2. Tray 1	Tally stocks: both County and Date given. *Specimens.*	20
2	Tally stocks: both County and Date given.	85
3	Tally stocks and fragments: with added notes. *Specimens.*	20
4	Tally stocks: with added notes (*Alloc'*).	35
	Tally stocks: with added notes (various).	25
E. 402/3 A. Tray 1	Tally stocks and fragments and two foils:[2] being curiosities of shape, cutting, state of preservation, and date.	22
2	Tally stocks and fragments: relating to one County (Surrey).	32
3	Tally stocks and fragments: *contra Edwardum de Westmonasterio.*	13
4	Tally stocks and fragments: Jewish. *Specimens* (various).	13
	Tally stocks and fragments: Jewish. *Specimens* (with Hebrew script).	15
5	Tally stocks: Jewish (tax of third part of movables).[3]	12
	Tally stocks: Jewish (tallage of 8,000 marks).	2
	Tally stocks: Jewish (tallage of 6,000 marks).	1
	Tally stocks: Jewish (Judaism).[4]	5
	Tally stocks: Jewish (tallage of 20,000 marks).[5]	58
	Tally stocks and fragments: Jewish (with Hebrew script).	27
E. 402/3 B. Tray 1	Fragments: Jewish.	125
Trays 2 and 3	Fragments: various (and a quantity of small pieces).	305
	MODERN TALLIES	
E. 402/3 C.	Account of George Burgess, Receiver General and Cashier at Gibraltar (1749–1754); with stocks of Exchequer Tallies complete.	9
	Abstract of Account of Edward Treadcroft in the same office (1758–176c); with stocks of Exchequer Tallies.	3
	Draft Accounts of J. Deane, Receiver General in Berkshire, in respect of Land and Assessed Taxation (1780–1788); with stocks of Exchequer Tallies and fragments.	29

[1] Of the reigns of Henry III and Edward I; with a few earlier and one later (in E. 402/3 A. Tray 1).
[2] One fragment of the reign of James I and one medieval foil.
[3] Twenty-five of the fragments also belong to this class.
[4] Five of the fragments also belong to this class.
[5] Fifty-eight of the fragments also belong to this class.

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Reference.	Description.	Number of Tallies.
	MODERN TALLIES (continued).	
	Specimens of Late Exchequer Tally stocks (now exhibited, with one of the preceding set, in the Public Record Office Museum): including examples of all kinds of cutting, a Tally with the inscription in English, and Tallies relating to conscience money from America, the payment of the Prince Regent's debts, and other curiosities.	25
E. 402/3 D.	Tally stocks, 1784–1790; mostly relating to funds from suppressed offices devoted to the Civil List.	12
	Tally stocks relating to renewal of Leases on Crown Property (1809).	2
	Tally stocks (1802–1826), various.	36
E. 402/3 E.	Tally stocks (1802–1826), various.	60
E. 402/3 F. and G.	Fragments of Tally stocks (George III–1826), various.	110

APPENDIX II

LIST OF RECEIPT ROLLS OF THE EXCHEQUER, HENRY II TO HENRY III

to show alterations in the form of this Record and recent additions of new materials to the Class.

The Sheriff's Receipt Rolls (mentioned above, p. 301) have not been included here, not being documents of Exchequer origin.

Note particularly the changes, both in form and title, about 21 Henry III. The many-columned rolls apparently drop their Pipe Roll fashion of indexing about this time, and the entries marked *li ars.* disappear from them. These and *dividenda* entries appear practically throughout the single-column rolls.

Note that in the many-columned rolls each membrane usually consists of two smaller ones sewn together, Pipe Roll fashion, the large membranes thus made being sewn together at the head. In the single-column rolls the membranes are sewn head to tail, Chancery fashion.

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Reference. Single Col.	Reference. Many Col.	Date.	Title or Description.	Membranes, etc.
E. 401/1		7 Hen. II	Apparently a Receipt Roll though its form is nearer to that of the Pipe Roll than any other.	1 membr. fragm. New.
L.T.R. Misc. Rolls 1/1 and 1/2		31 Hen. II	Receipts arranged under Counties.	2 rolls.[1]
E. 401/2		32 Hen. II	do.	1 membr. fragm. New.
		c. 34 Hen. II	do.	1 membr. fragm. New.
		7 Ric. I	do.	small roll.
		c. 8–10 Ric. I	do.	1 membr. fragm. New.
E. 101/249/2		5 Ric. I	Jewish Receipt Roll (the Northampton Donum) arranged under Counties.	1 small roll.[2]
E. 401/3 A.		*c.* 6–9 John	Receipts arranged under Counties.	1 membr. fragm. New.
		8/9 John, East.	do.: with writs of *Liberate* on dorse.	1 membr. fragm. New.
		c. 8–10 John	do.: on dorse *liberaciones seruientum de Scaccario.*	1 small fragm. New.
		14 John, Hil.	Receipts of Ralph de Nevill' from the Bailiffs of Hugh de Nevill'.[3]	1 membr.
	E. 401/1564		*Rotulus Judeorum.* Receipts arranged under Counties.[4]	1 membr.[5]
	E. 401/3 B.	4 Hen. III, East.	*Rotulus Anni Quarti* and *Rotulus Judeorum.* Under Counties.[4] Contains also *Liberate.*	4 membr.[6]
	E. 401/4	5 Hen. III, East.	*Rotulus Anni Quinti*, etc. Under Counties.[4] Contains also Jewish Receipts and *Liberate.*	5 membr.[6]
	E. 401/5	6 Hen. III, East.	Titles as before. Under Counties.[4] Contains also Jewish Receipts and *Liberate.*	5 membr.[6]
	E. 401/6	7 Hen. III, East.	[No titles.] Under Counties.[4] Contains also Jewish Receipts and *Liberate.*	6 membr.[6]
	E. 401/7	9 Hen. III, Mich.	*Rotulus de Termino Sancti Michaelis.* Under Counties.[4] Contains also Jewish Receipts and *Liberate.*	7 membr.[6]
	E. 401/8	10 Hen. III, East	Titles, etc., as before. Under Counties.[4] Contains also Jewish Receipts and *Liberate.*	9 membr.[6]

[1] Published in facsimile by the London School of Economics.
[2] Printed in full in Jewish Hist. Soc. *Miscellanies*, part I.
[3] This is not strictly a Receipt Roll but has always been included in the series.
[4] Counties indexed at foot of membranes. [5] A three-column roll. [6] A two-column roll.

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Reference. Single Col.	Reference. Many Col.	Date.	Title or Description.	Membranes, etc.
	E. 401/9	10 Hen. III, East.	Partly duplicating above.	8 membr.[3]
	E. 401/10 A.	17 Hen. III, Hill.	*De termino* . . . Under Counties.[1]	1 membr.[2]
	E. 401/10 B.	17 Hen. III, East.	No titles. Under Counties.[1] Contains also *Liberate.*	5 membr.[2]
	E. 401/1565	17 Hen. III	*Rotulus Judeorum.* Under Counties.[1]	1 membr.[2]
	E. 401/11 A.	18 Hen. III, Mich.	*Rotulus de Termino* . . . Under Counties.[1]	1 membr.[3] New.
	E. 401/11 B.	19 or 20 Hen. III	No title. Under Counties.	1 membr. fragm.[3] New.
E. 401/12		21 Hen. III, Mich.	*Recepta de Termino* . . . Chronological arrangement: beginning 30 September.	Roll.
E. 401/13		25 Hen. III, Mich.	*Recepta* . . . Chronological: beginning 10 October.	Roll.
E. 401/14		26 Hen. III, Mich.	*Recepta* . . . Chronological: beginning 30 September.	Roll.
E. 401/15		27 Hen. III, East.	*Recepta* . . . Chronological.	Roll.
	E. 401/16	do.	No title. Under Counties.	1 membr.[2]
	E. 401/17	28 Hen. III, Mich.	*Rotuli de Termino* . . . Under Counties.[1]	4 membr.[2]
E. 401/18		do.	*Recepta* . . . Chronological: beginning 30 September.	Roll.
E. 401/19		30 Hen. III, Mich.	*Recepta* . . . Chronological: beginning 30 September.	Roll.
	E. 401/20	37 Hen. III, Mich.	*Particule Comitatuum.*	4 membr.[2]
E. 401/21		do.	*Recepta* . . . Chronological: beginning 30 September.	Roll.

[1] Counties indexed at foot of membranes.
[2] A three-column roll.
[3] A two-column roll.

From this point onwards the rolls run in regular series: Nos. 23–26, 28, 30, 31, 33, 34, 36–42, 44, and 46 being single-column rolls all entitled *Recepta* or *Rotulus Recepte*, while Nos. 22, 27, 29, 32, 35, 43, and 45 are many-columned and all entitled with some variant of the words *particule comitatuum.* None of these is indexed at foot. Nos. 1566 and 1567 are Jewish Rolls, also many-columned. Nos. 46 to 63 mostly single membranes and all of uncertain dates, but all belonging to the reign of Henry III. All are many-columned except No. 52. Nos. 47, 50, 55, 61, and 63 have two columns, the rest three. Nos. 61 and 62 have titles (*Particule* . . .).

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APPENDIX III

TRANSCRIPT AND ANALYSIS OF PRIVATE TALLIES PRESERVED IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE AND ELSEWHERE.

NOTES.

In the second column the dates in square brackets are inferential.

In the fifth column N. = Normal (see above, p. 315): A. = Abnormal.
S.A. = Slightly abnormal: A.E. = Abnormal with Exchequer tendencies.

In the sixth column ı = a single cut like the Exchequer penny.
v = the notch which at the Exchequer indicates a shilling.
V = " " " " pound.
V = " " " " score.
v V V = the halves of the above.

All these marks when reversed indicate notches on the lower edge.

In the transcript doubtful readings are given in [square brackets], words supplied by the editor being in addition put in [*italic*]. Writing on the edges is transcribed within ⟨angular brackets⟩.

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No. in this List.	Reference.	Date.	Stock or Foil.	Cutting.	
				Shape of Tally.	Shape, &c., of Notches.
1	Public Record Office Museum	1229	F.	A.E.	√V
2	do.	[*c.* 1229]	F.	A.E.	V
3	Exch. K. R. Misc. 1/43	1271, 1272	F.	A.	vvvvvvvvv
4	do.	1271, 1272	F.	S.A.	VVVVVVVVVVV II I ΛΛΛΛΛΛΛΛ
5	do.	1271, 1272	F.	A.E.	II vvvvvvv
6	do.	1271, 1272	F.	A.E.	VVVVVVVVVVVV IIII ΛΛΛΛ
7	Private collection [1]	1278, 1279	S.	N.	IIII vvvvvvvvvV
8	do.	1278, 1279	F.	N.	IIII ΛΛΛΛΛΛΛΛΛΛ
9	do.	1278, 1279	S.	N.	—
10	do.	1278, 1279	F.	N.	—
11	do.	1278, 1279	S.	N.	—
12	do.	1278, 1279	F.	N.	—
13	E. 101/5/7	[1294, 1295]	S.	N.	vvvvvvvvv

13. Fragment.

[1] Belonging (1902) to Sir Charles Lawes Wittewronge, of Rothamstead, and annexed to a bailiff's roll of the manor

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Denominations in Notches.			Writing.	No. in this List.
One or more.	Money.	Commodities.		
one	1*l.* 10*s.*		Thomas Godesire debet Joscy de Kant' Judeo .xxx. s. scilicet Medietatem ad festum Sancti Michaelis. anno gracie. M.CC vicesimo Nono et Medietatem ad festum Sancti Martini proximo sequens per cursum [*illegible*] plegii Andreas de [Mikelgot'?] ⟨*on lower edge* et Ing'ram Tallur⟩	1
one	1*l.*		Johannes . . . Josceo de Kent' [*writing largely illegible but apparently similar to above*] ⟨*on upper edge Jewish script: on lower, part of word* Chirograph (?)⟩	2
one	9*s.*		contra prepositum de ledecumb de denariis ab eo receptis de arreragiis vnius firmarii anno .l. sexto	3
one	11*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.*		Contra prepositum de ledecumb de denariis ab eo receptis die sanctorum apostolorum petri et pauli anno .l. sexto. scilicet de firma et de redditu sancti Johannis	4
one	6*s.* 8*d.*		contra prepositum de ledecumb de denariis receptis de H [*illegible*] anno .lvj.	5
one	12*l.* 4*s.* 4*d.*		contra prepositum de ledecumb de denariis receptis [*MS.* d. d. r] de prima. annunciacionis. et redditu Hoked' anno. lvj°. per manum Johannis armigeri et Radulfi Hare	6
one	1*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.*		Whathamsted.—Tallia Roberti Bernereve ibidem de frumento tam dominici quam decimarum de exitu liberato Simoni Boleheved servienti ibidem post festum Michaelis anno vij°.	7
one	1*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.*		Whathamsted.—Tallia Simonis Boleved contra. Robertum Bernereve grangiarium ibidem de frumento de exitu tam dominici quam decimarum ab eo recepto post festum Michaelis anno vij°. ⟨*on upper edge* Frumentum dominicum: *on lower* Frumentum decimarum de Pyccotes⟩.	8
one	—	—	Whathamsted.—Tallia Roberti Bernereve ibidem de pisa de exitu decimarum ibidem liberata Simoni Boleheved servienti ibidem post festum Michaelis anno vij°.	9
one	—	—	Whathamsted. — Tallia Simonis Boleheved servientis ibidem contra. Robertum Bernereve ibidem de pisa de exitu decimarum ab eo recepta post festum Michaelis anno. vij°.	10
two	—	—	Whathamsted.—Tallia Roberti Bernereve ibidem de draga et avena de exitu dominici liberatis Simoni Boleheved servienti ibidem post festum Michaelis anno vij°. ⟨*on one edge* drag': *on the other* aven'⟩	11
two	—	—	Whathamsted. — Tallia Simonis Beleheved servientis ibidem contra. Robertum Bernereve de draga et avena de exitu grangie dominice ab eo receptis post festum Michaelis anno vij°.	12
one	9*s.* 0*d.*		3 Contra Philippum Harneys et Thomam Aylred de denariis sibi liberatis de sexta domino Regi in villa . . . ⟨*on lower edge* ad construccionem galie eiusdem domini Regis ibidem⟩.	13

of Wheathampstead: see a note by Philip Norman, F.S.A. in the *Archaeological Journal*, lix, pp. 288 seqq.; from which I have taken the greater part of the above transcriptions.

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No. in this List.	Reference.	Date.	Stock or Foil.	Cutting.	
				Shape of Tally.	Shape, &c., of Notches.
14	E. 101/5/7	[1294, 1295]	S.	A.	ΛΛΛΛΛΛ
15	do.	[1294, 1295]	S.	A.E.	vvvvvvvv ΛΛΛΛΛΛΛΛΛΛΛΛΛΛ
16	Cha. Misc. 12/55 [1]	[1297, 1298]	F.	N.	vvvvvvVVV
17	do.	[1297, 1298]	F.	N.	—
18	do.	[1297, 1298]	F.	N.	
19	E. 101/505/34 [3]	1298, 1299	S.	A.E.	IIII ΛΛΛΛΛΛΛ
20	do.	1298, 1299	S.	A.E.	ΛΛΛΛΛΛ
21	do.	[*c.* 1298]	S.	A.E.	—
22	do.	[do.]	S.	A.E.	—
23	do.	1296, 1297	S.	A.E.	ΛΛΛ
24	do.	1296, 1297	F.	A.E.	VVVV
25	E. 101/362/7 [4]	1301, 1302	S.	A.E.	VVVVVV
26	do.	do.	S.	A.E.	VVV
27	E. 101/482/22 [5]	1302	F.	A.E.	VVVVVVVV ΛΛΛ I●
28	do.	1303	F.	A.E.	VV ΛΛΛΛ IIIII
29	E. 101/77/16 A [6]	1303, 1304	F.	N.	VVV
30	do.	1305, 1306	F.	N.	vvvvvvvvvvv
31	do.	1306, 1307	F.	? N.	—

15. Fragment. 21. Fragment. 22. Fragment. 31. Fragment.

[1] Original file of three tallies and two indented parchment receipts, which give the date. [2] Fragment.
[3] Tallies preserved with a quantity of vouchers to accounts of estate management.

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Denominations in Notches.			Writing.	No. in this List.
One or more.	Money.	Commodities.		
one	7*l.*		ʒ Contra Philippum Harneys et Thomam Aylred de denariis sibi liberatis per manum Viuiani Seluestre et Laurencii Harold ⟨*on edge* Balliuorum Gypp' de frumento Johannis le Manner Mercatoris Alienigeni apud Gypp' vendito ad construccionem galie domini Regis ibidem⟩	14
one	15*l.* 8*s.*		ʒ Contra Philippum Harneys et Thomam Aylred de denariis sibi liberatis per manum Viuiani Seluestre balliui Gypp' videlicet de Warda . . . ⟨*on edge* le Countyf Mercatoris Alienigeni vendita ad construccionem galie domini Regis ibidem⟩	15
one		? grain	auena recepta de Magistro Ricardo de Abyndon' apud Kardoyl'.	16
? one		? grain	auena recepta de Mag Abyndon' apud Holmcoltr[2]	17
? one		? grain	auena recepta apud Dunolm'[2]	18
one	17*s.* 4*d.*		¶ Contra Ricardum de Theford' de denariis sibi liberatis per manus J. de Tarent'. Anno. regni regis E. xxvij.	19
one	6*l.* 10*s.*		¶ Contra Ricardum de Haueringg' de denariis sibi liberatis [de] exitu ecclesie de Wfford per manus .J. de Tarentef Anno regni . regis . E . xxvij	20
one	—		¶ Contra Thomam Cachekute de denariis	21
one	—		[Contra *erased*] contra Petronillam de Manton' de xx s sibi lib de Manton' fratris sui . anno . r . r. E . xx. . . .	22
one	3*l.*		¶ Contra Willelmum de Colebrok' de denariis sibi liberatis .vj. die Augusti de exitu ecclesie de Vfford per manus Johannis de ⟨*on lower edge* Tarent' balliui ibidem anno regni regis E. xxv.⟩	23
one	3*l.* 10*s.*		Contra balliuum de Plumstede [*and in another hand*] Anno Regni Regis .xxv.	24
one		grain	Tallia Rogeri de Munketon' seruientis Rectoris Ecclesie de Algerkirke. contra Reginaldum filium Sibille de Sancto Botulpho attornatum ⟨*on lower edge* vicecomitis Lincoln' de vj^{xx} quarteriis faborum cum auantagio. Eidem liberatis ad opus Domini Regis apud Algerkirke Anno Regni Regis E. xxx°.⟩	25
one		malt	[*Same: but for 60 quarters* brasii hastiui cum cumulo].	26
one	8*l.* 3*s.* 1½*d.*		Contra Adam de Thorpp' Constabularium Castri Karlioli de expensis suis circa ⟨*on lower edge* operam Castri a festo Pentecostis anno Regis Edwardi .xxx. vsque festum Sancti Michaelis proximo sequens⟩	27
one	2*l.* 3*s.* 11*d.*		De denariis receptis de Ada de Thorpp' ad operam Castri a festo ⟨*on lower edge* Natiuitatis sancti Johannis Baptiste anno regis Edwardi xxxj° vsque festum Sancti Michaelis proximo sequens⟩	28
one		? wine	Vinum de Rofsestr' captum anno .xxxij.	29
one	11*s.*		Contra Ricardum Somner de .xj. s. debitis pro et sycero ab ipso captis apud anno .xxxiiij.	30
—	—	—	vj. sextariis .iij. picheriis vini [ca]pti apud Hidingham a° .xxxv.	31

[4] Tallies preserved with a number of parchment indentures of receipt of grain for purposes of King's Wardrobe.
[5] Tallies preserved with the account to which they relate.
[6] Found in contemporary leather bag.

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No. in this List.	Reference.	Date.	Stock or Foil.	Cutting.	
				Shape of Tally.	Shape, &c., of Notches.
32	E. 101/678/1 (1) [1]	[*c.* 1305]	F.	N.	
33	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	
34	do.	1304, 1305	F.	N.	
35	do.	[*c.* 1305]	F.	N.	
36	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	
37	do.	[do.]	F.	A.	
38	do.	1305, 1306	F.	A.	
39	do.	1305, 1306	F.	A.	
40	do.	1305, 1306	F.	N.	
41	do.	[*c.* 1305]	F.	N.	
42		1306, 1307	F.	A.	
43	do.	[*c.* 1305]	F.	N.	
44	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	
45	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	
46	E. 101/261/21 (3) [3]	1316	S.[4]	A.E.	
47	do.	1316	F.[4]	A.E.	
48	do.	1316	S.[4]	A.E.	
49	do.	1316	F.[4]	A.E.	
50	do.	1316	S.[4]	A.E.	
51	do.	1316	F.[4]	A.E.	
52	do.	1316	S.[4]	A.E.	
53	do.	1316	F.[4]	A.E.	
54	do.	1317	S.[4]	A.E.	
55	do.	1317	F.[4]	A.E.	

33. Fragment. 41. Fragment. 43. Fragment. 44. Fragment.

[1] These tallies preserved on original filing string with descriptive parchment slip.
[2] Three small straight marks, in length about half the width of the tally.

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Denominations in Notches.			Writing.	No. in this List.
One or more.	Money.	Commodities.		
one	? 14*s.*	or ? wine	Contra Johannem de Leycestria de Ebor' pro xiiij sextariis vini	32
—	—	—	pro ciphis vitreis	33
one	? 3*s.* 1*d.*	or ? cups	pro ciphis anno xxxiij	34
? one		? wine	Walton' ⟨*also writing on edge : illegible*⟩	35
more		? wine	Conyton' ⟨*on upper edge* iij parue iij sextarii vini : *lower edge illegible*⟩	36
more		? wine	Rameseye ⟨*on upper edge* ij parue : *lower edge uncertain*⟩	37
one	32*s.*		Contra Hamonem Le Tailuer de Notinggeham de .xxxij. s. sibi debitis pro .xxiiij. sextariis vini ab ipso captis .xvij die Junii anno xxxiiij.	38
one	? 7*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.*		¶ Contra Walterum Gome de Ebor' de .iij. doliis .xij. sextariis vini captis ab eodem anno xxxiiij.	39
one	? 2*l.* 15*s.* 0*d.*		Contra Gaceflour de Ebor' de .j. dolio vini .v. sextariis captis ab eodem anno xxxiiij	40
—	—	—	Abbotesrupt' ⟨*on upper edge ?* j quart'⟩	41
one	? 9*s.* 4*d.*		Tallia de .x. sextariis vini de tabernis [?] Rouscestr' anno .xxxv.	42
—	—	—	. . . aystowe Co vill' de	43
three		? grain	Wardeboys ⟨*on upper edge* ¶ pis' (?) frumentum bras'⟩	44
four		? grain	¶ Stiddingweth' ⟨*on upper edge* pis' bras frumentum : *on lower* ¶ ij quarter⟩	45
one	47*l.* 1*s.*		Contra Ricardum de Wigornia. Custodem Minere Regis. Deuon' de argento albo sibi liberato .xv. die Septembris. Anno .x°. per Ricardum . Lond affuratorem ibidem ⟨*on lower edge* xlvij li. xij d.⟩	46
one	47*l.* 1*s.*		Contra Ricardum Lond de argento albo in plat' ab eo recepto . xv die Septembris . anno .x°. ⟨*on upper edge* xlvij li. xij d.⟩	47
one	19*l.* 15*s.*		Contra . Ricardum de Wigornia [*etc., as before*] .iiij° die Octobris [*etc., as before*] ⟨*on lower edge* xix li. xv s.⟩	48
one	19*l.* 15*s.*		Contra Ricardum Lond [*etc., as before*] ⟨*on upper edge* xix li. xv s.⟩	49
one	51*l.*		Contra Ricardum de Wigornia [*etc., as before*] xvj°. die . Nouembris . anno Regni Regis Edwardi .x°. [*etc., as before*] ⟨*on lower edge* .Lj. li.⟩	50
one	51*l.*		Contra Ricardum Lond [*etc., as before*] ⟨*on upper edge* Lj. li.⟩	51
one	27*l.*		Contra Ricardum de Wigornia [*etc., as before*] .xxv. die Decembris [*etc., as before*] ⟨*on lower edge* .xxvij li.⟩	52
one	27*l.*		Contra Ricardum Lond [*etc., as before*] ⟨*on upper edge* xxvij li.⟩	53
one	39*l.* 5*s.*		Contra Ricardum de . Wigornia . [*etc., as before*] .xxviij° die Februarii et xxx°. die Marcii [*etc., as before*] ⟨*on lower edge* . xxxix li. v s.⟩	54
one	39*l.* 5*s.*		Contra . Ricardum Lond . [*etc., as before*] ⟨*N.B. no writing on upper edge*⟩	55

[3] All these tallies preserved with rolls and counter-rolls of accounts to which they relate in original bag.
[4] These tallies apparently in the hand which wrote the rolls. Note that the foil in each case follows in this list the stock to which it belongs.

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No. in this List.	Reference.	Date.	Stock or Foil.	Cutting.	
				Shape of Tally.	Shape, &c., of Notches.
56	E. 101/261/21 (3)	1317	S.[1]	A.E.	
57	do.	1317	F.[1]	A.E	
58	do.	1316	S.[2]	N.	
59	do.	1316	F.[2]	N.	
60	do.	1317	S.[2]	S.A.	
61	do.	1317	F.[2]	S.A.	
62	do.	1316	S.[2]	N.	
63	do.	1316	F.[2]	N.	
64	do.	1316	S.[2]	N.	
65	do.	1316	F.[2]	N.	
66	do.	1317	S.[2]	N.	
67	do.	1317	F.[2]	N.	
68	do.	1317	S.[2]	N.	—
69	do.	1317	F.[2]	N.	
70	do.	1317	S.[2]	N.	
71	do.	1317	F.[2]	N.	
72	do.	1316	F.[2]	N.	

68. Fragment.

70. Tip broken.

[1] These tallies apparently in the hand which wrote the rolls. Note that the foil in each case follows in this list the stock to which it belongs.

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Denominations in Notches.			Writing.	No. in this List.
One or more.	Money.	Commodities.		
one	20*l.*		Contra Ricardum de . Wigornia [*etc., as before*] .ij. die Junii [*etc., as before*] ⟨*on lower edge* xx li⟩	56
one	20*l.*		Contra Ricardum Lond [*etc., as before*] ⟨*on upper edge* xx li⟩	57
two		minerals	Contra Ricardum de Wygornia [*etc., as before*] de tot lad' ei liberatis .xxviij. die Augusti anno .x°. ⟨*on lower edge* Nigre Mine *and near the notches* lad': *on upper edge* Albe Mine⟩	58
two		minerals	. . Contra Thomam de Blakwell' et socios suos Minerarios de Mina de eisdem recepta .xxviij. die Augusti et .xx. die Septembris anno decimo ⟨*on upper edge* .xl. lad' Nigre Mine : *on lower edge* . albe . Mine.⟩	59
two		minerals	Contra Ricardum de Wygornia [*etc., as before*] xij. die Februarii anno .x°. ⟨*on lower edge* xxxv lad' Nigre Mine: *on upper edge* Albe Mine.⟩	60
two		minerals	Contra Hugonem de Litton' de Mina ei[3] liberata[3] xij die Februarii anno decimo ⟨*on upper edge* xxxv lad' Nigre Mine : *nothing on lower*⟩	61
two		minerals	Contra Ricardum [*etc., as before*] .vj. die Octobris anno decimo ⟨*on lower edge* Nigre Mine: *on upper edge* vij. lad' .ij. disc'. albe Mine⟩	62
two		minerals	Contra Thomam de Blakwell' et Willelmum de Ashford' de Mina ab eis recepta .vj. die Octobris anno decimo ⟨*on lower edge* albe Mine⟩	63
two		minerals	Contra Ricardum [*etc., as before*] .xx. die Nouembris ⟨*on lower edge* xx. lad' Nigre Mine: *on upper edge* ix. lad' albe Mine⟩	64
two		minerals	Contra Henricum le Bagger de Mina ab eo recepta .xx. die Nouembris Anno decimo ⟨*nothing on edges*⟩	65
two		minerals	Contra Ricardum [*etc., as before*] .v. die Februarii anno decimo ⟨*on lower edge* xvj. lad' nigre Mine: *on upper edge* vj. lad' albe Mine⟩	66
two		minerals	Contra Ricardum de Bouteshale et sociis suis [*sic*] de Mina ab eis recepta .v. die Februarii anno x. ⟨*nothing on edges*⟩	67
two		minerals	Contra Ricardum de Wygornia [*etc., as before*] .xxiiij. die ⟨*on lower edge* Nigre Mine .xj. lad' .j. discus: *on upper edge* . albe Mine .xij. lad' .j. discus⟩	68
two		minerals	Contra Hugonem le Taillour et Simonem Trout' de Mina ab eis recepta .xxiiij. die Maii . anno decimo ⟨*nothing on edges*⟩	69
two		minerals	Contra Ricardum [*etc., as before*] ix. die Marcii anno decimo ⟨*on lower edge* .xvj. lad' .iiij. disci Nigre Mine: *on upper edge* ¶ albe Mine⟩	70
two		minerals	Contra Hugonem de Litton' et socios suos de Mina ab eis recepta ix. die Marcii . anno decimo ⟨*nothing on edges*⟩	71
two		minerals	Contra Hugonem le Taillour de Mina ab eo recepta .xx. die Octobris[?] Anno decimo ⟨*on lower edge* .x. lad' [?j] disc' albe⟩[4]	72

[2] These tallies in the hand which wrote the counter-rolls.
[3] These words marked [3] apparently repeated by mistake from the stock.
[4] No stock of this tally preserved.

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No. in this List.	Reference.	Date.	Stock or Foil.	Cutting.	
				Shape of Tally.	Shape, &c., of Notches.
73	E. 101/678/2 (1) [1]	[1335, 1336]	F.	N.	IIIIII
74	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	III V
75	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	IIII
76	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	V V IIII
77	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	V
78	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	V V
79	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	V
80	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	V
81	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	V V
82	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	V I
83	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	II
84	*Ibid.* 2 (2) [4]	[? *c.* 1335]	F.	N.	IIIIVVVVVVV ΛΛΛΛ
85	do.	[? do.]	F.	? N.	[missing]
86	do.	[? do.]	F.	? N.	IIIVV
87	do.	[? do.]	F.	N.	IIIVV
88	do.	[? do.]	F.	N.	V
X. 1	*Ibid.* 1 (4) [5]	[1346, 1347]	F.	N.	I / / V V
X. 2	do	[do.]	F.	N.	IIIΛΛ
X. 3	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	VVVVV
X. 4	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	V VVVVV
X. 5	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	VVVVVVVVVVVVVV II
X. 6	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	VVVVVVV
X. 7	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	V VVVV
X. 8	do.	[do.]	F.	S.A.	II / VVVVVV V
X. 9	do.	[do.]	F.	S.A.	II / VVVVVV
X. 10	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	VVVVVV [broken]
X. 11	do.	[do.]	F.	S.A.	VVV I [broken]
X. 12	do.	[do.]	F.	S.A.	IIII I V V
X. 13	do.	[do.]	F.	S.A.	VVVV V

85. Fragment. 86. Fragment.

[1] A parchment tab attached to this foil shows that there should be twelve tallies (only eleven remain) for litter belonging to the year ix and amounting to 12*s.* 2*d.* They are on the original leather filing strip.

[2] Inscription scratched, not in ink.

[3] Inscription in ink, as usual.

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Denominations in Notches.			Writing.	No. in this List.
One or more.	Money.	Commodities.		
one	? 6*d.*		Contra Willelmum de pro lit'.[2]	73
one	? 8*d.*		Contra Alissiam Relictam Johannis in selone [?] pro stramine [2]	74
one	? 4*d.*		Contra Hugonem [?] pro . lit' [2]	75
one	? 1*s.* 10*d.*		Charleton . pro . lit'.[2]	76
one	? 1*s.*		Contra Katerinam de Wyteuill'. pro . lit' [2]	77
one	? 1*s.* 6*d.*		Contra Rectorem de pro lit' [2]	78
one	? 1*s.*		Charleton pro lit'.[2]	79
one	? 1*s.*		Charleton pro lit'.[2]	80
one	? 1*s.* 6*d.*		Contra Robertum de Stedeleie . pro . lit'.[2]	81
one	? 1*s.* 1*d.*		Contra Haric' de la [?] stil' pro lit' [3]	82
one	? 2*d.*		[? Contra] [*illegible*] [? Monachorum] [2] ⟨*some words on upper edge*: ? lit'⟩	83
?	?	? grain	[? contra] Ricard[um] Gregory pro ffag'	84
—	—	—	¶ Johannem et	85
one	—	? grain	¶ Const' de Wes precium quarterii vj s.	86
one	?	? grain	Const' de bledelowe pro frumento precium quarterii vj s ⟨*on upper edge* xiiij*s.* 3*d.*: *on lower edge something illegible*, ? buck'⟩	87
one	?	? grain	Const' de bradenston [?] pro frumento vj s ⟨*on upper edge* vj s: *on lower* buck⟩	88
one	—	—	ℙ Avena De Abbate Glouc'	X. 1
two	—	—	Tallia Abbatis Westmonasterii Puls' ⟨*on upper edge* auena, solutum est *and* pro auena *in 3 writings: lower edge illegible*⟩	X. 2
one	—	—	Tallia Abbatis Westmonasterii de Puls'	X. 3
one	—	—	Puls' De Abbate Glouc'	X. 4
one	—	—	ℙ Tallia Abbatis Glouc' [De Puls' *added later*]	X. 5
one	—	—	ffolium contra balliuum de Horton' et Hembury de frumento ab eo recepto ad opus domini Regis precium quarterij .iij. s. iiij. d. quia debilis anno .xx^{mo}.	X. 6
? one	—	—	Contra Willelmum Balliuum de Iddebur' de frumento recepto, etc.	X. 7
one	—	—	ℙ Bybur' [6] tallia ffratris [6] de Bybur' pro v. quarteriis frumenti	X. 8
one	—	—	¶ Tallia Ade de Wylkewone [6] de Hudicote [6] [*illegible*] . pro .ij. quarteriis frumenti.	X. 9
two	—	—	ℙ Contra Rectorem de Swyndon' pro iij. quarteriis frumenti et iij. quarteriis puls'	X. 10
two	—	—	ℙ Tallia Abbatis de Alicestr' pro . iij. quarteriis frumenti et vj. quarteriis puls'.	X. 11
one	—	—	¶ Tallia Rectoris de Marchton' Sicca pro . v quarteriis et ij. busselis . frumenti ad opus Regis . pro [*word illegible*]	X. 12
one	—	—	ℙ ffrumentum de Episcopo Herefordensi	X. 13

[4] On original filing slip: apparently not all in same hand.
[5] File of 16 foils on original parchment slip.
[6] Reading uncertain.

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No. in this List.	Reference.	Date.	Stock or Foil.	Cutting.	
				Shape of Tally	Shape, &c., of Notches.
X. 14	E. 101/678/1 (4)	[1346, 1347]	F.	N.	vvvvvvvvv √ III
X. 15	do.	[do.]	F.	S.A.	V ΛΛΛΛΛ
X. 16	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	I VV . IIII
89	*Ibid.* 2 (3) [1]	1348, 1349	F.	? N.	[missing]
90	do.	[do.]	F	? N.	[missing]
91	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	v
92	do.	[do]	F.	? N.	[missing]
93	do.	[do.]	F.	? N.	[missing]
94	*Ibid.* 2 (4) [2]	1348, 1349	F.	? N.	vvvvvv [broken]
95	do.	[do.]	F.	? N.	[missing]
96	do.	1348, 1349	F.	N.	vvv IIIvv
97	do.	1348, 1349	F.	? N.	IIIIvvvvvvv [missing]
98	do.	1348, 1349	F.	N.	IIIIvvvvvvvvv
99	do.	[do.]	F.	? N.	[missing]
100	do.	1348, 1349	F.	N.	Ivvvvvv
101	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	Iv
102	*Ibid.* 2 (5) [5]	1348, 1349	F.	A.	III
103	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	III
104	do.	1348, 1349	F.	N.	IIII
105	do.	[do.]	F.	? N.	[missing]
106	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	vv IIII

89. Fragment. 90. Fragment. 91. Fragment. 92. Fragment. 94. Fragment. 95. Fragment. 97. Fragment. 99. Fragment. 105. Fragment.

[1] These five tallies, on an original leather, appear all to be in the same writing.

[2] Eight tallies on original parchment strip: apparently not all in same hand.

[3] [*Sic*] MS.

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Denominations in Notches.			Writing.	No. in this List.
One or more.	Money.	Commodities.		
one	—	—	ℙ ffrumentum De Abbate Westmonasterii	X. 14
two	—	—	Contra Archiepiscopum Eboracensem de frumento et fabis captis ⟨*on upper edge* frumentum ; *on lower* fabe⟩	X. 15
one	—	—	ffrumentum de Abbate Glouč	X. 16
—	—	—	Tallia contra Willelmum atebrokende de stepelmorden eo empt' anno Domini Regni Regis Edwardi xxij videlicet j quarterium	89
? one		? malt	Contra Ricardum de [?] bras' pro	90
one		? malt	. . Johann' de ton' de bras' ab eo [? perqui]s' precium .vj. s.	91
—	—	? grain	Contra Willelmum clericum de Badborouha const ab eodem recept' / anno Domini Regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum ⟨*on upper edge* bras' ordei Chilford'⟩	92
? more	—	pigs, etc.	Contra Willelmum Michel et Robertum [*illegible*] Wat..ich de bras' pro [*illegible*] ⟨*on upper edge writing, perhaps place-name : on lower edge* ix d. . . . iij bacones d . . .⟩	93
more		? pigs, oxen, etc.	Contra Robertum Jakes de Sutton' de victualibus victual' ville de Caleys anno .xxij° ⟨*on upper edge* Bacon' precium baconis .ij. s. Pis' precium quarterii . . . s. : *on lower edge* carcos boum precium⟩.	94
—	—	—	Contra Rogerum de prisa p ⟨*some writing on lower edge illegible*⟩.	95
two	? 3*s.* and 2*s.* 3*d.*	? grain and pigs.	Contra Robertum Hewe de [? 'gruele] constabularium de Pisa pro[3] ad opus domini Regis [*illegible*] de eadem villa Anno regni ⟨*on lower side* Regis Edwardi post conquestum xxij : *on upper edge* Item iij paruas bacones precii iij s⟩	96
one	? 7*s.* 4*d.*	or ? grain	. leueryngton' ℙ Anno .xxij° precium quarterii .iiij s. ⟨*on upper edge* . ffab'.⟩	97
one	? 9*s.* 4*d.*	or ? grain	Tyd . ℙ . Anno xxij°. de ffabis . precium quarterii iiij s. ⟨*on upper edge* ffab'.⟩	98
one	—	—	Well' ℙ de ffabis ad opus Regis [*and some writing illegible*]	99
one	? 6*s.* 1*d.*	or ? grain	[?] El . . ℙ de ffabis . contra . Regem Anno xxij°. precium quarterii .iiij s. ⟨*on upper edge* ffab'.⟩	100
one	1*s.* 1*d.*		Contra Willelmum peperstok' constabularium de he' [*illegible*][4] de j paruo bacone precii xiij d	101
? one		? grain	Caldecote Anno xxij°.	102
? one		? grain	Contra Saram Mott' de . . . de pisa ab ea recepta ⟨*on upper edge* pise⟩	103
? one		? malt	Contra dominum W. capellanum de K [*illegible*] de brasio ab eo recepto anno xxij°. ⟨*on upper edge* bras'⟩	104
—	—	—	Catteworth' magna	105
two		? grain, etc.	Contra constabularium de bokeden' de pisa et baconibus ab eisdem captis ⟨*on lower edge* paruo ba : *on upper edge* pisa⟩	106

[4] This tally has had the upper edge pared off after the writing was done, perhaps for the notches to be altered.
[5] File of twelve tallies on original parchment strip : probably not all in same hand.

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No. in this List	Reference.	Date.	Stock or Foil.	Cutting.	
				Shape of Tally.	Shape, &c., of Notches.
107	E. 101/678/2 (5)	1348, 1349	F.	S.A.	IIIIIII ʌ
108	do.	[do.]	F.	? N	[missing]
109	do.	[do.]	F.	? N	[missing]
110	do.	[do.]	F.	S.A.	ʌʌ ⟨missing⟩ I VV V V
111	do.	[do.]	F.	S.A.	II IIIVV IIIVV VV
112	do.	[do.] [1]	F.	S.A.	ʌ ···III IIIʌ
113	do.	[do.]	F.	A.	II /
114	*Ibid.* 2 (6) [2]	[do.]	F.	? N.	[missing]
115	do.	1348, 1349 [3]	F.	N.	VV ·III
116	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	VVVVVV
117	do.	1348, 1349	F.	N.	IIII ʌ
118	do.	1348, 1349	F.	N.	VV IIIII IIIIIʌʌʌ
119	do.	1348, 1349	F.	N.	V V ʌ
120	do.	1348, 1349	F.	N.	VV
121	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	I.IIIII
122	do.	1348, 1349	F.	N.	VV IIII
123	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	III VV IIIIII
124	do.	1348, 1349	F.	N.	VV
125	do.	1348, 1349 [4]	F.	N.	V ···III

108. Fragment. 109. Fragment.

[1] The notches on this file, here represented by dots, are single cuts made with the point of the knife and not drawn right across the edge of the tally.

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Denominations in Notches.			Writing.	No. in this List.
One or more.	Money.	Commodities.		
two		? grain, etc.	. . dnesbury. De brasio et pisa ab eis receptis anno xxij° ⟨*on lower edge* pis' *and* bras'⟩	107
—	—	—	[*Apparently place-name.*]	108
three		? grain, etc.	Aylynton' ⟨*on lower edge* ij parui bacones: *on upper* pis' *and* bras'⟩	109
[more]		? grain, etc.	Alwalton' ⟨*on upper edge* j. paruus *and* bras' *and* fr'm⟩	110
four		? grain, etc.	Contra Hugonem ffarset ⟨*on upper edge* [? parui] *and* pis' *and* bras' *and* fr'm⟩	111
three		? grain, etc.	Ouerton' ⟨*on lower edge* bras' *and* pis' *and* fr'm⟩	112
two		? grain, etc.	⟨Caldecot' *on lower edge: face blank: on upper edge* fr' *and* bras'⟩	113
—	—	—	t contra Regenaldum constabularium [*illegible*]ton' de frumento ab eodem ad opus [*illegible*]	114
one		? grain	tallia contra Nicalaum [?] Gernon constabularium de stepelmorden de frumento empto de cecilia Hor . . anno domini Regis xxij	115
one		? grain	tallia contra Johannem de caldecote et Johannem valentin constabularios de villa de orwell' de frumento ab eis recepto.	116
two		? grain	Contra constabularium de Abington' parua de frumento eius ad opus domini Regis anno regni Regis xxij precium iij s ⟨*on lower edge* bras' .j. quarterium⟩	117
three	? money		Contra Thomam Kydeman de schenegeye de pisa prouisa ad opus domini Regis anno xxij ⟨*on lower edge* Pis' Arningforde Hn'd: *on upper edge* j paruus baco *and* ta[llia] de frumento⟩	118
three		peas, grain, etc.	Contra Her' de stoke[vpton ?] de frumento. pisa vj s ab eo emptis ad opus Regis Anno regni Regis ⟨*on lower edge* e xxij precium quarterii vj s bras': *on upper edge* precium quarterii iij s *and* pis' viij d *and* precium vj s *and* frumento⟩	119
one		? grain	tallia contra Ricardum ate Crouch constabularium de villa de Weston coluill' de receptione frumenti anno xxij	120
one		grain (bushels)	tallia de frumento empto ad opus domini Regis de Matillide Ace de Walsham ⟨*on upper edge* frumento *and* [? bocell']⟩	121
? one		? grain	Contra Johannem de [?] Gontell' de frumento ab eo empto ad opus domini Regis Anno xxij	122
two		? grain	⟨*Face bare: on upper edge* [? Syntone] . de frumento Recepto ad opus domini Regis: *on lower edge* tallia de Brasio ab eisdem empto ad opus domini Regis⟩	123
one		? grain	tallia contra Robertum [? Hewe] de [? grafele] de frumento empto ad opus domini regis anno regni domini Regis xxii	124
one		grain	tallia contra Johannem [? Bray] constabularium de swafham priour de dimidio quarterio . frumenti iij bussellis iij p anno regni Regis xxij	125

[2] File of eighteen tallies on original parchment strip: possibly all same writing.
[3] The dot . among the notches for this tally represents in the original a single cut extending half across the edge of the tally: the tally looks as if it were not hazel.
[4] The three dots among the notches for this tally represent in the original single cuts extending half across the edge of the tally.

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No. in this List.	Reference.	Date.	Stock or Foil.	Cutting.	
				Shape of Tally.	Shape, &c., of Notches.
126	E. 101/678/2 (6)	1348, 1349	F.	N.	IIIIV
127	do.	1348, 1349	F.	N.	V
128	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	VV
129	do.	1348, 1349[1]	F.	S.A.	III
130	do.	[do]	F.	? N.	[missing]
131	do.	1348, 1349	F.	N.	V
132	*Ibid.* 2 (7)[2]	[? *c.* 1348]	F.	N.	IIVVV
133	do.	[? do.]	F.	N.	IIV [missing]
134	do.	[? do.]	F.	? N.	[missing]
135	do.	[? do.]	F.	N.	? VVVV
136	do.	[? do]	F.	N.	V
137	do.	[? do.]	F.	N.	IVVV
138	do.	[? do.]	F.	N.	VV
139	do.	[? do.]	F.	? N.	III [missing]
140	*Ibid.* 2 (8)[3]	[? do.]	F.	N.	IV
141	do.	[? do.]	F.	S.A.	II V VV [missing]
142	do.	1348, 1349	F.	N.	VV III^ IIII
143	do.	[? do.]	F.	? N.	V
144-169	*Ibid.* 2 (9)[5]	[? do.]	one S rest ? all F.	? all N.	—
170	British Museum Tally	1356, 1357	F.	? N.	IIII VVV ΛΛΛ
171	E. 101/678/2 (10)[6]	[1357-1359]	F.	N.	VVVVVVV ΛΛ
172	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	IIIIIIIVVVVVV ΛΛ

130. Fragment. 133. Fragment. 134. Fragment. 139. Fragment. 144-169 Fragment. 170. Fragment.

[1] The dot among the notches for this tally represents a single cut; but sloped, not at right angles to the edge.
[2] File of eight on original parchment slip. [3] Four tallies found loose but belonging apparently to this sack.
[4] Has incised as well as ink writing.
[5] Twenty-six fragments, of which one is that of a stock, apparently belonging to this sack. Four have incised as well as ink writing. There are in addition sixteen smaller fragments (two showing the incised writing) and a quantity of minute pieces.

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Denominations in Notches.			Writing.	No. in this List.
One or more.	Money.	Commodities.		
one		? grain	tallia contra Johannem de colne constabularium de Caxstone de frumento emto [*sic*] ad opus domini Regis	126
one		? grain	Contra Johannem le taylour constabularium de villa de [?] napwell' de frumento empto ad opus domini Regis ⟨*on lower edge* anno regni xxij⟩	127
one		? grain	Contra Johannem smart de papwortheford' de frumento liberato per eundem constabularium	128
? one		? grain	tallia de Roberto le [? Wistler'] de [? hyldrsham] de frumento empto anno xxij	129
—	—	—	tallia contra Thomam [? tergaunt] constabularium . . . de frumento prouiso ad opus domini anno . . .	130
one		? grain	Contra constabularium de villa de Papworth' [*illegible*] ys Anno regni Regis Edwardi xxij ⟨*on upper edge* frumento⟩	131
? one		? grain	Contra Constabularium de Rous . . e et [*illegible*] prec' ij s de ij quarteriis et vj [? bussellis] [*illegible*]	132
		? grain	Contra Constabularium de [?] Sout [*illegible*] quarterii ij s [*illegible*] ⟨*on lower edge: illegible*⟩	133
—	—	—	Contra constabularium quart' iiij . bus' au	134
one		grain	. . . Constabularium de ffifede pro auena prec' quarterii ij s viij d [*remainder illegible*]	135
one		grain	Contra Constabularium de Bampton' pro j quarterio auene precium quarterii ij s viij d.	136
one		grain	Contra Constabularium de Charyndon' pro ij quarteriis v bucellis quarterium ad ij s vj s j d ob' ⟨*on lower edge* yndon'⟩	137
		grain	[? Contra] Constabularium de Abbesse Rochyng' pro auena precium quarterii ij s viij d Summa . vj s iiij d	138
? one		? grain	. .Constabularium de parua pro auena precium	139
? one		? grain	¶ Const' de Wynchyndone pro frumento vj . . . ⟨*on upper edge writing illegible*⟩ [4]	140
? 4		grain, pigs, etc.	Sautre ⟨*on upper edge* ij parue j quarterium [? frumenti] bras'⟩	141
? 2		? grain	Contra constabularium de geldemordon' de frumento et pisa [ca]ptis anno regni Regis xxij ⟨*on lower edge* fr': *on upper* [? fr']⟩	142
one	?	?	*No sign of writing on face* ⟨*on upper edge much writing, illegible*⟩.	143
—	—	—	[*All apparently in one or other of forms already noted.*]	144–169
? one	?	?	 rueys pro litera liberata pro equis domini Regis anno xxx^mo^	170
? one	?	?	ℙ contra constabularium de Holm de ffeno Greyne [7]	171
? one	?	?	ℙ stoke abb' de [8] eadem villa de auena [8]	172

No abnormality of shape or notching has been noticed; and the writing, so far as can be judged, always resembles one or other of the forms already noted.

[6] Original file of seventeen tally foils with parchment label; giving date 31 and 32 [Edward III]. It is possible that this file should properly be preserved with the leather bag (E. 101/678/3, listed below).

[7] Words in paler ink: ? added later.

[8] to [8] Words in darker ink: ? added later.

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No. in this List.	Reference.	Date.	Stock or Foil.	Cutting.	
				Shape of Tally.	Shape, &c., of Notches.
173	E. 101/678/2 (10)	[1357, 1359]	F.	N.	VVVVVV ΛΛΛ
174	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	IIIIVVVVVVV ΛΛΛ
175	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	IIII V VVVV ΛΛ
176	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	IIIIVV Λ
177	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	VVVVVV ΛΛΛ
178	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	II V IIII
179	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	VV Λ
180	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	VVV IIIIΛ
181	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	IIIVVV IIIIIΛ
182	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	IIIIIV IIIII
183	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	VVVVVV ΛΛΛ
184	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	IIIIIIIIVVVVVV ΛΛ
185	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	IIIIVVV Λ
186	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	VVVVVVV ΛΛ
187	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	VVV Λ
188	*Ibid.* 3 (1)[10]	[1358, 1359]	F.	N.	VVVVV
189	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	VV VVVVV IIIΛ
190	do.	[do.]	F.	? N.	[missing]
191	do.	[do.]	F.	? N.	[missing]
192	do.	[do.]	F.	? N.	VVVVVVVVV [missing]
193	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	IV
194	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	[missing]
195	do.	1358, 1359	F.	N.	VV
196	do.	[1358, 1359]	F.	N.	VV
197	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	V Λ
198	do.	1357, 1358	F.	? N.	[missing]

190. Fragment. 192. Fragment. 194. Fragment. 198. Fragment.

[1] Words in paler ink: ? added later. [2] to [2] Words in darker ink: ? added later.
[3] Ink written over incised inscription *Cram ffelde.*
[4] Written over incised inscription *Contra balliuum manerii de Cram . . . felde.*
[5] Ink over incised inscription *tusterne.* [6] Ink over incised inscription *sto ne.*
[7] Ink over incised inscription *Abbddus astone.*
[8] Ink over incised inscription *Herte welle. auena* in paler ink ? added later.

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Denominations in Notches.			Writing.	No. in this List.
One or more.	Money.	Commodities.		
? one	?	?	Contra constabularium de Wasdon' de Auena capta Greyne [1]	173
? one	?	?	ℙ Const' de Langefelde auen' de [2] comitatu de Bedeforde [2]	174
? one	?	?	Contra villatam de carnefelde de auena [3]	175
? one	?	?	Contra Balliuum Manerii de Cranfelde de auena . de comitatu Bedeford' [4]	176
? one	?	?	¶ Contra constabularium de Wodell'. de auena	177
? one	?	?	¶ De villata de Tusterne de auena [5]	178
? one	?	?	contra villatam de Barton de auena	179
? one	?	?	Contra villatam de Ston' de auena [6]	180
? one	?	?	¶ Contra villatam de Abbodes Aston' de auena [7]	181
? one	?	?	¶ Contra villatam de Hertwelle . auena [8]	182
? one	?	?	¶ contra villatam de Wynghe de auena [9]	183
? one	?	?	¶ contra prepositum de Adewell' de auena	184
? one	?	?	Contra Mydelstoke de [2] eadem villata pro auena [2]	185
? one	?	?	Villa chalgraue de [2] auena [2]	186
? one	?	?	¶ swenescombe de [2] eadem villa pro auena [2]	187
one	?	?	Contra constabularium de Estwyk' pro litera capta equis domini Regis per manus Ricardi atte feld'	188
one	?	?	contra Constabularium de Estone vij . s viij d. pro litera xx d. capta per Henricum Brayb'f	189
one	?	?	De constabulario de Bun[11] ⟨*on upper edge* xiij⟩	190
one	?	?	De constabulario de Lydesden' pro litera [12]	191
one	?	?	Contra Henricum Bray de litera capta de Johanne Reynald' de Heebregg'	192
one	?	?	Const' de Stanewey pro litero	193
one	?	?	Const' de [? Tol] litero	194
one	?	?	contra constabularium Stanewey pro [13] litera anno xxxij [13]	195
one	?	?	Const' de [? Alphinston'] pro litera	196
one	?	?	Const' de ffordham pro litero	197
one	?	?	Contra Abbatem de [? Stratford'] pro l atteffelde anno xxxj [14]	198

[9] Ink over incised inscription *Tallia de Wenke de auena recepta.*
[10] Original file of fourteen tally foils and one parchment receipt; with parchment label.
[11] Ink over incised inscription, mostly illegible.
[12] Ink over incised inscription, mostly illegible but beginning *contra.*
[13] to [13] Added later in smaller hand.
[14] Ink over incised inscription *pro litera de Abbate Str*

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No. in this List.	Reference.	Date.	Stock or Foil.	Cutting. • Shape of Tally.	Cutting. • Shape, &c., of Notches.
199	E. 101/678/3 (1)	[1358, 1359]	F.	N.	vvvvvvv
200	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	vvv [missing]
201	do.	[do.]	F.	S.A.	IIIIΛΛΛ
202	*Ibid.* 3 (2)[1]	[? do.]	F.	S.A.	IΛΛ
203	do.	1358, 1359	F.	N.	vvvv
204	do.	1358, 1359	F.	N.	vvvvvv
205	do.	[? do.]	F.	N.	vvvvvvvv
206	*Ibid.* 3 (3)[4]	[? 1357–1359]	F.	N.	vvvvvv√
207	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	VVVVVV
208	do.	1357, 1358	F.	N.	vvvvvvV
209	do.	1358, 1359	F.	N.	IIIIvvv√
210	do.	[? 1357–1359]	F.	N.	vvvv
211	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	√vvvvvv
212	do.	[do.]	F.	N.	√VVV
213	do.	1358, 1359	F.	N.	√v√V
214	do.	[? 1357–1359]	F.	N.	vv
215	do.	1358, 1359	F.	N.	IIIIvv
216	do.	[? 1357–1359]	F.	N.	Iv√
217	British Museum Tally[6]	1358, 1359	F.	S.A.	·III ^
218	E. 101/678/4[7]	1361, 1362	F.	N.	IIIIvvv√VVV
219	do.	1361, 1362	S.	N.	IIIIΛΛΛ^ΛΛΛ
220	do.	1360, 1361	F.	N.	IIIIVVVV
221	do.	1361, 1362	F.	S.A.	ΛΛ
222	do.	1361, 1362	S.	S.A.	VV

200. Fragment. 206. Fragment.

[1] Four broken tally foils found loose: probably belonging to previous file.
[2] Ink over incised inscription *Const' Pateswik' pro litera.*
[3] Ink has run and writing is blurred.

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Denominations in Notches.			Writing.	No. in this List.
One or more.	Money.	Commodities.		
one	?	?	Contra abbatem de stratforde pro litero ad opus domini Regis captum [*sic*] per manum Ricardi atte ff[elde]	199
one	?	?	Contra constabularium de Kelveden' pro litera	200
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one	2*l.*		[*Stock of above*] Tallia Nicholai Colman contra [*etc.*].	222

[4] Eleven tally foils found loose but apparently belonging together. Not all in same hand.
[5] Ink very faint.
[6] The dot among the notches represents a line extending half across the edge of the tally.
[7] Original file of seven tallies (four foils and three corresponding stocks) and five parchment deeds with seals and descriptive parchment tag: preserved in contemporary leather bag (see above, p. 312).

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No. in this List.	Reference.	Date.	Stock or Foil.	Cutting.	
				Shape of Tally.	Shape, &c., of Notches.
223	E. 101/678/4	1361, 1362	F.	N.	VVV
224	do.	1361, 1362	S.	N.	ΛΛΛ
225	Private collection [1]	1367, 1368	F.	N.	VV
226	British Museum Tally [2]	1368	S.	A.E.	vvvvvvvvvv
227	M.A. 856/10	1388	S.	N.	ΛΛΛ\
228	do.	1388	S.[3]	N.	ΛΛΛΛΛΛ
229	E. 101/678/1 (2) [4]	? 1390, 1391	S.	S.A.	IIII ·
230	M.A. 1122/15	1417, 1418	F.	N.	VVVVVVVVVVVVV
231	British Museum Tally [7]	[15th cent.]	F.	N.	IIΛΛΛΛΛΛΛ ●IIIIIΛΛΛΛ vvvvvv√ ΛΛΛΛΛΛΛΛΛΛΛΛ
232	E. 101/678/1 (3) [8]	Henry VII or Henry VIII	F.	A.	VVVV

[1] Belonging (1895) to Mr. J. G. Moore, of Appleby: see note by W. Paley Baildon in *Proceedings*, xv. 309. This tally is attached to the roll of accounts to which it refers: a second receipt for money paid to the lord is on parchment.

[2] An exceptionally long stock, more than three times the length of the foil.

[3] Very long stock.

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Denominations in Notches.			Writing.	No. in this list.
One or more.	Money.	Commodities.		
one	3*l.*		ℙ Estwod' contra Nicholaum Colman balliuum de Reylegh' de denariis ab eodem receptis de redditu ad terminum Pasche anno regni regis Edwardi etc xxxv^to^	223
one	3*l.*		[*Stock of above*] ℙ Tallia Nicholai Colman contra [*etc.*].	224
	2*l.*		Tallia Johannis prepositi de Appelby de — xl s liberatis domino Ricardo de Vernon' per manus Johannis atte Halleyate ante Pasch' anno xlij^o^	225
one	? 10*l.*		Contra Radulphum Spigurnell Constabularium Castri Douerr' et custodis quinque portuum De Warda de Grauesende ⟨*on lower edge* intr' vij^o^ die Octobris Anno regni regis Edwardi tercij a conquestu quadragesimo secundo⟩.	226
one	13*l.*		Horton Tallia Thome Symond' prepositi ibidem de xiiij li liberatis Stephano Velewet de diuersis proficuis Manerii ibidem Mense Septembris Anno regni Regis Ricardi secundi post conquestum duodecimo	227
one		sheep	Horton' Tallia Thome Symondes prepositi ibidem de cccc^m^lx ouis [*sic*] de stauro Manerij liberatis Johanni Farwell' post [festum Michaelis *struck through*] [Mensem Septembris *interlineated*] Anno regni regis Ricardi Duodecimo videlicet de Multonibus C^m^.iiij^xx^.vj. De ouibus Matricibus Hegg' ferc' et Hurtard' Ciiij^xx^xviij. Et de Agnis — lxxvj	228
one			De [? Ricardo Bautre] misso apud [*illegible*] Anno regni regis [?] Ricardi .xiiij^o^. pro[5] [? tf] contra Hugonem Armigerum dominj.[5]	229
one	14*l.* 13*s.* 5½*d.* 6*s.* 8*d.*		Tallia de denariis solutis domino per manus Johannis Kent' balliui de Wattecombe anno quinto . Henrici . quinti	230
two		? wood	p^d^ to M for xx lodes billettes and xvj lodes tallwood } The tayle lackyng } p^d^ to John Bryght ⟨*on lower edge* Tallwood : *on upper* Billettes⟩	231
? one	?	?	[*Illegible*] regni regis Henrici [?] vij^mi^ fowr dussan [*illegible*]	232

[4] Another exceptionally long stock : the dot among the notches represents a stroke half across the edge of the tally.

[5] to [5] Added in another hand. In the first hand the ink has run and it is very illegible.

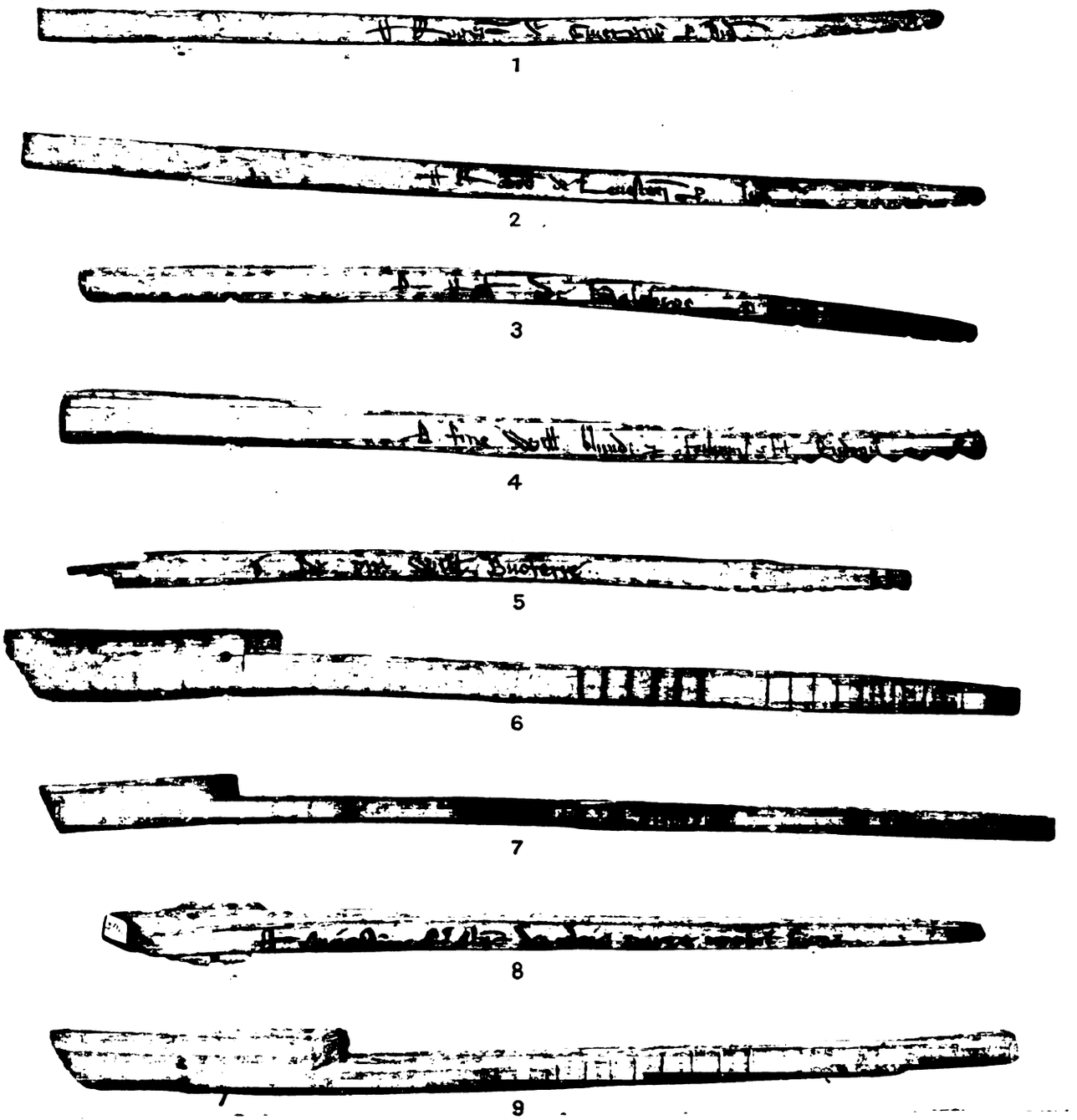
[6] Two sums are entered on the lower edge, 13*s.* 5½*d.* and 6*s.* 8*d.* This tally is preserved with the document to which it belongs.

[7] A parchment tag attached, mostly illegible, is in Chancery hand and signed *Southwell.*

[8] Large and clumsy : position of writing and notches quite abnormal.

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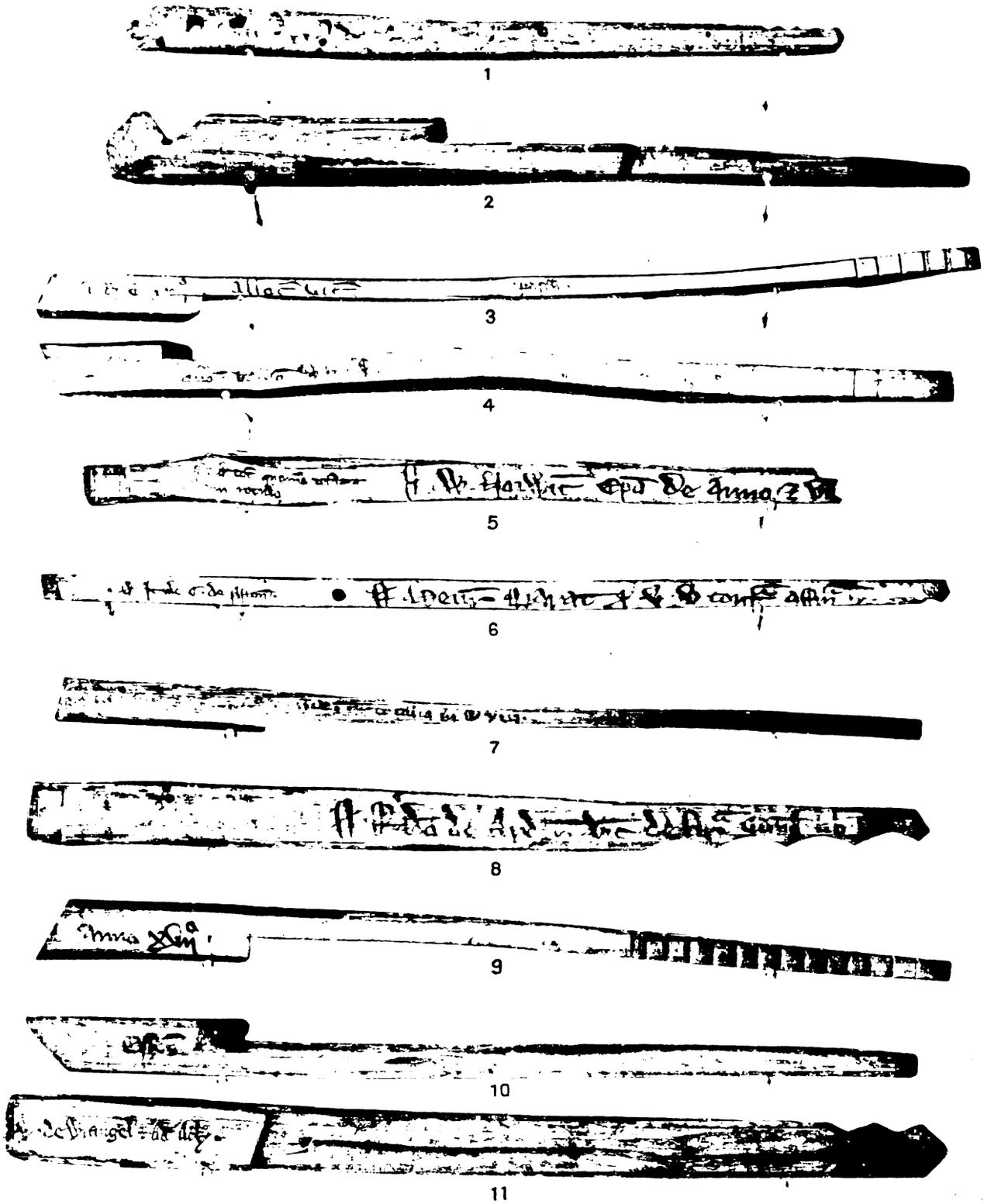
EXCHEQUER TALLY STOCKS

(early examples, Jewish tally, instances of half-penny notch, etc.)

about $\frac{1}{8}$

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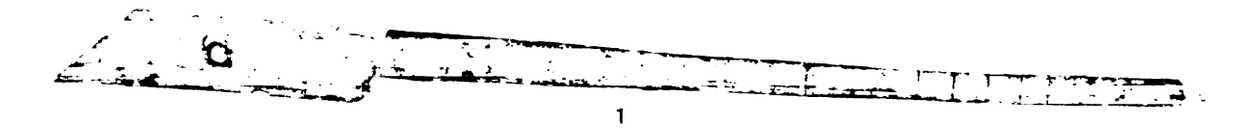
EXCHEQUER TALLY-FOIL AND STOCKS

showing added notes, etc.

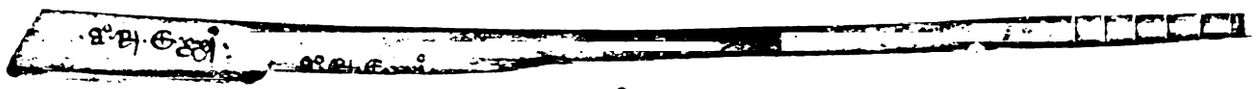
about $\frac{1}{6}$

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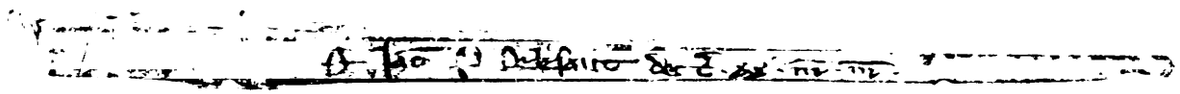
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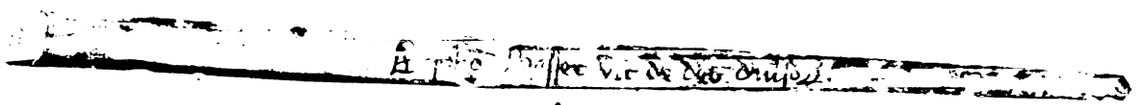
1



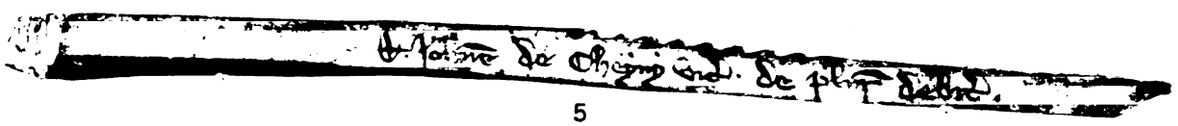
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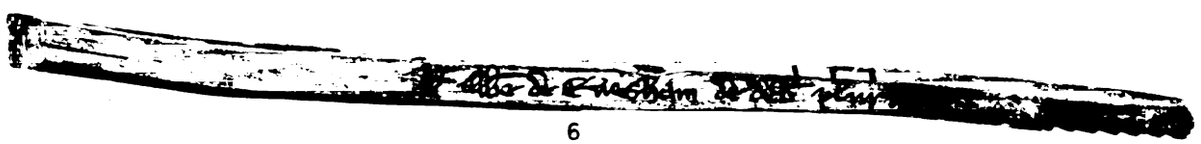
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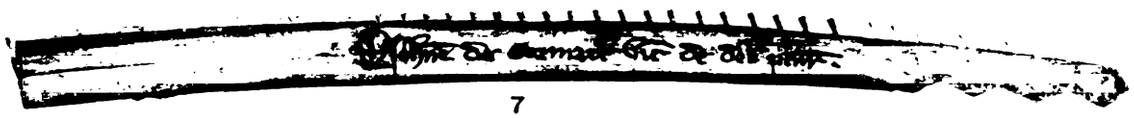
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5



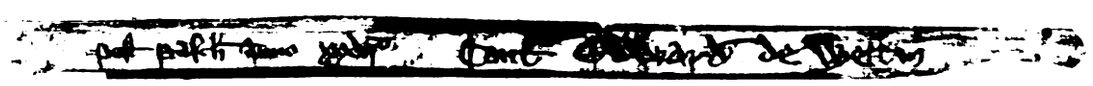
6



7



8



9

EXCHEQUER TALLY STOCKS

showing tallies 'de debitis plurium', tallies 'contra', etc.

about $\frac{1}{3}$

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PRIVATE TALLY FOILS AND LEATHER BAG
showing incised and inked inscription, and various wordings: 14th cent.
about ½

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PRIVATE TALLY FOILS AND SACK

with labels: 14th cent.

about $\frac{1}{2}$

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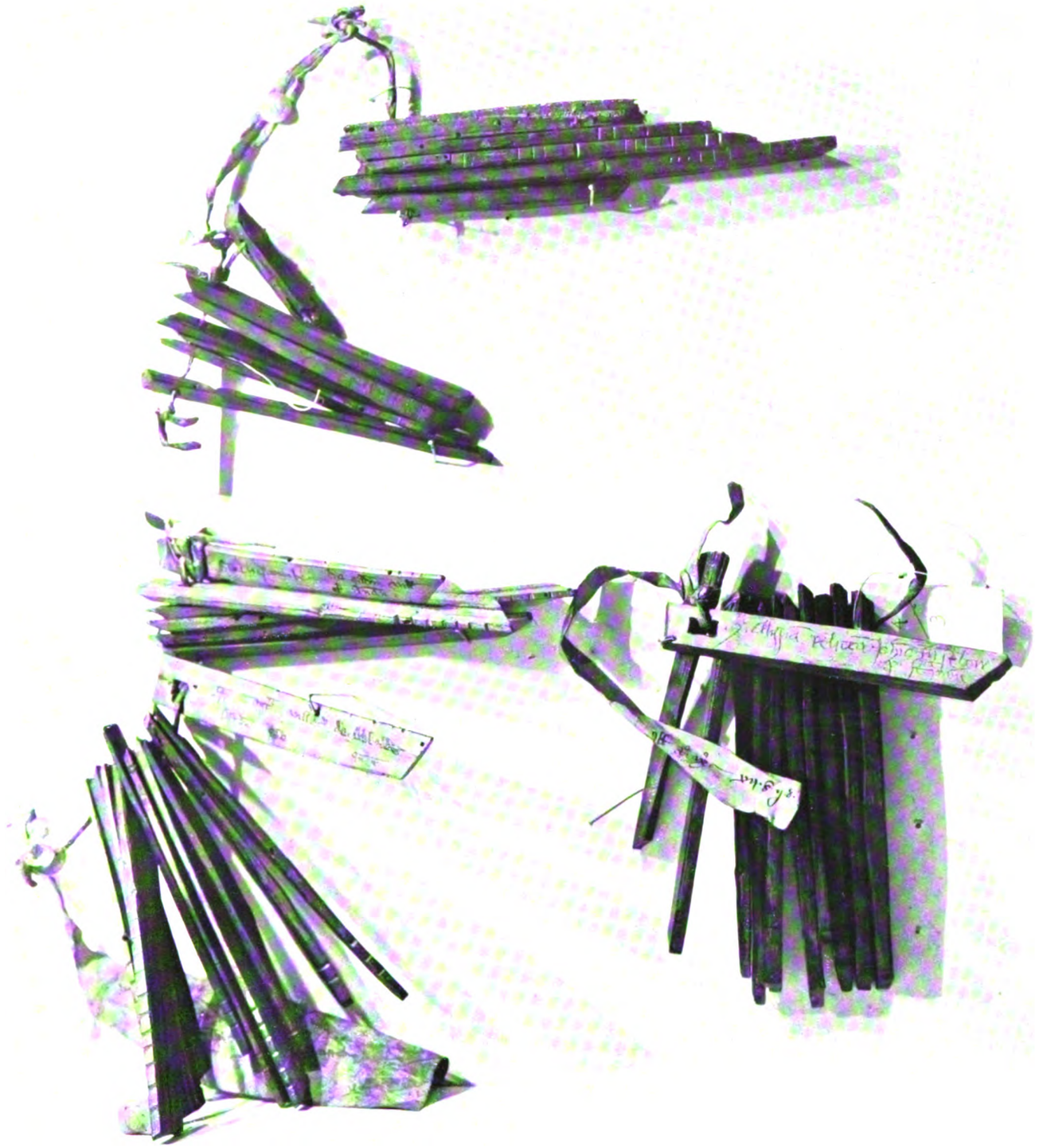
PRIVATE TALLIES, STOCKS AND FOILS

with canvas bag, descriptive label, and rolls of accounts: 14th cent.

about $\frac{1}{2}$

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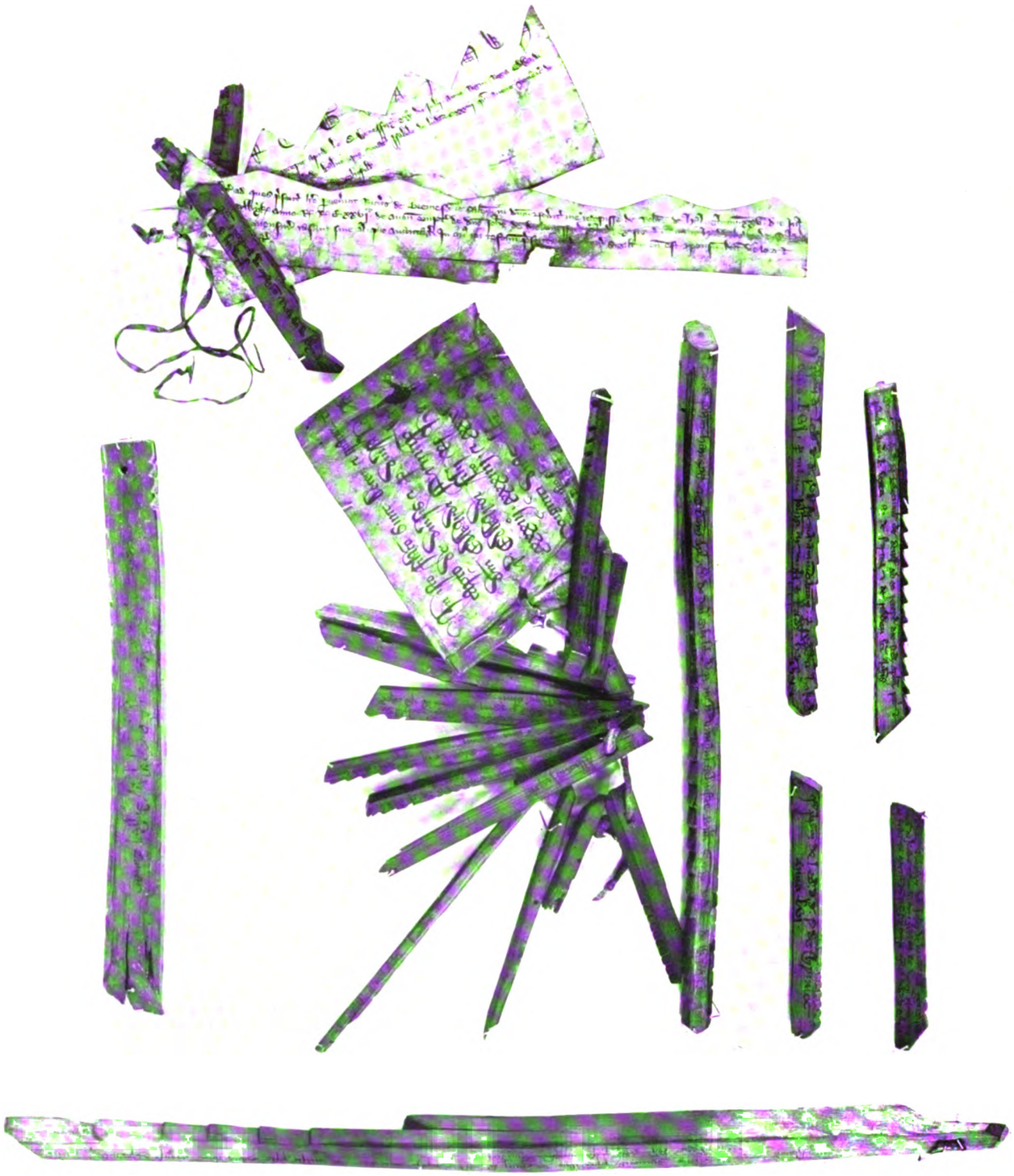
PRIVATE TALLY FOILS

showing incised inscription and variety of notches: 14th cent.

about $\frac{1}{2}$

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PRIVATE TALLY STOCKS AND FOILS

showing tallies filed with parchment indentures, file of tallies with label, Jewish money-lender's tally, etc.: 13th to 15th cent.

about ½

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